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A  
C H R O N I C L E  
OF THE  
K I N G S  
OF  
E N G L A N D,

From the time of the ROMANS Government  
Unto the Death of KING JAMES.

Containing all Passages of *State* and *Church*, with all other  
Observations proper for a CHRONICLE.

*Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient and Modern; and digested into a new Method.*

By Sir RICHARD BAKER Knight.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

The Reign of King CHARLES the First,

WITH

A Continuation of the CHRONICLE, in this *Fourth Edition*,  
To the CORONATION of His Sacred MAJESTY

King CHARLES the Second

That now REIGNETH.

In which are many Material *AFFAIRS* of *STATE*  
never before Published; and likewise the most Remarkable Occurrences  
relating to His MAJESTIES most Happy and Wonderful  
*RESTAURATION*, by the Prudent Conduct, under GOD, of

General MONCK, now Duke of *ALBEMARLE*,  
and Captain General of all His Majesties *ARMIES*:

As they were Extracted out of His Excellencies own *Papers*, and the *Journals* and  
*Memorials* of those employ'd in the most Important and Secret *Transactions* of that time.

L O N D O N:

Printed by E. Cotes, for G. Saubridg at the Bible on *Ludgate-hill*, and T. Williams  
at the Bible in *Little-Britain* without *Aldersgate*, M. D C. LXV.



TO THE  
Most August and most Serene Majesty  
OF  
**CHARLES II.**  
KING of *Great-Britain, France and Ireland.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,



*OUR* Majesties kinde acceptance of  
this **CHRONICLE** when first pub-  
lished by Sir Richard Baker, encourages  
me to present it to Your gracious Pro-  
tection, as it is now by me Continued to  
Your Majesties Coronation; containing much of the  
History of Your Majesties own Life; a Life, which  
gives to the World the most Excellent Example any  
Age hath produc'd; of True and Magnanimous Forti-  
tude and Clemency; and speaks You as much a  
Monarch by Nature as Inheritance. Your Majesties  
indulgent kindness to all Your People, makes me not  
dispair to obtain Your Pardon for the Mistakes, which  
perhaps through Ignorance, I may have committed: For  
there never was any History fill'd with more various  
and wonderful Transactions then these Late Times  
have brought forth: My chieftest design both in this,  
and all other my endeavours, is to have the honour of  
being esteemed,

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesties most Dutiful,

and most Obedient Subject,

Edward Phillips.

White-hall, Decemb. 16. 1664.

Let this *CHRONICLE* with the  
*CONTINUATION* be Printed,

Henry Benner.

## The Epistle to the Reader.



*I*R Richard Baker who writ, and published this *History*, to the beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First, affirm'd, That it was collected with so great care and diligence, that if all other of our *Chronicles* should be lost, this only would be sufficient to inform Posterity of all Passages memorable or worthy to be known; and if so much might be said of what he did,

I presume, nothing that hath been since added to it, and published, has impair'd the credit and worth thereof.

The many Impressions that have been made and sold of the Book both before, and after the Addition, are a sufficient testimony of the kind acceptance it has had in the World; How necessary this present Continuation is (which alone might have made a Competent *History*) will best appear by the perusal thereof; and in that part which describes the Transactions of the Duke of Albemarle, there is not only so exact an Account as is nowhere else to be found, but also many secret passages of particular remark, which could never have been known, but from his Excellencies own Papers, and several other private Collections of Persons active with him in that service, which I had the permission to make use of: wherein I have been so faithful, that there is not any Letter, Speech, or Discourse in publique Conferences, which are not exactly set down as they were written, or spoke, save only, that of such Letters, or Speeches, as were very long, the most pertinent parts are only retained.

The wonderful Restauration of his Majesty, which is the Subject of that part of the Continuation; is one of the most extraordinary actions, that has been ever mention'd in Story, both for the Generosity of the Attempt, and the Prudent Conduct of it: For certainly, nothing was ever enterpris'd with greater generosity and courage, then with \* Nine thousand Six hundred Foot, and Fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons (and those long train'd up in an aversion to Kingly Government) to preserve the whole Kingdom of Scotland in English hands, and to Invade England, at a time when the Governing Power was in those, that were irreconcilable to his Majesties Person, and Government, supported by Thirty thousand experienced and victorious Soldiers in England, of the same affections (besides what were at their devotion in Ireland, and Dunkirk,) and a Militia of Trained Bands in all Counties to a greater number then those in pay, all of chosen men, of the like Principles: and this at a time, when by the defeat of Sir George Booth, his Majesties greatest hopes were frustrated, and most of the Nobility and Gentry which were engag'd with him, were disarm'd, and their Estates confiscated, and ready to be divided amongst the enemies of Royalty, to alter, with the Riches, the Interest of the Kingdom; and when they had Enacted, and many of the Legislators themselves taken, an \* Oath of abjuration of his Majesty's Person and Family: But then his secrecy in the conduct of this great affair is very remarkable, being oblig'd to act very differently from his intentions;

\* See pag 721.  
where the  
numbers of his  
forces are  
mentioned.

\* Pag 739.

## The Epistle to the Reader.

to gain the confidence of those Jealous Masters whose authority he pretended to obey; for if he had but once trod awry in any of the paths he mov'd, all had miscarried; and notwithstanding his greatest subtilty, many objected (thinking thereby to weaken his credit with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Design.

His most prudent contrivances were often disappointed, but by his wisdom and dexterity as often retriv'd; one of his greatest difficulties was to temper his own Officers and Souldiers to his purposes, to which the opinion they had of his Conduct and courage, did much contribute, and when that was effected, he the easier modell'd the rest.

It is evident that he acquainted but \* one person with his Design, and that he did, supposing it impossible alone without correspondence to manage so hazardous an undertaking; for he was to compass his ends by several and different means, which could not without great address be prepar'd and dispos'd thereinto. And how necessary this Correspondence was, is apparent by many Transitions, but by none more, Then in the lucky \* contrivance of getting the Army out of London, and the Quartering his Souldiers in their places, and dispersing the rest; whereby the Parliament, City, and Kingdom became at his Reverence, and without which his Majesties Restauration could never have been effected in this way.

The consideration of these things leads me into so great a labyrinth of Admiration, that I cannot easily desist from detaining the Reader too long from the perusal of the matter, which induces me to it: I shall therefore conclude this Epistle with that commendation of this Renowned Generals undertaking, which a Reverend and pious Prelate most justly delivered in a late Sermon, That it was A Generous, Glorious, and Heroical Design, whereby he hath at once redeem'd his Countrey both from Slavery and Oppression, by restoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal hath purchased unto himself, Honour without Envy, Greatness with Safety, and (which is the best reward of Vertue in this World) a perpetual satisfaction and complacency in himself, for having so nobly perform'd his duty.

E. Phillips.

In the Authors absence from the Press these mistakes past in the Continuation of the Chronicle.

### ERRATA.

Pag. 699. line 43. read well affected, p. 699. l. 11. r. commands, ibid. l. 12. for yet not without, read yet with, ibid. l. 13. dele but, p. 701. l. 3. dele bad formerly, ibid. l. 23. r. your remaining, p. 705. l. 32. r. Regiments, p. 711. l. 52. for Hazlogie r. Fleetwood, p. 713. r. against such, ibid. l. 57. r. superior, p. 714. l. 6. r. unreasonable, ibid. l. 23. r. publique treaties, p. 721. l. 45. for Burtons read Overtons, p. 732. l. 43. r. acquainting them therein, p. 733. l. 7. for, sent r. summons'd, p. 741. l. 15. r. as he came, p. 745. l. 48. r. by promise, p. 755. l. 11. r. engage the General, ibid. l. 58. dele The Commissary being call'd in, and in the same line r. he should, p. 757. l. 14. r. he could not, p. 761. l. ult. r. party, p. 763. l. 10. r. voices, p. 769. l. r. attempts, p. 774. l. 47. r. and have, p. 775. l. 5. for Anthony r. Aubray, p. 781. l. 2. dele have, pag. 784. l. 31. dele for that grant employment, pag. 793. l. 22. r. whiteth, pag. 805. l. 26. r. your publique, ibid. r. with you, p. 837. l. 56. dele more, p. 740. l. 64. r. and that his best, p. 776. l. 19. r. to peace and happiness, p. 739. l. 28. r. and Common wealth.

# A CATALOGUE OF WRITERS, Both *ANTIENT* and *MODERN*, Out of whom This CHRONICLE Hath been COLLECTED.



- 1 Ildas Britannicus, surnamed the Wist, was the first writer of our English Nation; who amongst other his Works writ a Treatise De Excidio Britanniae: He was born in the year 493. and dyed in the year 580.
- 2 Nennius a Monk of Bangor, writ the Story of Britain, and lived about the year 620.
- 3 Venerable Bede, a Saxon, and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiastical Story of the English Nation from the coming in of Julius Caesar, to the year 733. about which time he dyed.
- 4 Ethelwardus, a writer next to Bede the most ancient, writ a general Chronicle from the Creation to the end of King Edgar.
- 5 Radulphus de Diceto, who lived about the year 685.
- 6 Segebert King of the East-Angles, writ an Institution of Laws, in his latter days became a Monk, and was slain by Penda King of the Mercians, in the year 652.
- 7 Cymbertus Bishop of Linley, in the Kingdom of Mercia, writ the Annals of that Countrey, and lived about the year 730.
- 8 Daniel Wentalus a Bishop, writ the History of his Province: and the Acts of the South Saxons, and dyed in the year 746.
- 9 Alericus Menevenis, born in Pembrokeshire, Bishop of Salisbury, writ the Story of Britain, and the Acts of King Alfhred, and lived about the year 890.
- 10 Alfhredus the great King of the Angles, fourth son of King Ethelwolp, writ besides many other works, a Collection of Chronicles,

- and dyed at Winchester in the year 901.
- 11 Osbertus a Benedicline Monk, writ the life of Archbishop Dunstan, and other works: and lived about the year 1020.
- 12 Gulmanus Anglicus, writ a Chronicle and a Catalogue of the English Kings, and lived about the year 1040. in the time of King Harald the first.
- 13 Gulielmus Gemeticensis, a Norman and a Monk, writ the lives of the Dukes of Normandy, to William the First, to whom he Dedicated his Work: and after enlarged it to the death of King Henry the first, in the year 1135. at which time he lived.
- 14 Marianus Scotus, a Monk, writ Annals from the beginning of the world to his own time, and dyed in the year 1086.
- 15 Alfhredus a Priest of Beverley, writ an History from the first Origin of the Britains to his own times, and lived about the year 1087. in the time of William the First.
- 16 Veremundus a Spaniard, and a Priest, who lived much in Scotland, writ the Antiquities of the Scottish Nation, and lived about the year 1090.
- 17 Lucianus a Monk, and an English writer, and lived in the first times of the Normans.
- 18 Ingulphus Abbot of Croyland, writ from the year 664. to the year 1066. and lived in the time of William the First, whose Secretary he had been.
- 19 Turgotus an Englishman first Dean of Durham, and afterward Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, writ a History of the Kings of Scotland, also Chronicles of Durham, Annals of his

## A Catalogue of the Authors.

- his own time, and the life of King Malcolm, and lived in the year 1098. in the time of King William the Second.
20. Gulielmus Pictaviensis, writ a Treatise of the life of William the First.
21. Gualterus Mappæus writ a Book De Nugis Curialium, and lived about the Conquerors time.
22. William of Malmesbury, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation from the first coming of the Saxons into Britain, to his own time, which Work he Dedicated to Robert Duke of Gloucester, late Son of King Henry the First, and lived to the first year of King Henry the Second.
23. Florentius Bravonius, a Monk of Worcester, compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the year 1118. in which year he dyed; his Work was continued by another Monk to the year 1163.
24. Eadmerus a Monk of Canterbury, writ the lives of William the First, William the Second, and King Henry the First, in whose time he lived.
25. Raradocus born in Wales, writ the Acts of the Britain Kings, from Cadwallader to his own time, and lived in the time of King Stephen.
26. Gervafius Dorobernensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1120.
27. Johannes Fiberius commonly called De Bever, writ short Annals of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1110. in the time of King Henry the First.
28. Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, writ a History of the Kings of England, to the reign of King Stephen, in whose time he lived.
29. Geoffry of Monmouth, a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Bishop of Alaph, writ a History of the Britains, and was the first that makes mention of Brute and of Merlines Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the year 1150. in the time of King Stephen.
30. William of Newborough, born at the beginning of King Stephens Reign, writ a History of the English Nation, and bitterly inveighs against Geoffry of Monmouth, as a Deviser of Fables.
31. Sylvester Gyraldus, born in Wales, and there-of called Cambrensis, after long travail abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King Henry the Second; and after was sent Tutor to his Son John into Ireland; he writ the History of that Nation very exquisitely; also an Itinerary of Wales and Britain, the life of Henry the Second; the Acts of King John, and a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1190. in the times of King Richard the First, and King John.
32. John of Hagulstad, a Town in the North, a Benedictine Monk in Durham, writ the most memorable things from the ninth year of King Henry the Second, to the first year of Richard the First, in whose time he lived, about the year 1190.
33. Roger Hoveden, a Priest of Oxford, writ the Annals of the Kings of England, and the most
- valuable passages under the Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; he lived in the time of King Richard the First, and dyed in the time of King John.
34. Johannes Tiberienfis, a secular Priest, writ a History of the English Nation; and lived in the time of King Richard the First.
35. Richardus Canonicus, travelled with King Richard the First into Palestine; and writ of his journey and acts there.
36. Aluredus Rivalensis, or de Rivalis, a Cistercian Monk, in the Diocess of York, writ the life of Edward King of England, and David King of Scots, and dyed in the year 1166.
37. Simon Dunelmensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, from the death of Venerable Bede, to the year 1164. and lived in the time of King Henry the Second.
38. John de Oxenford, first Dean of Salisbury, and after Bishop of Norwich, writ the British History, and continued it to his own time; wherein he agreeth much with Geoffry of Monmouth, and lived about the year 1174. in the time of King Henry the Second.
39. Johannes Sarisberienfis, writ an excellent Book De Nugis Curialium; and lived about the year 1182. in the time of King Henry the Second.
40. Gulielmus Parvus, a Canon Regular in the Province of York, writ an History of the Norman Kings; and lived about the year 1216. in the time of King John.
41. Johannes Campobellus, a Scotch man, writ the History of the Scots, from the first Original of the Nation to his own time: and lived in the year 1260.
42. John Breton an Englishman, Bishop of Hereford, writ a Book De Juribus Anglicanis, and lived in the year 1270. in the time of King Henry the Third.
43. Thomas Wyke an Englishman, a Canon Regular of Olney near Oxford, writ a short History, from the coming in of William the First to his own time, and lived in the year 1290. in the time of King Edward the First.
44. Thomas Langford an English, a Dominican Fryer of Chemsford in Essex, writ an Universal Chronicle, from the beginning of the world, to his own time, and lived in the year 1320. in the time of King Edward the Second.
45. Radulphus de Rizeo an Englishman, writ a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1210. in the time of King John.
46. Robertus Montensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the year 1112. to the year 1210. at which time he lived.
47. Johannes Brugensis, an Englishman, a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the English Nation.
48. Thomas Spottey an Englishman, a Benedictine Fryer of Canterbury, writ the Chronicles of Canterbury, and lived about the time of King Edward the Second.
49. Mathæus Westmonasteriensis, called Florilegus, for collecting Flores Historiarum, chiefly of Britain, containing from the beginning of the world to the year 1307. about which time he lived.

## A Catalogue of the Authors.

50. Ranulphus Higden, a Benedictine Monk of Chester, writ a Book which he called Polychronicon, containing from the beginning of the world to the sixteenth year of King Edward the third, in whose time he lived.
51. Matthew Paris, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ a History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, of the English Nation, from William the first, to the last year of King Henry the third, and lived about the time of King Edward the third.
52. William Pachenton an English man, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the time of King Edward the third.
53. Bartholmeus Anglicus, a Franciscan Fryer, writ a Book intituled De Proprietatibus rerum, and a Chronicle of the Scots, and lived in the year 1360. in the time of King Edward the third.
54. Nicholas Triver, born in Norfolk, of a worshipfull Family, became a Dominican Fryer, writ many excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the English Kings, from King Stephen, to King Edward the second, and lived in the year 1307. in the time of King Edward the third.
55. Alexander Effebiensis Prior of the Monastery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned works; amongst other, an Epitome of the British History; and lived in the year 1360. in the time of King Edward the third.
56. John Froyllart born in the Low Countreys, writ a Chronicle in the French Tongue, containing seventy four years; namely, beginning with King Edward the Third, and ending with King Henry the Fourth, in whose time he lived; whose Chronicle, Sir John Bouchier Knight, translated into English, and John Sleyden a Frenchman hath lately contrallated into an Epitome.
57. Thomas de la Moore, born in Gloucestershire, in the time of King Edward the first, by whom as having Twenty pounds land, holden by Knights service, he was made a Knight; and afterward being very inward with King Edward the second, writ a History of his life and death.
58. Thomas Rodbourn an Englishman, and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the year 1412. in the time of King Henry the fourth.
59. John Trevisa born in Gloucestershire, a Priest, translated Polychronicon into English, adding to it an Eighth book, intituled, De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, containing from the year 1342. to the year 1460. He writ also of the Acts of King Arthur, and Descriptions both of Britain and Ireland, and lived in the time of King Edward the fourth.
60. John Harding a Gentleman of a good Family in the North, writ a Chronicle in Verse, of the Kings of England, to the Reign of King Edward the Fourth; wherein he alleadgeth many Records, which he had got in Scotland, that testifie the Scottish Kings submissions to the Kings of England; he lived in the year 1448. in the time of King Henry the sixth.
61. John Capgrave, born in Kent, an Hermit Fryer, writ many learned works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the English Saints, and lived in the year 1464. in the time of King Edward the Fourth.
62. John Lydgate Monk of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, writ divers works in Verse, and some in Prose: as the lives of King Edward, and King Ethelstan, of the round Table of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1470. in the time of King Edward the Fourth.
63. John Weathamstead, Abbot of St. Albans, in his work of English Affairs accuseth Geoffry of Monmouth, of meer Falseness, and lived about the year 1440.
64. Gulielmus Elphinston a Scotchman, Bishop of Aberdene, writ the Antiquities of Scotland, and the Statutes of Conncels, and lived in the year 1480. in the time of James the third, King of Scotland.
65. George Buchanan a Scotchman writ the story of Scotland from Fergusius, to Queen Mary, in whose time he lived.
66. William Caxton an Englishman, writ a Chronicle to the three and twentieth year of King Edward the fourth, which he calls Fructus Temporum: also a Description of Britain, the life of St. Edward, and the History of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1484.
67. Thomas Wallingham born in Norfolk, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the year 1273. and continued to the year 1423. The other beginning at the coming in of the Normans, and continued to the beginning of King Henry the sixth, to whom he dedicateth his work.
68. Robert Fabian a Sheriff of London, writ a Concordance of Histories, from Brute the first King of the Britains, to the last year of King Henry the second; and another work from King Richard the first, to King Henry the seventh, in whose time he lived.
69. Sir Thomas Moor born in London, Lord Chancellor of England; besides many other learned works, writ the life of King Richard the third; and died for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the year 1535.
70. Hector Boetius a Scotchman, writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of Scotland, also a Description of that Kingdom, and lived in the year 1526. in the time of James the fifth, King of Scotland.
71. Polydor Virgil, an Italian, but made here in England Archdeacon of Wells, amongst other his learned works, writ the History of England from its first beginning, to the thirtieth year of King Henry the eighth, to whom he Dedicated his Work.
72. Edward Hall a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle which he calls The Union of the two Roses, the Red and the White, containing from the beginning of King Henry the fourth, to the last year of King Henry the eighth, and dyed in the year 1547.
73. John Leland a Londoner, amongst divers other works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of Britain, and of the Famous men and Bishops in it, and lived in the year 1546. in the time of King Henry the eighth.
74. John Rogers, first a Papist, and afterward a Protestant; amongst other his learned Works,


## A Catalogue of the Authors.

- 74 *write a History from the beginning of the world; and lived most in Germany in the year 1548. in the time of King Edward the sixth.*
- 75 Philip Commines a Knight of Flanders, *writ the lives of Lewis and Charles the eighth, Kings of France, wherein he handles many passages between them and the Kings of England their Contemporaries.*
- Of the Modern, These:
- 76 Richard Grafton a Citizen of London, *writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time he lived.*
- 77 Raphael Holingshed, a Minister, *writ a large Chronicle, from the Conquest to the year 1577. and was continued by others, to the year 1586.*
- 78 Doctor Goodwin Bishop of Hereford, *writ the lives of King Henry the eighth, King Edward the sixth, and Queen Mary, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.*
- 79 Doctor Heyward *writ the History of the first Kings, William the Conquerour, William Rufus, and Henry the first; also the Reign of King Henry the fourth, and Edward the sixth, and lived to the time of King James.*
- 80 Samuel Daniel *writ a Chronicle of the Kings of England; to the end of King Edward the third, and is continued by John Trassell to the beginning of King Henry the seventh.*
- 81 Sir Francis Bacon Viscount St. Albans, *hath written an History of the Reign of King Henry the seventh, in a most elegant style, and lived in the time of King James.*
- 82 John Fox *writ three large Volumes of the Acts and Monuments of the Church; particularly treating of the English Martyrs in the Reigns of King Henry the eighth, and Queen Mary, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.*
- 83 Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Winchester, *writ Chronicle-Notes of all Nations, specially of England, from the beginning of the World to his own time, and lived in the time of Qu. Elizabeth.*
- 84 William Camden *King at Arms, writ the life of Qu. Elizabeth, and a Description of Britain, and lived in the time of King James.*
- 85 William Martin Esq; *writ the Reigns of the Kings of England, from William the first, to the end of King Henry the eighth: to which was afterwards added the Reigns of King Edward the sixth, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.*
- 86 Francis Biondi an Italian Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King Charles the first, *hath written in the Italian Tongue, the Civil Wars between the two Houses of Lancaster and York, from King Richard the second, to King Henry the seventh: Translated elegantly into English by Henry Earl of Monmouth.*
- 87 Henry Isaacson a Londoner, *hath written a Chronology of all Kingdoms, from the beginning of the World to the year 1630. being the fifth year of King Charles the first his Reign.*
- 88 Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, *hath written a Chronicle of all the Bishops of England, to which Edmund Campian the Jesuite, made an Addition.*
- 89 John Stow Citizen of London, *writ a Chronicle from Brute to the end of Queen Elizabeth, and is continued to this present time, being the 18 year of King Charles the first, by Edmund Howes a Londoner.*
- 90 John Speed a Londoner, *writ the Story of Britain, from the first beginning to the year 1605, being the second year of King James.*
- 91 William Abington Esq; *hath written the Reign of King Edward the fourth in a very fine style, and is yet living.*
- 92 Thomas Fuller Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of Sarum, *hath written the Holy Warr in very fine Language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of England in the Holy Land.*
- 93 Andre du Chesne, a Frenchman, Geographer to the King of France, *hath written the History of England, Scotland and Ireland, from their first beginning, to the seventeenth year of King Charles the first, 1641.*

The End of the Catalogue of Authors.



# THE Beginning, Continuance, and Ending OF THE REIGNS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND To this Year 1664. After the time of the ROMAN'S Government.

1.  King *Vortigern* a Britain.
2. King *Vortimer* his Son, a Britain, Reigned 4 years. Then deposed.
3. King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a Roman, Reigned 32 years.
4. King *Uter*, began his reign Anno Christi 497, and reigned 18 years.
5. King *Arthur* his Son, reigned 26 years.
6. King *Constantine* his Cousin, reigned 3 years.
7. King *Aurelius Conanus*, nephew to King *Arthur*.
8. King *Vortigerus* reigned 4 years.
9. King *Malgo Conanus* reigned 6 years.
10. King *Careticus* reigned 3 years.
11. King *Cadwan* reigned 22 years.
12. King *Cadwallo* his Son, reigned 48 years.
13. King *Cadwalladar* his Son, the last of the British Kings, who died at Rome in the year 689, after he had reigned 3 years. After which, Britain was a Colony of the Saxons, who divided it into Seven Kingdoms: but the Saxons before the death of King *Cadwalladar* took Kent from the British Kings and had it in their possession: which Kingdom of Kent began by *Hengist* the Saxon in the year 455 in the Reign of King *Aurelius Ambrosius* before mentioned, and lasted 372 years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings of Kent: the last of which Kentish Kings was overcome by *Egbert* King of the West-Saxons, who made Kent a Province

( a )

- Province to his Kingdom in the year 827. The second Kingdom was of the South-Saxons, began by *Ella* in 488, in the Reign of the same British King *Anrethius Ambrosius*, containing *Sussex* and *Surry*, and continued 113 years during the Reigns of five Kings, only the last of which Kings was overcome by the King of the West-Saxons, and so became a Province to that Kingdom of the West-Saxons in the year 601. The third Kingdom was of the West-Saxons, which began by *Cerdic* in 519, in the Reign of the British King *Arthur*, containing *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of Eighteen Kings, the last of whom *Egbert* became King of the whole Nation. The fourth Kingdom was of the East-Saxons, begun by *Erchenwin* in the year 527, containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of Fourteen Kings, the last of which Kings, *Egbert* King of the West-Saxons subdued, and so made the Kingdom of the East-Saxons to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The fifth Kingdom was of Northumberland, begun by *Ella* and *Ida* in the year 547, containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of 23 Kings; after the last of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert* King of the West-Saxons. The sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, begun by *Crida* in the year 522, containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derbyshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Glostershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Harfordshire*, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings; after which they were subdued by the West-Saxons. The seventh Kingdom was of the East-Angles, begun by *Uffa* in 575, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the *Ile of Ely*, and continued 353 years, during the Reigns of Fifteen Kings, and at last was subject to the Kingdom of the West-Saxons: But this Kingdom of the East-Angles was enjoyed by the Danes fifty years before the West-Saxons had it; so the Kingdom of the East-Angles continued distinct from the rest of the Nation in the whole 403 years: So it appears that after King *Fortigerne* the first of the Britain Kings in the year 455, had called in the Saxons out of Germany to assist him in defending the Kingdom against the Invasions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, every Britain King who succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the Saxons; till at last in the year 689, *Cadwallader* the last Britain King lost all at his death; and then the Saxon Kings striving amongst themselves for Sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818, *Egbert*, or some under him, reduced them all under his subjection, who then caused all the South of the Island to be called *England*, the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Successors, till the Danes in the year 1017, made the great interruption.
14. King *Egbert*, began his reign in 818, reigned 18 years, at whose time the Danes began first to infect *England*; he was buried at *Winchester*.
  15. King *Ethelwolph* his Son, began his reign in 836, reigned 21 years.
  16. King *Ethelbald* his Son, began his Reign in 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at *Shi-born* in *Dorset*, then an Episcopal See.
  17. King *Ethelbert* his Brother, began his reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at the same place.
  18. King *Ethelred* his Brother, began his reign in 864, and was buried at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.
  19. King *Alfred* his Brother, reigned 27 years, who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds and Tithings, and began the foundation of the University of *Oxford* in the year 895, and is accounted the founder of the Town of *Shafesbury* in *Dorsetshire*; and was buried in *St. Peters* in *Winchester*, but removed afterward.
  20. King *Edward* the first, called *Edward* the elder, his Son, began his reign in 901, reigned 24 years, and was buried in the new Monastery at *Winchester*, which his father and himself wholly finished.
  21. King *Athelstan* his eldest Son, began his reign in 924, reigned 15 years, who was knighted by his Grandfather King *Alfred* with his own hands in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a purple robe, and girding him with a girdle wrought with Pearl. He caused the Bible to be translated into the Saxon tongue, then

- then the Mother tongue of *England*. He was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltshire* in the year 940, having never been married.
22. King *Edmund* the first, his Brother, began his reign in 939, reigned 5 years and 7 moneths: he was buried at *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*.
  23. King *Edred*, his Brother, began his reign in 946, reigned 9 years; who was Crowned King, for that his Nephew *Edwyn* son to King *Edmund* was then in his Minority, the title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in use, which King *Edred* died and was buried in the old Minister without the City of *Winchester*, when his said Nephew was but 14 years old, who notwithstanding upon his death was Crowned King by the name of.
  24. King *Edwin*, his Nephew, began his reign in 955, reigned 4 years, and was buried in the new Abby of *Hyde* at *Winchester*.
  25. King *Edgar* his Brother, began his reign, at 16 years of age in 959, reigned 16 years, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the Abby of *Glastenbury*.
  26. King *Edward* the second, his Son, called *Edward* the Martyr, began his reign being but 12 years of age, in 979, reigned 37 years and 6 months; and was buried at *Winchester*, afterwards removed to *Shafesbury* in *Dorsetshire*.
  27. King *Ethelred*, his half brother, began his reign at 12 years old in 982, reigned 34 years, and was buried in *St. Pauls* Church in *London*.
  28. King *Edmund* the second, his Son, called *Edmund Ironside*, began his reign in 1016, reigned 7 months, and was buried at *Glastenbury*.
  29. King *Cannus* a Dane, began his reign in 1017, reigned 19 years, and was buried in the old Monastery at *Winchester*.
  30. King *Harold* the first, his Son, surnamed *Harefoot*, began his reign in 1036, reigned 4 years and 7 months, and was buried at *Westminster*, afterwards thrown into the *Thames*, and then afterwards buried in *St. Clement Danes* Church at *Temple-Barr*, having never been married.
  31. King *Hardiknut*, his half brother, the third and last of the Danish line, began his reign in 1040, reigned 2 years; which Danes had afflicted the Kingdom for the space of 240 years, though in Regal Government but only 26; he was buried at *Winchester*, having never likewise been married.
  32. King *Edward* the third, surnamed the Confessor, half brother by the Mother to the last King, King *Hardiknut*, began his reign in 1041, reigned 23 years and 6 months; he was the first King that cured the Kings evil, built the Abby Church of *Westminster*, and *St. Margarets* Church there: he was buried at *Westminster*, who dyed in the Painted Chamber at *Westminster*.
  33. King *Harold* the second, began his reign in 1065, reigned 9 months, and was buried in *Waltham* Abby.
  34. King *William* the first, a Norman, began his reign in 1066, reigned 20 years and 10 months, and was buried in *Caen* in *Normandy*, whose bones after in 1562, were removed out of his Tomb, and some of them afterward brought into *England*.
  35. King *William* the second, his Son began his reign in 1087, reigned 12 years and 10 months; he dyed Aug. 2. 1099, and was buried in *St. Swithen* in *Winchester*, having never been married.
  36. King *Henry* the first, his Brother, began his reign in 1099, reigned 35 years; he died Decemb. 1. 1134, and was buried at *Reading* as to part of his body, the other part at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he dyed.
  37. King *Stephen*, his Sisters son, began his reign in 1134, reigned 19 years and 10 months, he dyed at *Dover* Octob. 25. 1154, and was buried at *Faversham* Abby.
  38. King *Henry* the second, his Kinsman, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the first King of that name, began his reign in 1154, reigned 35 years; he dyed in *Normandy*, and was there buried at *Fountevraud*.
  39. King *Richard* the first, his eldest son, began his reign in 1189, reigned 9 years and 8 months; he died April 6. 1199, and buried as to part of his body at *Fountevraud* by his Father, and the other part at two other places.

## The Beginning, Continuance, and Ending

40. King *John* his Brother, began his reign 1199, reigned 17 years and 6 months; he dyed *Octob. 19. 1216.* and was buried as to part of his body at *Worcester*, and the other at *Croxton Abbey*.
41. King *Henry* the third, his eldest Son, began his reign in 1216, reigned 56 years: he dyed *November 16. 1272.* and was buried at *Westminster*.
42. King *Edward* the fourth, otherwise called *Edward* the first, his eldest Son, began his reign in 1272, reigned 34 years and 7 months: he died *July 7. 1307.* and was buried at *Westminster*.
43. King *Edward* the second, his eldest Son, began his reign in 1307, reigned 18 years: he was forced to Resign, and then something more then half a year after, murdered in 1327. and was buried at *Glocester* in the Monastery of *St. Peters*.
44. King *Edward* the third, his eldest Son, began his reign in 1327, reigned 50 years and 4 months; he died *June 21. 1377.* aged 63 years, and was buried in *Westminster Church*.
45. King *Richard* the second, his Grandson, his sons son, began his reign in 1377. reigned 22 years and 3 months; he was forced to Resign, and then shortly after murdered in 1399. aged 33 years, and was buried in the Church of the *Fryers Preachers at Langley in Buckinghamshire*, but after the remains of his body were removed to *Westminster*.
46. King *Henry* the fourth his Cousin, began his reign in 1399, reigned 13 years and 6 months, he died *March 20. 1413.* aged 46 years, and was buried at *Canterbury*.
47. King *Henry* the fifth, his eldest Son, began his reign in 1413, reigned 9 years and 5 months; he died *Aug. 31. 1422.* aged 38 years, he was buried at *Westminster*.
48. King *Henry* the Sixth, his only Son, began his reign in 1422. aged 8 months, reigned 38 years, 6 months, and 4 dayes, then removed *March 4. 1460.* from the Government; after which, more then 11 years, viz. *May 21. 1472.* he was murdered in the Tower of London by *Richard Duke of Glocester*, afterwards King *Richard* the third; he was buried at *Cherley Abby*, but afterwards removed to *Winfor*, aged at his death 52 years or thereabouts.
49. King *Edward* the fourth his Cousin, began his reign in 1460, aged 19 years, reigned 22 years and one month; he died *April 9. 1483.* aged 41 years, and was buried at *Winfor*.
50. King *Edward* the fifth, his eldest Son, began his reign in 1483, aged 10 years, reigned 10 weeks; then removed *Jan. 18. 1485.* shortly after which he was murdered.
51. King *Richard* the third, his Uncle, the last of the family of *Plantagenet*, began his reign in 1483, reigned 2 years and 2 months; slain at the Battel at *Bosworth August 22. 1485.* aged 37 years; and was buried at *Leicester* in the *Gray-Fryers Church*, but afterwards all or the most part of the Remains of his body carried none knows whither: he died without issue.
52. King *Henry* the seventh, his Kinsman, of the surname of *Ap Thomas ap Theadore*, began his reign in 1485, reigned 23 years and 8 months; he died at *Richmond April 22. 1509.* aged 52 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
53. King *Henry* the eighth, his only Son, began his reign in 1509, reigned 37 years 9 months and 6 dayes; he died *Jan. 28. 1546.* aged 55 years, and was buried at *Winfor*.
54. King *Edward* the sixth, his only Son, began his reign in 1546, reigned 6 years, 5 months, and 9 dayes; he died *July 6. 1553.* aged 15 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
55. Queen *Mary* his eldest Sister of the half blood, began her reign in 1553, reigned 5 years, 4 months, and 11 dayes; she died *Novemb. 17. 1558.* aged 43 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.

56. Queen

## of the Reigns of the Kings of England.

56. Queen *Elizabeth* her only Sister of the half blood, the last of the Family of *Tudor*, began her reign in 1558, aged 25 years, reigned 44 years, 4 months and 7 dayes; she died *March 24. 1602.* aged 69 years, 6 months, and 7 dayes, and was buried at *Westminster*.
57. King *James* her Cousin, the first of the Family of *Stuart*, and King of *Scotland*, began his reign in 1602, reigned 22 years and 3 dayes; he died *March 27. 1625.* at *Theobalds*, aged 58 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
58. King *Charles* the first, Christned by the name of *Charles-James*, his only Son surviving, the second of the family of *Stuart*, began his reign in 1625, reigned 23 years, 10 months and 3 dayes; he died *Jan. 30. 1648.* aged 48 years, 2 months and 11 dayes, and was buried at *Winfor*.
59. King *Charles* the second, Christned by the name of *Charles-Frederick*, his eldest Son surviving, began his reign in 1648, reigned 30 years and 10 months, died *February the 6. 1704* and was buried at *St. James's* aged 55 years.
60. King *James* the second his only Brother surviving began his Reign in 1704

THE



# THE KING'S Pedigree

In a direct Line from  
KING EGBERT.

Egbert King of England.

King Ethelwolph.

King Alfrid.

Edward the First, called Edward the Elder.

King Edgar.

King Ethelred.

Edmond the Second, called Edmond Ironside.

Edward called the Outlaw, a private person, though son and heir to the last King.

Edgar Atheling likewise never enjoyed the Crown.

Margaret the wife of Malcome King of Scotland.

Mashilda the wife of Henry the First, King of England.

Maud Empress of Germany, the wife of Geoffery Plantagenet Earl of Anjou.

Henry the Second.

King John.

Henry the Third.

Edward the First, alias the Fourth of that Name.

Edward the Second, alias the Fifth of that Name.

Edward the Third, alias the Sixth of that Name.

Lyonel Duke of Clarence, Third Son dyed in the life time of his Father, but his issue were afterwards true heirs to the Crown.

Philippa

## The King's Pedigree from King Egbert.

Philippa his only Daughter and Heir, the wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

Roger Mortimer Earl of March.

Anne his Daughter and mediate heir, the wife of Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge.

Richard Plantagenet Duke of York.

Edward the Fourth, alias the Seventh of that Name.

Elizabeth his eldest Daughter and Co-heir, the wife of Henry ap Thomas ap Theodore, called Henry the Seventh King of England.

Margaret their eldest Daughter, the wife of James Stuart, called James the Fourth King of Scotland; the issue of which Margaret were and are now true Heirs to the Crown.

James the Fifth King of Scotland.

Mary Queen of Scots, the wife of Henry Stuart called Lord Darneley.

James King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.


King Charles the First.

King Charles the Second, now Reigning.

King James the second now Reigning.

A  
CATALOGUE  
OF THE  
NOBILITY,  
Archbishops, Bishops, Judges, and Barons  
OF  
ENGLAND.

DUKES.

6.  HE most High, Potent, and Noble Prince *James Stuart*, Duke of *Tork* and *Albany*, and Earl of *Ulster*, Knight of the Garter, the Kings only Brother survivant, and Privy Counsellor, created Duke by his Father King *Charles* the first, *Jan. 27. 1643. 18 Car. 1.*
5. The most High, Potent, and Noble Prince *Rupert*, Duke of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Holderness*, Knight of the Garter, and Privy Counsellor, Nephew to the late King *Charles* the first, and only Brother survivant unto *Charles Gustavus* Count Palatine of the *Ryne*, created Duke by his Uncle King *Charles* the first, *Jan. 24. 1643. 18 Car. 1.*
1. The most High, Potent, and Noble Prince *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Arundel*, *Surry*, and *Norfolk*, Baron *Howard*, *Fitz Allen*, *Maitravers*, *Mawbray*, *Seagrave*, *Bruse* and *Clan*; the Earldom of *Arundel* belongs to whomsoever is seized in fee of the Castle of *Arundel*: Baron *Fohn Howard* his Ancestor created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard* the third, *July 4. 1483. Ric. 3.*
2. *William Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, Marquis and Earl of *Hartford*, Vicount *Beauchampe* and Baron *Seamour*: Earl *Edward* of *Hartford* his Ancestor created by King *Edward*, *Feb. 17. 1546. 1 Edw.*
3. *George Villiers* Duke, Marquis and Earl of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Conventry*, Vicount *Villiers*, and Baron of *Whaddon*, and Knight of the Garter, and Privy Counsellor: Marquis *George* of *Buckingham* his Father created Duke by King *James*: *21 Jac.*
4. *Charles Stuart* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Earl of *March* and *Lichfield*, Baron of *Leighton*, *Brombold*, *Stuart* of *Newbry*, *Darnly*, *Mertoun* and *St. Andrews*, and Knight of the Garter: Duke *James* of *Lenox* his Uncle created Duke of *Richmond* by the late King *Charles* the first, *17 Car. 1.*
7. *George Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchampe*, and *Teyes*, and Knight of the Garter, Lord General of all the Kings Land Forces, and Privy Counsellor: Created Duke *July 7. 1660. by King Charles* the second.

(b)

8. *James*

## A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

8. *James Scot* Duke of *Munmouth*, Earl of *Doncaster*, and Baron of *Kendal*, and Knight of the Garter: Created Duke by King *Charles* the second in 1663.

Dukes in all 8.

The Kings Son, Brother, Uncle, and Nephew have precedence of all other Dukes, which privilege ends with them and descends not to their posterity: wherefore the first Duke of *England*, according to Antiquity, is the Duke of *Norfolk*.

## M A R Q U I S ' S .

1. **T**He most Noble and Potent Prince *John Pawlet*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Baron *St. John of Basing*, whose Fathers great Grandfather Earl *William* of *Wiltshire*, was by King *Edward* 1551. created Marquis of *Winchester*, 5 *Edw.*
2. *Edward Somerset*, Marquis and Earl of *Worcester*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, Lord *Herbert* of *Chepstow*, *Ragland* and *Gower*: Earl *Henry* of *Worcester* created Marquis by King *Charles* the first. 18 *Car.* 1.
3. *William Cavendish*, Earl and Marquis of *Newcastle*, Vicount *Mansfield*, Baron *Ogle*, *Bertram*, and *Bolsover*, and Knight of the Garter, created Marquis Octob. 27. 1643. by King *Charles* the first, 1642.
4. *Henry Peirrepoint* Marquis *Dorchester*, Earl of *Kingstone*, Vicount *Newarke*, and Baron *Peirrepoint* of *Holmes-Peirrepoint*; created Marquis March 25. 1645. 20 *Car.* 1.

The title of *Noble and Potent Prince* is given to Marquises in the Stals of Knights of the Garter at *Windfor*: and the other Titles given to the other Degrees of the Nobility, are allowed to them in the Stals of Knights of the Garter at *Windfor*.

## E A R L S .

1. **T**He most Noble and Potent *Ambery de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Baron *Bulbeck*, *Sandford* and *Badlesmere*, and Knight of the Garter; whose Ancestor *Ambery* was created Earl by *H.* 2.
2. *Algernon Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, Baron *Percy*, *Lacy*, *Poyning*, *Fitz-Pain*, and *Bryan*, Knight of the Garter and of the Bath; whose Ancestor *Henry* Baron *Percy* of *Alnwick* was at the Coronation of *Richard* 2. 1377. created Earl of *Northumberland*.
3. *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Baron *Talbot*, *Strange* of *Blackmere*, *Gifford* of *Brimfield*, *Furnewal*, *Verdon* and *Lovetoft*; whose Ancestor *John* Baron *Talbot* was created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, 20 *Hen.* 6.
4. *Anthony Gray* Earl of *Kent*, Lord *Gray*, *Hastings*, and *Valence*; whose Ancestor *Edward Gray* Baron of *Ruchin* was created Earl by King *Edward* in the year 1465.
5. *Charles Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Stanley*, *Strange* of *Knocking* and *Mohan*; whose Ancestor *Thomas* Baron *Stanley* was created Earl 1 *Hen.* 7. 1485.
6. *John Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, Lord *Rosse* of *Hamlake*, *Trumbut* and *Belvoyr*; whose Ancestor *Thomas Manners* Baron *Rosse* of *Hamlake*, was created Earl 17 *Hen.* 8. 1526.
7. *Theophilus Hastings* Earl of *Huntingdon*, Lord *Hastings*, *Hungerford*, *Molins* and *Mocles*; whose Ancestor *George* Baron *Hastings*, was created Earl 21 *Henry* 8. 1530.
8. *Thomas Wriothesley* Earl of *Souhampton*; Lord *Wriothesley* of *Titchfield*, whose Great Grandfather Baron *Thomas Wriothesley* of *Titchfield*, was created Earl Feb. 17. 1546. 1 *Edw.*
9. *William Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, Lord *Russel* of *Tavestock*, and Lord *Russel* of *Thornhaugh*, and Knight of the Bath; whose Grand-fathers Great Grandfather *John* Baron *Russel* of *Tavestock*, was created Earl 1551. 5 *Edw.*

10 *Phillip*

## A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

10. *Philip Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, *Rosse* of *Kendal*, *Marmion*, *St. Quintain*, *Fitz-bugh*, and *Shwland*, whose Great-Grand Father *William* Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe* was created Earl of *Pembroke* 1551. 5 *Edw.*
11. *Theophilus Fines*, otherwise *Tankerville*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Baron *Clinton*, and Knight of the Bath, whose Great-Grand-Father *Edward* Baron *Clinton* was created Earl May 4. 1572. 14 *Eliz.*
12. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, whose Father was created Earl 1599. 41 *Eliz.*
13. *James Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, whose Grand-Father *Thomas* Baron *Howard* of *Walden* was created Earl in July 1603. 1 *Fac.*
14. *Richard Sackville* Earl of *Dorset*, and Lord *Buckhurst*, whose Great-Grand-Father *Thomas* Baron of *Buckhurst* was created Earl in 1605. 3 *Fac.*
15. *William Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Vicount *Cranborne*, Baron *Cecil* of *Essendon*, Knight of the Garter and of the Bath, whose Father *Robert* Vicount *Cranborne* was created Earl 4 May 1605. 3 *Fac.*
16. *John Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*, and Lord *Burleigh*, whose Great-Grand-Father *Thomas* Baron of *Burleigh* was created Earl 4 May 1605. 3 *Fac.*
17. *John Egerton* Earl of *Bridgewater*, Vicount *Brackley*, and Lord *Elsemere*, whose Father *John* Vicount *Brackley* was created Earl 17 May 1617. 15 *Fac.*
18. *Robert Sidney* Earl of *Leicester*, Vicount *Lisle*, and Baron *Sidney* of *Penhurst*, whose Father *Robert* Vicount *Lisle* was created Earl August 2. 1618. 16 *Fac.*
19. *James Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, and Lord *Compton* of *Compton*, whose Grand-Father *William* Baron *Compton* was created Earl in 1618. 16 *Fac.*
20. *Charles Rich* Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Rich* of *Leecze*, whose Grand-Father *Robert* Baron *Rich* was created Earl in 1618. 16 *Fac.*
21. *William Cavendish* Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*, whose Grand-Father *William* Baron *Cavendish* of *Hardwick* was created Earl in Aug. 1618. 16 *Fac.*
- James Hay* Earl of *Carlile*, Vicount *Doncaster*, and Baron *Hay* of *Saughy*, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father *James* Vicount *Doncaster*, was created Earl Septemb. 13. 1622. 20 *Fac.* which *James* the second Earl of *Carlile* dyed in 1660. without issue Male, whereupon all his Titles were extinct.
22. *Basil Fielding* Earl of *Denbigh*, Vicount *Fielding*, and Baron of *Nwenham-Padox*, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father *William* Vicount *Fielding* was created Earl by King *James*, 20 *Fac.* 1622.
23. *George Digby* Earl of *Bristol*, and Lord *Digby* of *Shirburne*, whose Father *John* Baron *Digby* was created Earl Septemb. 15. 1622. 20 *Fac.*
24. *Lionel Cranfield* Earl of *Middlesex*, and Lord *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*, whose Father *Lionel* Baron *Cranfield* was so created in 1622. 20 *Fac.*
- Charles Villiers* Earl of *Anglesey*, and Baron of *Davenry*, he dyed in 1660. without issue male, *Christopher* his Father was so created, 21 *Fac.* 1623.
25. *Robert Rich* Earl of *Holland*, and Baron *Kensington* of *Kensington*, whose Father *Henry* Baron *Kensington* was created Earl 1624. 22 *Fac.*
26. *John Holles* Earl of *Clare*, and Baron *Haughion* of *Haughion*; *John* Baron *Haughion* of *Haughion* and Knight his Father was so created, Nov. 2. 1624. 22 *Fac.*
27. *Oliver St. John* Earl of *Buckingham*, and Lord *St. John* of *Blesse*, whose Grand-Father *Oliver* Baron *St. John* of *Blesse*, was so created, 1624. 22 *Fac.*
28. *Mildmay Fane* Earl of *Westmerland*, Lord *de Spencer* and *Burgwash*, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father *Francis Fane* Knight of the Bath, was created Earl in 1624. 22 *Fac.*
29. *Edward Mountague* Earl of *Manchester*, Vicount *Mandaville*, and Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father *Henry* Vicount *Mandaville* was created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1. some dayes before the Coronation.
30. *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Barkshire*, Vicount *Andover*, Baron *Howard* of *Charleton*, and Knight of the Garter, created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1. at the same time.
31. *Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Cleveland*, and Lord *Wentworth* of *Nettlestead*, created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1. at the same time.

( b 2 )

32 *John*

## A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

32. *John Sheffeld* Earl of *Mulgrave*, and Lord *Sheffeld* of *Butterwick*; whose great Grand-father *Edmund* Baron *Sheffeld* of *Butterwick* was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1. at the same time.
- Henry Cary* Earl of *Munmouth*, and Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, dyed without issue male in 1661. *Extinct*: *Robert* his Father Baron *Cary* of *Leppington* was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1. at the same time.
33. *James Ley* Earl of *Marleburgh*, and Lord *Ley* of *Ley*; whose Grandfather *James* Baron *Ley* of *Ley*, was created Earl at the same time.
34. *Nicholas Knowls* Earl of *Banbury*, Vicount *Wallingford*, and Lord *Knowls* of *Greys*; whose Father *William* Vicount *Wallingford* was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1.
35. *Thomas Savage* Earl of *Rivers*, Vicount *Colchester* and *Rock-Savage*, and Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*; whose Grand-mothers Father *Thomas Darcy* Vicount *Colchester*, was created Earl in 1626. 2 Car. 1.
36. *Mountague Bartu* Earl of *Lyndsey*, Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; whose Father *Robert* Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, was created Earl in 1626. 2 Car. 1.
37. *Henry Carey* Earl of *Dover*, Vicount *Rochford*, and Lord *Hunsden*, created Earl in 1627. 3 Car. 1.
38. *Henry Mordant* Earl of *Peterburgh*, and Lord *Mordant* of *Turvey*; whose Father *John* Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey* was created Earl 3 Car. 1.
39. *Henry Grey* Earl of *Stanford*, and Lord *Grey* of *Greoby*, created Earl in 1627. 3 Car. 1.
40. *Heneage Finch* Earl of *Winchelsea*, Vicount *Maidstone*, Baron *Fitz-herbert* of *Estwell*; whose Grand-mother *Elizabeth Heneage Finch* Vicountess *Maidstone*, was created Countess in 1628. 4 Car. 1.
41. *Charles Dormere* Earl of *Carnarvon*, Vicount *Ascot*, Lord *Dormere* of *Wing*, and Baronet; whose Father Baron *Robert Dormere* of *Wing* was created Earl and Vicount, 4 Car. 1.
42. *Mountjoy Blunt* Earl of *Newport*, Lord *Mountjoy* of *Thurveston*, and Lord *Mountjoy* of *Mountjoy's-Fort* in *Ireland*, created Earl 4 Car. 1.
43. *Philip Stanhope* Earl of *Chesterfield*, and Lord *Stanhope* of *Shelford*; whose Grandfather Baron *Philip Stanhope* of *Shelford*, was created Earl 4 Car. 1.
44. *John Tufston* Earl of *Thanet*, and Lord *Tufston* of *Tufston*; whose Father Baron *Nicholas Tufston* of *Tufston*, was created Earl 4 Car. 1.
- Ulrick Burgh* Earl of *St. Alban's*, Vicount *Tunbridge*, and Baron of *Somerhill*, Marquis and Earl of *Clanrickard*, Vicount *Galloway*, and Baron of *Dunkelly*, and *Imaney* in *Ireland*, he died *Octob.* 1657. without issue male. *Extinct*. whose Father *Richard* Vicount *Tunbridge* and Earl of *Clanrickard* in *Ireland* was created Earl of *St Alban's* 4 Car. 1.
45. *Charles Weston* Earl of *Portland*, and Lord *Weston* of *Neyland*; whose Grandfather *Richard* Baron *Weston* was created Earl 8 Car. 1.
46. *William Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford*, Vicount *Wentworth*, Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouse-Newmarch* of *Wesley* and *Raby*, Barronet and Knight; whose Father *Thomas* Vicount *Wentworth* was created Earl in 1639. 15 Car. 1.
47. *Robert Spencer* Earl of *Sunderland*, and Lord *Spencer* of *Warrmlington*; whose Father *Henry* Baron *Spencer* of *Wentworth* was created Earl *June* 8. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
48. *James Savill* Earl of *Suffex*, and Lord *Savill* of *Pontefract*, and Vicount *Savill* in *Ireland*; whose Father *Thomas* Baron *Savill* of *Pontefract*, was created Earl Car. 1.
- Patrick Ruthen* Earl of *Branchford* and *Forth*, and Lord *Ruthen* of *Etrick* in *Scotland*. *Extinct*. created Earl Car. 1.
- Francis Leigh* Earl of *Chichester*, Baron *Dunsmore*, and Baronet: *Extinct*. created Earl 19 Car. 1.
49. *Charles Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, Lord *Goring* of *Hurst Peirrepoint*, whose Father *George* Baron *Goring* of *Hurst Peirrepoint*, was created Earl 21 Car. 1.

50 *Nicholas*

## A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

50. *Nicholas Leake* Earl of *Scarfedale*, Lord *Daincourt*, and Baronet; whose Father *Francis* Baron *Daincourt* was created Earl *Nov.* 15. 1645. 21. Car. 1.
51. *Henry Wilmot* Earl of *Rochester*, Baron *Wilmot* of *Adderbury* and Vicount *Wilmot* of *Athlone* in *Ireland*, created Earl Car. 2.
52. *Henry Germaine* Earl of *St. Albons* and Baron *Germaine* of *St. Edmunds-bury*, created Earl Car. 2.
53. *Edward Mountague* Earl of *Sandwich*, Vicount *Mountague* of *Hinchinbrook*, Baron *Mountague* and *Mountague* of *St. Neotes*, Knight and Knight of the Garter, created Earl *July* 12. 1660. Car. 2.
54. *Elizabeth* Countess of *Gilford* in *England*, and Vicountess of *Kynelmaky* in *Ireland*, created Countess during her life, *July* 14. 1660. Car. 2.
55. *James Butler* Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony*, Knight and Knight of the Garter, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *Ormond*, Earl of *Offery*, Vicount *Thurles*, and Baron of *Anglo* in *Ireland*, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; created Earl of *Brecknock* *July* 20. 1660. Car. 2.
56. *Edward Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon*, Vicount *Cornbury*, and Baron *Hyde* of *Hindon*, Knight and Lord Chancellor of *England*, created Earl on *Saturday April* 20. 1661. three dayes before the Coronation of the King.
57. *Arthur Capel* Earl of *Essex*, Vicount *Maldon*, and Baron *Capel* of *Hadham*; created Earl the same day.
58. *Thomas Brudnel* Earl of *Cardegan*, Baron *Brudnel* of *Stouton*, Baronet and Knight, created Earl the same day.
59. *Arthur Annesly* Earl of *Anglesey*, and Baron *Annesly* of *Newport Pannel* in *England*, Vicount *Valentia*, and Baron *Mount-Norris* of *Mount-Norris*, and Baronet in *Ireland*, created Earl the same day.
60. *John Greenville* Earl of *Bath*, Vicount *Greenville* of *Lansdown*, Baron *Greenville* of *Kilshampton* and *Beddiford*, created Earl the same day.
61. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Carlisle*, Vicount *Howard* of *Morpeth* and Baron *Dacres* of *Gililand*, created Earl the same day.

## V I C O U N T S.

1. The most Noble and Potent *Leicester Deworeux* Vicount *Hereford*.
2. *Francis Browne* Vicount *Montracuse*: 1 Q. Mary.
3. *Robert Villiers* Vicount *Purbeck*, and Baron of *Stook-Poges*; whose Father *John* was created Vicount 17 Jac.
4. *James Fyennes* Vicount and Baron *Say* and *Seale*; whose Father Baron *William Say* and *Seale* was created Vicount 22 Jac.
5. *Edward Conway*, Vicount *Conway* and *Kilnslaph* in *Ireland*, and Lord *Conway* of *Ragley*, 3 Car. 1.
6. *Baptist Noel* Vicount *Camden*, Baron *Noel* of *Reddington* and *Elmington*, 4 Car. 1.
7. *William Howard* Vicount and Baron of *Stafford*, 16 Car. 1. 1640.
8. *Thomas Bellasis* Vicount *Falconbridge* of *Henknowle*, Baron *Falconbridge* of *Taren* and Baronet, whose Grandfather Baron *Thomas Falconbridge* was created Vicount.
9. *John Mordant* Vicount *Mordant* of *Aviland*.

Archbishops

Archbishops and Bishops.

- 1 **Gilbert Shelden** Archbishop of *Canterbury*, consecrated Bishop of *London* Octob. 28 1660. translated to *Canterbury* Aug. 31. 1663.
- 2 **Richard Sterne** Archbishop of *York*, consecrated Bishop of *Carlisle*, December 2. 1660. translated to *York* in 1664.
- 3 **Humphrey Hinchman** Bishop of *London*, consecrated Bishop of *Salisbury*, Octob. 28. 1660. translated to *London* in 1663.
- 4 **John Coxens** Bishop of *Durham*, consecrated Decemb. 2. 1660.
- 5 **George Morley** Bishop of *Winchester*, consecrated Bishop of *Worcester*, Octob. 28. 1660. translated to *Winchester* in 1662.
- 6 **William Pierce** Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, consecrated in 1632 the antientest Bishop of *England*, both for age and consecration.
- 7 **Matthew Wren** Bishop of *Ely*, consecrated Bishop of *Hereford* in 1634. translated to *Norwich* in 1645. and translated to *Ely* in 1638.
- 8 **Robert Skinner** Bishop of *Worcester*, consecrated Bishop of *Bristol* in 1636. translated to *Oxford* in 1640. then translated to *Worcester* in 1663.
- 9 **William Roberts** Bishop of *Bangor* consecrated in 1637.
- 10 **John Warner** Bishop of *Rocheſter* consecrated in the ſame year.
- 11 **Henry King** Bishop of *Chicheſter*, consecrated in 1641.
- 12 **George Griffith** Bishop of *St. Aſaph*, consecrated Octob. 28 1660.
- 13 **William Lincey** Bishop of *St. Davids*, consecrated Decemb. 2. 1660.
- 14 **Benjamin Laney** Bishop of *Lincoln*, consecrated Bishop of *Peterborough* the ſame time, translated to *Lincoln* in 1663.
- 15 **Hugh Floyd** Bishop of *Landſe*, consecrated the ſame time.
- 16 **Gilbert Ironſide** Bishop of *Bristol*, consecrated Jan. 13. 1660.
- 17 **Edward Reynolds** Bishop of *Norwich*, consecrated the ſame time.
- 18 **William Nichollſon** Bishop of *Gloceſter*, consecrated the ſame time.
- 19 **John Hacket** Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, consecrated in 1661.
- 20 **Herbert Croft** Bishop of *Hereford*, consecrated in the ſame year.
- 21 **George Hall** Bishop of *Cheſter*, consecrated in 1662.
- 22 **Seth Ward** Bishop of *Exeter*, consecrated in the ſame year.
- 23 **John Eyles** Bishop of *Salisbury*, consecrated Bishop of *Worceſter* in the ſame year, translated to *Salisbury* in 1663.
- 24 **Joſeph Herſhaw** Bishop of *Peterborough*, consecrated in 1663.
- 25 **William Paul** Bishop of *Oxford*, consecrated in the ſame year.
- 26 **Rainbow** Bishop of *Carlisle*, consecrated in 1664.

BARONS.

- 1 **The moſt Noble George Nevill** Baron of *Abergavenny*, created by King *Harold* the ſecond; whoſeever is ſeized of *Abergavenny* Caſtle, is Baron of *Abergavenny*.
- 2 **James Tuchet** Baron *Audley* of *Highley*, and Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in *Ireland*.
- 3 **Charles Weſt** Baron *Delaware*.
- 4 **George Barkley**, otherwiſe *Fitz-harding*, Baron *Barkley* of *Barkley*.
- 5 **Thomas Parker** Baron *Morley* and *Monnteagle*.
- 6 **Francis Leonard** Baron *Dacre*.
- 7 **Charles Longeville** Baron *Grey* of *Ruthen*, who dyed and left a Daughter heiress to the Title.
- 8 **Coxens Darcy** Baron *Darcy* and *Coniers*.
- 9 **Edward Sutton** Baron *Dudley*, which Title of *Baron Dudley* belongs to whomſoever is ſeized in fee of *Dudley* Caſtle, 20 Hen. 6.
- 10 **William Sturton** Baron *Sturton*, and Knight of the *Bath*, 30 May, 26 H. 6.
- 11 **William Sands** Baron *Sands* of the *Vine*, 15 Hen. 8.

12 **Edward**

- 12 **Edward Vaux** Baron of *Haroden*, Hen. 8.
- 13 **Thomas Windzor**, alias *Hickman*, Baron *Windzor* of *Bradenham*, 21 Hen. 8.
- 14 **Wingfield Crommel** Baron *Crommel* of *Oakhams* and *Essex*, Vicount *Lecaille*, and Earl of *Arglaſs* in *Ireland*, whoſe Anceſtor was Earl of *Essex* in *England*, created Baron 31 Hen. 8.
- 15 **George Eure** Baron *Eure*, 35 Hen. 8.
- 16 **Philip Wharton** Baron *Wharton* of *Wharton*, the ſame year.
- 17 **Francis Willoughby** Baron *Willoughby* of *Parham*.
- 18 **William Paget** Baron *Paget* of *Beaufert*, and Knight of the *Bath*.
- 19 **Dudley North** Baron *North* of *Carthage*, 1 Mary.
- 20 **William Bruges** Baron *Chandois* of *Sndley*, the ſame year.
- 21 **John Cary** Baron *Cary*, and Knight of the *Bath*; eldeſt Son to *Henry* Earl of *Dover*, whoſe Anceſtor was created Baron, Eliz.
- 22 **James Barſue** Baron *Norris* of *Ruot*, Eliz.
- 23 **William Petre** Baron *Petre* of *Writtle*, 13 May 1603. 1 Jac.
- 24 **Dutton Gerrard** Baron *Gerrard* of *Gerrards-Bromley*, 21 July in the ſame year.
- 25 **Charles Stanhope** Baron *Stanhope* of *Harrington*, 4 May 1605. 3 Jac.
- 26 **Henry Arundel** Baron *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and an Earl of the *Empire*, at the ſame time.
- 27 **Chriſtopher Roper** Baron *Tenham* of *Tenham*, 9 July 1616. 14 Jac.
- 28 **Robert Greville** Baron *Brook* of *Beauchamp's Court*, 29 Jan. 1610. 18 Jac.
- 29 **Edward Mountague** Baron *Mountague* of *Boughton*, 29 June 1621. 19 Jac.
- 30 **Charles Howard** Baron *Howard* and Knight of the *Bath*, eldeſt Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Berkſhire*, created Baron, Jac.
- 31 **William Grey** Baron *Grey* of *Warke*, and Baronet. 11 Feb. 1623. 21 Jac.
- 32 **John Roberts** Baron *Roberts* of *Truro* and Baronet: Sir *Richard* his Father Knight and Baronet, created Baron Jan. 26. 1624. 22 Jac.
- 33 **William Craven** Baron *Craven* of *Hampſtead-Marſhal* and Knight, 18 Mar. 1626. 2 Car. 1.
- 34 **John Lovelace** Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley*, Sir *Richard* his Father Knight, created Baron 31 May 1627. 3 Car. 1.
- 35 **John Pawlet** Baron *Pawlet* of *Hinton-- St. George* and Knight: *John* his Father afterwards Knighted, was created Baron 23 June 1627. 3 Car. 1.
- 36 **William Maynard** Baron *Maynard* of *Eſtains* and Baron et, and Baron *Maynard* of *Wicklow* in *Ireland*, 14 Mar. 1627. 3 Car. 1.
- 37 **Thomas Coventry** Baron *Coventry* of *Alſborough*: Sir *Thomas Coventry* Knight, his Father was ſo created 10 April 1628. 4 Car. 1.
- 38 **Warwick Mohun**, Baron *Mohun* of *Oakhampton*, and Baronet, *John* his Father, in the life time of Sir *Reginald* his Father, Baronet, was created Baron *Mohun* of *Oakhampton* 15 April 1628. 4 Car. 1.
- 39 **Edward Howard** Baron *Howard* of *Eſcrick* and Knight of the *Bath*, 19 April 1628. 4 Car. 1.
- 40 **John Botteler** Baron *Botteler* of *Bramſfield*, Baronet and Knight, 10 July 1628. 4 Car. 1.
- 41 **William Herbert** Baron *Powys* of *Powys*, and Knight of the *Bath*, 2 April 1629. 5 Car. 1.
- 42 **Edward Herbert** Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and Baron *Herbert* of *Caſtle-Iſland* in *Ireland*: 7 May 1629. 5 Car. 1. created Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury*.
- John *Finch* Baron *Finch* of *Fordwich* and Knight, created 7 April 1640. 16 Car. 1. Extinct in 1660.
- 43 **Francis Seymour** Baron *Seymour* of *Trombridge*, and Knight, 19 Feb. 1640. 16 Car. 1.
- 44 **Thomas Bruce**, Baron *Bruce* of *Worleſton*, and Earl of *Engin* in *Scotland*, created Baron July 30. 1641. 17 Car. 1.
- 45 **Francis Newport** Baron *Newport* of *High-Areal*, 14 Octob. 1642. 18 Car. 1. his Father Sir *Richard*, Knight, then created.
- John *Craven* Baron *Craven* of *Ryton*, 21 Mar. 1642. 18 Car. 1. Extinct.

46 **Richard**

## A Catalogue of the Nobility of England.

46. *Richard Vaughan* Baron *Vaughan* of *Emlin*, and Earl of *Carbury* in *Ireland*, created Baron *Off.* 23. 1644. 19 Car. 1.
47. *Charles Smith* Baron *Carington* of *Warton*, and Knight, Vicount *Carington* of *Barrefores* in *Ireland*.  
*Henry Percy* Baron *Percy* of *Anwick*, *Extinct.* which *Henry* Baron *Percy* was Son and Brother unto *Henry* and *Algernoon* Earls of *Northumberland*, June 28. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
48. *William Widdington* Baron *Widdington* of *Blankney*.
49. *Thomas Leigh* Baron *Leigh* of *Stonely*, and Baronet, July 1. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
50. *Christopher Hatton* Baron *Hatton* of *Kirke*, and Knight of the *Bath*, July 29. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
- Ralph Hepton* Baron *Hepton* of *Stratton*, and Knight of the *Bath*: *Extinct.* Septem. 4. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
51. *Henry Hastings* Baron *Loughborough* of *Loughborough*, Octob. 23. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
52. *Richard Biron* Baron *Biron* of *Rochdale*, and Knight: Sir *John Biron* Knight of the *Bath*, his Brother, was created Baron, *Off.* 24. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
53. *Humble Ward* Baron *Ward* of *Berningham*, and Knight, March 23. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
54. *Richard Boyle* Baron *Clifford* of *Lansborough*, and Earl of *Cork* in *Ireland*, created Baron, Nov. 4. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
55. *Thomas Culpepper* Baron *Culpepper* of *Thoresway*.
56. *Astley* Baron *Astley* of *Reading*, Nov. 4. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
- John Brook* Baron *Cobham*, and Knight: *Extinct.*
57. *John Lucas* Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfield*, and Knight, Jan. 3. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
58. *John Bellasis* Baron *Bellasis* of *Worlabys*, Jan. 27. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
59. *Edward Watson* Baron *Rockingham*, and Baronet: Sir *Lewis* his Father Knight and Baronet, was created Baron.
60. *John Reed* Baron *Reed*: A Dutchman. March 24. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
- Robert Cholmundele* Baron *Cholmundele* of *Witch-Malbank*, and Earl of *Lemster*, and Vicount *Cholmundele* of *Kellis* in *Ireland*, created Baron Septemb. 1. 1645. 21 Car. 1. *Extinct.*
61. *Charles Gerrard* Baron *Gerrard* of *Brandon*.
62. *Robert Sutton* Baron *Lexington* of *Aram*.
63. *Charles Kirkhoven* Baron *Wotton* of *Wotton*, Car. 2.
64. *Marmaduke Langdale* Baron *Langdale* of *Holme*, and Knight.
65. *Charles Crofts* Baron *Crofts*.
66. *John Barkley* Baron *Barkley*, and Knight.
67. *Denzell Holles* Baron *Holles* of *Ifeild*: Privy Counsellor to the King, and now Ambassador extraordinary in *France*; and Son and only Brother unto *John* and *John* Earls of *Clare*: created Baron on Saturday April 20. 1661. three dayes before the Kings Coronation.
68. *Charles Cornwallis* Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, Knight and Baronet, and Knight of the *Bath*: whose Father Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet, was created Baron the same day.
69. *George Booth* Baron *De-la-more* of *Dunham-Massey*, and Baronet, created Baron the same day.
70. *Horatio Townsend* Baron *Townsend* of *Lynne-Regis*, and Baronet, created Baron the same day.
71. *Anthony Ashley Cooper* Baron *Ashley* of *Winborne*, *St. Giles*, and Baronet, and Privy Counsellor to the King: created Baron the same day.
72. *John Crew* Baron *Crew* of *Stene*, created Baron the same day.
73. *Lucas* Baroness *Lucas* of *Wristle*, the wife of *Anthony Grey* Earl of *Kent*, and the only Daughter and Heir apparent of *John* Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfield*: created Baroness in or about April, 1663.

JUDGES.

## A Catalogue of the JUDGES of England.

**E**dward Hyde Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*.  
 Sir Robert Hyde Knight, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench.  
 Sir Harboile Grimston Baronet, Master of the Rolls in Chancery.  
 Sir Orlando Bridgeman Knight and Baronet, chief Justice of the Common Pleas.  
 Sir Matthew Hale Knight, chief Baron of the Exchequer.  
 Sir Thomas Twisden Knight,  
 Sir Wadham Wyndham Knight, } Justices of the Kings Bench.  
 Sir John Keeling Knight,  
 Sir Thomas Tirrell Knight, }  
 Sir Samuel Browne Knight, } Justices of the Common Pleas.  
 John Archer  
 Sir Edward Atkins Knight, }  
 Sir Christopher Turner Knight, } Barons of the Exchequer.  
 Rainsford,

## Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir William Morice Knight. Sir Henry Bennet Knight.

(c)

# A CATALOGUE OF THE BARONETS OF ENGLAND.

1. **SIR Nicholas Bacon** of Redgrave in Suffolk; 22 May 1511. 9 Jac. Primus Baronetorum Anglie.
2. **Sir Richard Molinæux** of Seston in Lancashire; Baronet and Knight; and Viscount Molinæux of Mariburgh in Ireland; created to the Dignity and Degree of a Baronet of England the same days.
3. **Sir Thomas Mansel** of Morgan in Glamorgan; Baronet and Knight: the same day.
4. **Sir George Shirley** of Staunton in Leicester: the same day. **Sir Charles**, **Sir Robert**.
5. **Sir John Stradling** of St. Donates in Glamorgan; Baronet and Knight: the same day.
6. **Sir Francis Leak** of Sutton in Derby, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*. Afterwards Earl of Scarfedale.
7. **Sir Thomas Pelham** of Langhton in Suffex: *ut supra*. **Sir John**.
8. **Sir Richard Houghton** of Houghton-Tower in Lancashire, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*. **Sir Gilbert**.
9. **Sir Henry Hobart** of Ipmood in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*. **Sir Miles**. **Sir John**.
10. **Sir George Booth** of Dunham-Massey in Cheshire, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*. **Sir George** afterwards Baron Delamere of Dunham-Massey.
11. **Sir John Peyton** of Isfelham in Cambridge, Baronet and Knight: *teste ut supra*.
12. **Sir Lyonel Tolmarch** of Helmingham in Suffolk: *ut supra*. **Sir Lyonel**.
13. **Sir Gerouse Clifton** of Clifton in Nottingham, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*.
14. **Sir Thomas Gerrard** of Brin in Lancaster, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*.
15. **Sir Walter Aston** of Tixhal in Stafford, Baronet and Knight: *ut supra*; and **Baron Aston** of Forfar in Scotland.
16. **Sir Philip Knevet** of Buckham in Suffolk: the same day.
17. **Sir John St. John** of Lediard Tergeze in Wilts, Baronet and Knight: the same day. **Sir John**, **Sir Walter**.
18. **Sir John Shelly** of Michelgrave in Suffex: the same day.
19. **Sir John Savage** of Rock-Savage in Chester, Baronet and Knight: June 29. in that year his Grand-son **John** Viscount Rock-Savage, was afterwards Earl of Rivers.
20. **Sir Francis Barrington** of Barrington-hall in Essex, Baronet and Knight. **Sir Thomas**, **Sir John**: *ut supra*.
21. **Sir Henry Berkeley** of Wyomondham in Leicester. *ut supra*.
22. **Sir William Wentworth** of Wentworth-Woodhouse in York: *ut supra*. **Sir Thomas** afterwards Earl of Straford.
23. **Sir Richard Musgrave** of Hertley-Castle in Westmerland, Baronet and Knight: *teste ut supra*.

24 Sir Edward

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

24. **Sir Edward Seymour** of Bury-Castle in Devon: *teste ut supra*.
25. **Sir Moyle Finch** of Eastwel in Kent, Baronet and Knight: *teste ut supra*. **Sir Thomas** afterwards Earl of Winchelsea.
26. **Sir Anthony Cope** of Hamsel in Oxford, Baronet and Knight: the same day.
27. **Sir Thomas Munson** of Carlton in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, the same day: **Sir John**.
28. **Sir George Grisley** of Draketon in Derby; the same day.
29. **Sir Paul Tracy** of Stanway in Glocester; the same day.
30. **Sir John Wentworth** of Cosfield in Essex, Baronet and Knight; the same day.
31. **Sir Henry Bellasis** of Newborough in York, Baronet and Knight, *teste ut supra*: **Sir Thomas**, afterwards Viscount Falconbridge of Henknole.
- Sir William Constable** of Flambrough in York, Extinct, the same day.
32. **Sir Thomas Leigh** of Stoneleigh, Baronet and Knight, the same day; and afterwards **Baron Leigh** of Stoneley.
33. **Sir Edward Noel** of Brook in Rutland, Baronet and Knight, the same day; **Sir Edward**, afterwards Viscount Camden.
34. **Sir Robert Coten** of Connington in Huntingdon, Baronet and Knight, the same day; **Sir Thomas**, **Sir John**.
35. **Sir Robert Cholmondeley** of Cholmondeley in Chester, afterwards Earl of Lemster in Ireland, *teste ut supra*: Extinct in 1659.
36. **Sir John Molinæux** of Tvershalt in Nottingham, the same day.
37. **Sir Francis Worsley** of Worsley in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
38. **Sir George Savil**, the elder, of Thorne-hill in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
39. **Sir William Knevet** of Mireaston in Derby, the same day.
40. **Sir Philip Woodhouse** of Wilber-hall in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
41. **Sir William Pope** of Wilcot in Oxford, Baronet and Knight; afterwards Earl of Downe in Ireland: the same day.
42. **Sir James Harrington** of Ridlington in Rutland, Baronet and Knight, the same day: **Sir Edward**, **Sir James**.
- Sir Henry Savile** of Mabeley in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day: Extinct.
43. **Sir Henry Willoughby** of Risley in Derby, the same day.
44. **Sir Lewis Tresham** of Rushton in Northampton, the same day.
45. **Sir Thomas Brudenel** of Dean in Northampton, afterwards Earl of Cardigan.
46. **Sir George St. Paul** of Snarsford in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
47. **Sir Philip Tirwhit** of Stainfield in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
48. **Sir Roger Dailson** of Loughton in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight.
49. **Sir Edward Car** of Sleford in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight: **Sir Robert**.
50. **Sir Edward Hussey** of Hemmington in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight.
51. **Sir Le-Strange Mordant** of Maffingham-parva in Norfolk.
52. **Sir Thomas Bendish** of Sideple-bamstead in Essex.
53. **Sir John Win** of Gwiddar in Carnarvon, Baronet and Knight.
54. **Sir William Throckmorton** of Tortworth in Glocester, Baronet and Knight.
55. **Sir Richard Worsley** of Appledorcomb in Southampton, Baronet and Knight: **Sir Henry**.
56. **Sir Richard Fleetwood** of Cakewish in Stafford.
57. **Sir William Spensir** of Yardington in Oxford: **Sir William**, **Sir Thomas**.
58. **Sir John Tuston** of Hothfield in Kent, Baronet and Knight; **Sir Nicholas**, afterwards Earl of Thanet.
59. **Sir Samuel Peyton** of Knowlton in Kent, Baronet and Knight: **Sir Thomas**.
- Sir Charles Morrison** of Castibury in Hertford, Baronet and Knight.
60. **Sir Henry Baker** of Siffinghurst in Kent, Baronet and Knight.
61. **Sir Roger Appleton** of Southamsted in Essex.
62. **Sir William Sidney** of Ailsford in Kent, Baronet and Knight; **Sir William**, **Sir Charles**.
63. **Sir William Twisden** of East-Peckham in Kent, Baronet and Knight: **Sir Roger**.
64. **Sir Edward Hales** of Woodchurch in Kent, Baronet and Knight.
65. **Sir William Monins** of Walwarther in Kent.
66. **Sir Thomas Mildmay** of Malsam in Essex.
67. **Sir William Maynard** of Enston-parva in Essex, Baronet and Knight, afterwards **Baron Maynard** of Estaines.
68. **Sir Henry Lee** of Quarrendon in Buckingham.
69. **Sir John Portman** of Orchard in Somerset, Baronet and Knight, Novemb. 25. 1612. 10. Jac. **Sir William**, **Sir William**.
70. **Sir Nicholas Sanderfon** of Saxby in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, afterward Viscount of Castletown in Ireland; *teste ut supra*.
71. **Sir Miles Sands** of Wimbleton, in the Isle of Ely, Baronet and Knight; the same day.
72. **Sir William Ghostwick** of Willington in Bedford; the same day.
73. **Sir Thomas Puckering** of Welfon in Hertford.
74. **Sir William Wray** of Glentworth in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight: **Sir John**.
75. **Sir William Alleffe** of Braxted-magna in Essex, Baronet and Knight.
76. **Sir Marmaduke Wivel** of Cusfable-Barton in York, Baronet and Knight.

(c 2)

77 Sir John

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 77 Sir John Peshall of Horley in Stafford: Sir John.  
 78 Sir Francis Eaglesfield of Wotton-Basset in Wilts.  
 79 Sir Thomas Ridgway of Torre in Devon, Baronet and Knight; afterward Earl of London Derry in Ireland.  
 80 Sir William Essex of Beveot in Berks: Sir Thomas.  
 81 Sir Edward Gorges of Langford in Wilts, Baronet and Knight; afterward Baron Gorges of Dunalk in Ireland.  
 82 Sir Edward D'Enghen of Castle-Bramwiche in Warwick.  
 83 Sir Reginald Mohun of Buckenock in Cornwall: John his Son in his Fathers life time was created Baron Mohun of Oakhampton.  
 84 Sir Harbottle Grimston of Bradfield in Essex, Baronet and Knight; Sir Harbottle.  
 85 Sir Thomas Holt of Aston juxta Birmingham in Warwick, Baronet and Knight.  
 86 Sir Robert Naper-Sandy, of Lewton-hoy in Bedford, Baronet and Knight; September 24. 1613. 11 Jac.  
 Sir Paul Bayning of Bently-parva in Essex, after Vicount Bayning; Extinct.  
 87 Sir Thomas Temple of Stow in Buckingham, Baronet and Knight; Sir Peter, Sir Richard.  
 88 Sir Thomas Penstone of Leigh in Suffolk.  
 89 Sir Thomas Blackston of Blackston in Durham.  
 90 Sir Robert Dormer of Wing, Baronet and Knight; afterward Baron Dormer of Wing: created Baronet June 10. 1613. 13 Jac. His Son the Lord Dormer afterwards Earl of Carnarvon.  
 91 Sir Rowland Egerton of Egerton in Chester, Baronet and Knight: April 5. 1617. 15 Jac.  
 92 Sir Roger Townshend of Rainham in Norfolk; Sir Roger, Sir Horace: afterwards Baron Townshend of Lynne-Regis.  
 93 Sir Simon Clarke of Salford in Warwick.  
 94 Sir Edward Fitton of Housworth in Chester.  
 95 Sir Richard Lucy of Broxborn in Hertford, Baronet and Knight.  
 96 Sir Matthew Bounton of Bramston in York, Baronet and Knight.  
 97 Sir Thomas Littleton of Frankley in Worcester.  
 Sir Francis Leigh of Newnham in Warwick, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Earl of Chichester: Extinct.  
 98 Sir Thomas Burder of Bramcot in Warwick.  
 99 Sir George Morton of St. Andrew's Milborne in Dorset; March 1. 1618. 16 Jac. Sir John.  
 Sir William Harvey Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron Harvey: Extinct.  
 100 Sir Thomas Maseworth of Normanton in Rutland.  
 101 Sir William Gray Baronet and Knight, afterward Baron Grey of Wark.  
 102 Sir William Villiers of Brookby in Leicestershire Sir George.  
 103 Sir James Ley of Westbury in Wilts, Baronet and Knight, afterward Earl of Marlborough.  
 104 Sir William Hicks of Barreston in Gloucester.  
 105 Sir Thomas Beaumont of Coleorton in Leicestershire, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Vicount Beaumont of Swords in Ireland.  
 106 Sir Henry Salisbury of Leweny in Denbigh.  
 107 Sir Erasmus Driden of Canon-Ashby in Northampton: Sir John.  
 108 Sir William Armine Baronet and Knight: Sir William, Sir Michael.  
 109 Sir William Bamburgh of Hanson in York, Baronet and Knight.  
 110 Sir Edward Hartop of Freathby in Leicestershire.  
 111 Sir John Mill of Commons-Court in Suffolk.  
 112 Sir Francis Radcliff of Darentwater in Cumberland.  
 113 Sir David Ffoliott of Inglesby in York, Baronet and Knight: Sir David.  
 114 Sir Thomas Phillips of Barrington in Somerset.  
 115 Sir Claudius Foster of Bambrongh-Castle in Northumberland, Baronet and Knight: March 7. 1609. 17 Jac.  
 116 Sir Anthony Chester of Chickley in Buckingham.  
 117 Sir Samuel Trion of Lair-Marney in Essex, Baronet and Knight.  
 118 Sir Adam Newton of Charlton in Kent.  
 119 Sir John Bottiler of Hatfield-wood-hell in Hertford, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Baron Bottiler.  
 120 Sir Gilbert Gerrard of Harrow-super-montem in Middlesex.  
 121 Sir Humphrey Lee of Langley in Salop.  
 122 Sir Richard Berney of Park-hall in Redham in Norfolk.  
 123 Sir Humphrey Foster of Aldermaston in Berks.  
 Sir Thomas Bigs of Lenchwick in Worcester: Extinct.  
 124 Sir Henry Bellingham of Helsington in Westmerland.  
 125 Sir Will. Telverton of Rongham in Norfolk.  
 126 Sir John Scudamore of Home-lacy in Hereford, after Vicount Scudamore of Sligo in Ireland.  
 127 Sir Thomas Gore of Stitname in York, Baronet and Knight.  
 128 Sir John Packington of Alesbury in Buckingham.  
 129 Sir Ralph Ashton of Lever in Lancashire.

Sir Baptist

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- Sir Baptist Hicks of Camlden in Gloucester, Baronet and Knight, and afterwards Vicount Camlden: Extinct.  
 130 Sir Thomas Roberts of Glostenbury in Kent, Baronet and Knight.  
 131 Sir John Hammer of Hammer in Flint.  
 132 Sir Edward Osborn of Kerton in York: Sir Thomas.  
 133 Sir Henry Felton of Plaiford in Suffolk.  
 Sir William Chaloner of Gidderough in York: Extinct.  
 134 Sir Edward Fryer of Water-Eaton in Oxford.  
 135 Sir Thomas Bishop of Parham in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight: Sir Edward.  
 136 Sir Francis Vincent of Stocklaw-Barton in Surrey, Baronet and Knight.  
 Sir Henry Clare of Ormsby in Norfolk: Extinct.  
 137 Sir Benjamin Titchbourn of Titchbourn in Southampton, Baronet and Knight.  
 138 Sir Richard Wilbraham of Woodhey in Chester Baronet and Knight.  
 139 Sir Thomas Delves of Duddington in Chester, Baronet and Knight.  
 140 Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham-Castle in Northampton, Baronet and Knight, and afterward Baron Rockingham.  
 141 Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Kent, Baronet and Knight: Sir Thomas, Sir Henry.  
 142 Sir Richard Roberts of Truro in Cornwall, Baronet and Knight, and after Baron Roberts of Truro.  
 143 Sir John Rivers of Chafford in Kent: Sir John, Sir Thomas, Sir John.  
 144 Sir Henry Jernehan of Coffey in Norfolk.  
 145 Sir Thomas Darnel of Heiling in Lincoln.  
 146 Sir Isaac Stidley of Great-Chartre in Kent, Baronet and Knight.  
 147 Sir Robert Brown of Walcot in Northampton: Sir Thomas, Sir Robert.  
 148 Sir John Haret of Headley-hall in York.  
 149 Sir Nicholas Hide of Albury in Hertford, Baronet and Knight.  
 150 Sir John Phillips of Pitton in Pembroke.  
 151 Sir John Stepney of Pentegast in Pembroke, Baronet and Knight.  
 152 Sir Baldwin Wake of Clevedon in Somerset.  
 153 Sir William Masham of High-laver in Essex: Sir William.  
 154 Sir John Colebrand of Botham in Suffolk.  
 155 Sir John Hotham of Scarborough in York, Baronet and Knight: Sir John.  
 156 Sir Francis Mansel of Muddlescote in Caernarvon.  
 157 Sir Edward Powel of Penkelly in Hereford.  
 158 Sir John Garret of Lamer in Hereford, Baronet and Knight: Sir John.  
 159 Sir Richard Gravener of Eaton in Chester, Baronet and Knight.  
 160 Sir Henry Mody of Garsdon in Wilts, Baronet and Knight.  
 161 Sir John Baker of Grimsdon-hall in Trinity in Suffolk.  
 162 Sir William Button of Alcon in Wilts, Baronet and Knight: Sir William.  
 163 Sir John Gage of Eurl in Suffolk: Sir Thomas.  
 164 Sir William Goring.  
 165 Sir Peter Courten of Aldington in Worcester.  
 166 Sir Richard Norton of Rotherfeld in Southampton, Baronet and Knight.  
 167 Sir John Levensthorpe of Shingle-hall in Hertford, Baronet and Knight.  
 168 Sir Capel Bodel of Hamerton in Huntingdon.  
 169 Sir John Darel of West-woodkey in Berks.  
 170 Sir William Williams of Veynold in Caernarvon.  
 171 Sir Francis Ashby of Hartfield in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight.  
 Sir Anthony Ashley of St. Giles-Winborn in Dorset, Baronet and Knight: Extinct.  
 172 Sir John Couper of Rockport in Southampton, Baronet, and afterwards Knighted: Sir Anthony Ashley: afterwards Baron Ashley of Wimborne-St. Giles, alias St. Giles-Wimborne.  
 173 Sir Edmund Prideaux of Netherton in Devon: Sir Peter.  
 174 Sir Thomas Hasterig of Nofely in Leicestershire, Baronet and Knight: Sir Arthur.  
 175 Sir Thomas Burton of Seckerstone in Leicestershire, Baronet and Knight.  
 176 Sir Francis Foliamb of Walton in Derby.  
 177 Sir Edward Tate of Buckland in Berks.  
 178 Sir George Chudley of Ashton in Devon.  
 179 Sir William Meredith of Stanly in Denbigh.  
 180 Sir Francis Drake of Buckland in Devon.  
 181 Sir Hugh Middleton of Rathin in Denbigh.  
 182 Sir Gifford Thornhurst of Ague-Court in Kent.  
 183 Sir Percy Herbert.  
 184 Sir Robert Fisher of Packington in Warwick, Baronet and Knight.  
 185 Sir Hardolph Wastneys of Hendon in Nottingham.  
 186 Sir Henry Shipwith of Prestwold in Leicestershire, Baronet and Knight.  
 187 Sir Thomas Harris of Boreatton in Salop.  
 188 Sir Nicholas Tempest of Stella in Durham.  
 Sir Francis Cottingham, afterwards Baron Cottingham: Extinct.  
 Sir Thomas Harris of Tong-Castle in Salop, Baronet and Serjeant at Law: Extinct.

(c3)

189 Sir Ed.

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 189 Sir Edward Barkham of Southacre of Norf.
- 190 Sir John Corbet of Prowston in Norfolk.
- 191 Sir Thomas Playfers of Sutterley in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight. Sir William.
- 192 Sir John Affild of Nether-hall in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight.
- 193 Sir Henry Harper of Calk in Derby.
- 194 Sir Edward Seagrigh of Bedford in Worcester.
- 195 Sir John Beaumont of Gracedieu in Leicester.
- 196 Sir Edward Dering of Sunden-Dering in Kent, Baronet and Knight. Sir Edward.
- 197 Sir George Kemp of Pentbore in Essex.
- 198 Sir William Brereton of Hanford in Chester.
- 199 Sir Patricius Cullen of Workington in Cumberland.
- 200 Sir William Russell of Witley in Worcester.
- 201 Sir John Spencer of Offley in Hertford.
- 202 Sir Giles Aylmer of Newton in Wilts, Baronet and Knight.
- 203 Sir Thomas Ashbury.
- 204 Sir Thomas Style of Wateringbury in Kent.
- 205 Sir Frederick Cornwallis.
- 206 Sir Drue Drury.
- 207 Sir William Skyrington.
- 208 Sir Robert Crane of Chilton in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight.
- 209 Sir Anthony Wingfield of Goodwins in Suffolk.
- 210 Sir Will. Culpepper of Preston-hall in Kent.
- 211 Sir Giles Bridges of Wiltm in Hereford.
- 212 Sir John Kirle of Much-Marle in Hereford.
- 213 Sir Humphrey Styles of Rickham in Kent, Baronet and Knight.
- 214 Sir Henry Moore of Falley in Berks.
- 215 Sir Thomas Heal of Fleet in Devon.
- 216 Sir John Charlton of Holcum in Oxford.
- 217 Sir Thomas Maples of Stow in Huntingdon.
- 218 Sir John Iham of Lumpor in Northampton, Baronet and Knight.
- 219 Sir Henry Bagot of Blithfield in Stafford.
- 220 Sir Lewis Pollard of King's-Nymph in Dev.
- 221 Sir Francis Manneke of Giffords-hall in Stok near Noyland in Suffolk.
- 222 Sir Henry Griffith of Agnes-Burton in York.
- 223 Sir Lodowick Dyer of Staughton in Huntingt.
- 224 Sir Hugh Steukley of Hinton in Southampton, Baronet and Knight.
- 225 Sir Edward Stanley of Biggerstoft in Lanc.
- 226 Sir Edward Littleton of Pileton-hall in Staff.
- 227 Sir Ambrose Brown of Betsworth-Castle in Surrey.
- 228 Sir Sackville Crow of Lanherne in Carmarthen.
- 229 Sir Michael Livesey of East-Church in Shep-ey in Kent.
- 230 Sir Simon Bennet of Benhampton in Bucks.
- 231 Sir Thomas Fifer of St. Giles in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight.
- 232 Sir Thomas Boyer of Lengthorn in Suffex: Sir Henry.
- 233 Sir Buts Bacon of Mildens-hall in Suffolk.
- 234 Sir John Corbet of Stok in Salop.
- 235 Sir Edward Tirrel of Thornton in Bucking-ham, Baronet and Knight.
- 236 Sir Basil Dixwel of Terlingham in Kent.
- 237 Sir Richard Young, Baronet and Knight.
- 238 Sir William Pennymann of Mank in York.
- 239 Sir William Stonehouse of Radley in Berks.
- 240 Sir Thomas Fowler of Iffington in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight.
- 241 Sir John Fenwick of Fenwick in Northumber-land, Baronet and Knight.
- 242 Sir William Wray of Trebitch in Cornwall, Baronet and Knight.
- 243 Sir John Trelawney of Trelawney in Cornwall.
- 244 Sir John Coniers of Norden in Durham.
- 245 Sir John Bolls of Scampton in Lincoln.
- 246 Sir Thomas Aston of Aston in Chester.
- 247 Sir Kenelm Jenoure of Much-Dunmore in Essex.
- 248 Sir John Price of New-Town in Mountgo-mery, Baronet and Knight.
- 249 Sir Richard Beaumont of Whitley in York, Baronet and Knight.
- 250 Sir William Wiseman of Canfield-hall in Essex.
- 251 Sir Thomas Nightingale of Newport-Pond in Essex.
- 252 Sir John Jaques.
- 253 Sir Robert Dillington of Knighton in the Isle of Wight.
- 254 Sir Francis Pile of Compton in Berks: Sir Seymour.
- 255 Sir John Pole of Shwr in Devon: Sir Court-ney.
- 256 Sir William Lewis of Langors in Brecknock.
- 257 Sir Will. Culpepper of Wakehurst in Suffex.
- 258 Sir Peter Van-Loor of Tyckhurst in Berks.
- 259 Sir John Lawrence of Iwer in Buckingham, Baronet and Knight.
- 260 Sir Thomas Pavafor of Hallwood in York.
- 261 Sir Robert Wolseley of Wolseley in Stafford: Sir Charles.
- 262 Sir Rice Rudd of Aberglangy in Carmarthen.
- 263 Sir Richard Wiseman of Thundersley in Essex.
- 264 Sir Henry Fervers of Skillingthorp in Lincoln.
- 265 Sir John Anderson of St. Ives in Huntingdon.
- 266 Sir William Russell of Chippingham in Cam-bridge, Baronet and Knight.
- 267 Sir Richard Everard of Much-Walkam in Essex.
- 268 Sir Thomas Povel of Barkenhead in Chester.
- 269 Sir William Luckin of Waltham in Essex: Sir Capel a Knight.
- 270 Sir Richard Grahams of Esk in Cumberland.
- 271 Sir George Tuisleton of Barkley in York.
- 272 Sir William Aston.
- 273 Sir Nicholas Le-Strange of Hunstanton in Norfolk.
- 274 Sir John Holland of Quindenham in Nor-folk.
- 275 Sir Edward Allein of Hatfield in Essex.
- 276 Sir Richard Earl of Craglethorp in Lincoln.
- 277 Sir Robert Ducey: Sir Richard: Sir Williams afterward Knight of the Bath.
- 278 Sir Richard Greenville Baronet and Knight.
- 279 Sir Edward Moseley of Rowleston in Stafford.
- 280 Sir Martin Lomley of Great-Bradford in Essex, Baronet; afterwards Knighted: Sir Martin.
- 281 Sir William Dalston Baronet, and after-wards Knighted; only Son of Sir George Dalston of Dalston in Cumberland, Knight.
- 282 Sir Henry Fletcher of Hutton in Cumber-land: Sir George.
- 283 Sir Nicholas Cole of Branpeth in Durham.
- 284 Sir Edward Pye of Leckhamsted in Bucking-ham, Baronet, afterwards Knighted.

285 Sir Simon

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 285 Sir Simon Every of Eggington in Derby, Ba-ronet, and afterwards Knighted.
- 286 Sir William Langley of Higham-Golein in Bedford.
- 287 Sir William Paston of Oxnead in Norfolk.
- 288 Sir James Stonehouse of Amerdan-hall in Essex.
- 289 Sir John Palgrave of Norwood-Barningham in Norfolk, Baronet, and after Knighted.
- 290 Sir Gerard Naper of Midlemarsh-hall in Dorset, Baronet, and after Knighted.
- 291 Sir Thomas Whitmore of Appley in Salop, Baronet and Knight.
- 292 Sir John Maney of Lynton in Kent.
- 293 Sir Thomas Care the younger, of Starford in Northampton, Baronet and Knight.
- 294 Sir Christopher Telferston of Easton-Manduit in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight.
- 295 Sir William Bottler of Tesson in Kent, Ba-ronet and after Knighted.
- 296 Sir Thomas Hatton of Longstanton in Cam-bridge, Baronet and Knight.
- 297 Thomas Aldy of Felchal in Essex, Baronet, and after Knighted.
- 298 Sir John Bampffield, eldest son of John Bamp-field of Poltimore in Devon; which Sir John died in 1650. leaving his Title to his Son Sir Copleston.
- 299 Sir John Cotten of Landvade in Cambridge.
- 300 Sir Simmons D' Ewes of Stowhall in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight: Sir Willoughby.
- 301 Sir Henry-Frederick Thyn of Canse-Castle in Salop.
- 302 Sir John Burgoyne of Sutton in Bedford.
- 303 Sir John Norbocote of Hain in Devon.
- 304 Sir William Drake of Sherdelowes in Bucking-ham, Baronet and Knight.
- 305 Sir Thomas Rous of Rousleach in Worcester.
- 306 Sir Ralph Hare of Stow-Bardolf in Norfolk.
- 307 Sir John Norwich of Brompton in Northamp-ton, Baronet and Knight.
- 308 Sir John Brownlow of Belton in Lincoln.
- 309 Sir William Brownlow of Humby in Lincoln.
- 310 Sir John Sidenham of Brimpton in Somerset.
- 311 Sir Henry Prat of Colehal in Berks.
- 312 Sir Francis Nichols of Hardwick in Nor-thampton.
- 313 Sir William Strickland of Bointon in York, Baronet and Knight.
- 314 Sir Thomas Wolrich of Dudmaston in Salop, Baronet and Knight.
- 315 Sir Thomas Muleverer of Allerton-Muleve-rer in York.
- 316 Sir William Boughton of Lawford-parva in Warwick.
- 317 Sir John Chichester of Rawleigh in Devon.
- 318 Sir Norton Knatchbal of Mershambach in Kent.
- 319 Sir Hugh Wyndham of Pildfen-Court in Dorset, Baronet, and after Knighted.
- 320 Sir Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall: Sir Alexander.
- 321 Sir William Castleton of St. Edmunds-bury in Norfolk.
- 322 Sir Richard Price of Gogerthan in Cardigan.
- 323 Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitley in York: Sir William who dyed in 1663.
- 324 Sir William Spring of Packenham in Suffolk.
- 325 Sir Thomas Trevor of Endfield in Middlesex.
- 326 Sir John Curson of Kedlifton in Derby, Ba-ronet of England and Scotland.
- 327 Sir Hugh Owen of Orelton in Pembroke, Ba-ronet and Knight.
- 328 Sir Morton Brigs of Houghton in Salop.
- 329 Sir Henry Hayman of Somersfield in Kent.
- 330 Sir Thomas Sanford of Hongil-Castle in Westm-land.
- 331 Sir Francis Rhodes of Balbrough in Derby, Baronet and Knight.
- 332 Sir Richard Spriguel of Copensthorp in York.
- 333 Sir John Puts of Mannington in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight.
- 334 Sir John Goderick of Rilston in York, Baro-net and Knight.
- 335 Sir Robert Bindlos of Barwick in Lancaster.
- 336 Sir William Walter of Sarflem in Oxford.
- 337 Sir Thomas Lawley of S. Povel in Salop: Sir Francis.
- 338 Sir William Farmer of Efton-Neston in Nor-thampton.
- 339 Sir John Dacy of Creedy in Devon.
- 340 Sir Thomas Pettas of Rackheath in Norfolk.
- 341 Sir William Andrew of Denton in Northampt.
- 342 Sir John Meaux: Sir William.
- 343 Sir Richard Gurney, Baronet and Knight.
- 344 Sir Thomas Willis of Fenditton in Cambridge.
- 345 Sir Francis Armitage of Kirkles in York.
- 346 Sir Richard Halford of Wiflow in Leicester.
- 347 Sir Humphrey Tufston of Mote in Kent, Ba-ronet and Knight.
- 348 Sir Edward Cuke of Langford in Derby.
- 349 Sir Isaac Afley of Melton-Constable in Nor-folk, Baronet and Knight.
- 350 Sir David Cunningham, Baronet of England and Scotland.
- 351 Sir John Ruiney of Wyrotham in Kent, Baro-net of England and Scotland.
- 352 Sir Rivet Eldred of Great-Saxham in Suffolk.
- 353 Sir John Gell of Hopton in Derby.
- 354 Sir Vincent Corbet of Morton-Corbet in Salop, Baronet and Knight.
- 355 Sir John Wray of Woodsome in York, Baronet and Knight.
- 356 Sir Thomas Throllop of Cefewick in Lincoln: Sir William.
- 357 Sir Edward Thomas of Michael's-Town in Glamorgan.
- 358 Sir William Cowper of Ratling-Court in Kent, Baronet of England and Scotland.
- 359 Sir Denor Strus of Little-Wotley in Essex. Extin.
- 359 Sir William S. Quinting of Horpan in York.
- 360 Sir Robert Kemp of Gilling in Norfolk, Ba-ronet and Knight.
- 361 Sir John Read of Brocket-hall in Hertford, Baronet and Knight.
- 362 Sir James Ennion of Flower in Northampton.
- 363 Sir Edward Williams of Marlbur in Dorset.
- 364 Sir John Williams of Minster-Court in Kent.
- 365 Sir George Winter of Huddington in Worces-ter, Baronet and Knight.
- 366 Sir John Barlace of Bockper in Buckingham.
- 367 Sir Hen. Knowles of Grove-place in Southamp.
- 368 Sir John Hamilton.
- 369 Sir Edm. Morgan of Lenternam in Monmouth.
- 370 Sir Nicholas Kemys of Kewenmaby in Gla-morgan.

371 Sir Trevor

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 371 Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby in Monmouth.  
 372 Sir John Ruyfys of Tribergh in York.  
 373 Sir Poynings Mour of Lofley in Surrey.  
 374 Sir Christopher Dawny of Cowick in York.  
 375 Sir William Inglesby of Ripley in York.  
 376 Sir Thomas Hampson of Toplow in Buckingham: Sir Thomas.  
 377 Sir Thomas Williamson of East-Markham in Nottingham.  
 378 Sir William Denny of Gillingham in Norfolk.  
 379 Sir Richard Hardres of Hardres in Kent.  
 380 Sir Christopher Douthet.  
 381 Sir Thomas Alston of Odhil in Bedford.  
 382 Sir Edward Corbet of Leyton in Montgomery.  
 383 Sir George Middleton.  
 384 Sir Edward Pailer.  
 385 Sir William Widdrington.  
 386 Sir Matthew Walkenburgh.  
 387 Sir Philip Conftable.  
 388 Sir Edward Widdrington.  
 389 Sir Stephen Leonard of West-Wiccombe in Kent.  
 390 Sir Robert Markham.  
 391 Sir Philip Hingale.  
 392 Sir William Therrold.  
 393 Sir Walter Rudstone.  
 394 Sir Ralph Blackstone.  
 395 Sir Walter Wrotesley.  
 396 Sir Robert Throckmorton.  
 397 Sir William Halton.  
 398 Sir Brocket Spencer.  
 399 Sir Edward Golding.  
 400 Sir William Smith.  
 401 Sir Henry Hippe.  
 402 Sir Walter Blunt.  
 403 Sir Adam Littleton.  
 404 Sir Thomas Haggarton of Haggerston in Northumberland.  
 405 Sir Thomas Liddel.  
 406 Sir Richard Landy.  
 407 Sir Thomas Chamberlain.  
 408 Sir Henry Hunlke.  
 409 Sir Thomas Bad.  
 410 Sir Richard Crane.  
 411 Sir Samuel D' Avers.  
 412 Sir William Vawter.  
 413 Sir Edward Walgrave.  
 414 Sir Henry Jones.  
 415 Sir John Parre.  
 416 Sir Willoughby Hickman.  
 417 Sir George Battiler.  
 418 Sir Edward Alton.  
 419 Sir Francis Hawley.  
 420 Sir John Preston.  
 421 Sir Thomas Prostrick.  
 422 Sir Robert Terrold.  
 423 Sir Gervase Lucas.  
 424 Sir Henry Bard, afterward Vicount of Bellemont in Ireland.  
 425 Sir Henry Williams.  
 426 Sir William Vancolster.  
 427 Sir William de Borcel.  
 428 Sir Thomas Windelbank.  
 429 Sir Benjamin Wright.  
 430 Sir Richard Willis, Jan. 11. 1645. 21 Car. 1.  
 431 Sir Evan Lloyd of Yale in Denbeigh. Car. 1.  
 432 Sir Thomas Beaumont of Staughton-Grange in Leicesters. Car. 2.  
 433 Sir Henry Wright of Dagenhams in Essex, June 9. 1660. dyed in 1663. Sir Henry.  
 434 Sir Griffith Williams of Reachin in Carnarvon. Car. 2.  
 435 Sir Francis Hottes of Wynterborn St. Martyn in Dorset, June 27. 1660. whose Father the Honourable Denzil Hottes Esq; Privy Counsellor to the King, was afterwards on Saturday April 20. 1663. created Baron Hottes of Iseild.  
 436 Sir Henry Masingberde of Bratost-hall in Lincoln. Car. 2.  
 437 Sir William Wynham of Orchard-Windham in Somerset. Car. 2.  
 438 Sir Robert Hales of Beakesborne in Kent. Car. 2.  
 439 Sir Orlando Bridgeman Knight, then chief Baron of the Exchequer, afterwards chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Car. 2.  
 440 Sir Geoffrey Palmer Knight, Attorney General to the King. Car. 2.  
 441 Sir Heneage Finch of Raveston alias Ranson in Bucks, Knight; Solicitor General to the King.  
 442 Sir John Langham of Cottesbrook in Northampton, Knight.  
 443 Sir Humphrey Winch of Hannes in Bedford.  
 444 Sir Robert Abdy of St. Albans in Essex.  
 445 Sir Thomas Draper of Sunninghill-Park in Berks.  
 446 Sir John Abdy of Morces in Essex.  
 447 Sir Jonathan Keate of Le-Hoo in Hertford.  
 448 Sir Hugh Speake of Hatelbury in Wilts.  
 Sir Nicholas Gold of London, died without issue in 1663. Extinct.  
 449 Sir Thomas Aldams of London, Knight.  
 450 Sir Richard Atkins of Clapham in Surrey.  
 451 Sir Thomas Allen of London.  
 452 Sir Henry North of Mildenhall in Suffolk.  
 453 Sir William Wiseman of Riven-hall in Essex, Knights.  
 454 Sir Thomas Cullum of Hatted in Suffolk.  
 455 Sir Thomas Darcy of St. Cleenes-hall in Essex.  
 456 Sir George-Crabham How of Cole-Barwick in Wilts.  
 457 Sir John Cutts of Childerley in Cambridges.  
 458 Sir William Humble of London.  
 459 Sir Solomon Swayle of Swayle-hall in York.  
 460 Sir Gervase Elmayes of Stock-juxta-Clare in Suffolk.

461 Sir Robert

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 461 Sir Robert Cordell of Melford-hall in Suffolk.  
 462 Sir John Robinson of London Knight.  
 463 Sir Henry Stapilton of Milford in York.  
 464 Sir Jacob Astley of Hill-Morton in Warwick.  
 465 Sir Robert Hyldyard of Patrington in York, Knight.  
 466 Sir William Bowyard of Denham in Bucks, Knight.  
 467 Sir John Shuckburgh of Shuckburgh in Warwick.  
 468 Sir William Wray of Akeley in Lincoln.  
 469 Sir Nicholas Steward of Hurley-Mawditt in Southampton.  
 470 Sir George Warburton of Hartley in Chester.  
 471 Sir Oliver St. John of Woodford in Northampton.  
 472 Sir Ralph Delavalle of Seaton in Northumberland.  
 473 Sir Andrew Henley of Henley in Somerset.  
 474 Sir Thomas Ellis of Wyham in Lincoln.  
 475 Sir John Covert of Slaughtam in Suffex, Knight.  
 476 Sir Maurice Berkley of Browton in Somerset.  
 477 Sir Peter Lear of London.  
 478 Sir Henry Hudson of Melton-Mawbray in Leicesters.  
 479 Sir Thomas Herbert of Turineturne in Monmouth.  
 480 Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirke in Denbigh.  
 481 Sir Verney Noel of Kirkby in Leicesters, July 6. 1660.  
 482 Sir George Buswel of Clipton alias Clepston in Norfolk.  
 483 Sir Robert Austen of Berley in Kent.  
 484 Sir William Boothby of Broadlo-Ash in Derby, Knight.  
 485 Sir Wolstan de Market of Bosworth in Leicesters.  
 486 Sir John Clark of Noel-Weston in Oxford.  
 487 Sir John Warner of Parham in York.  
 488 Sir John Bright of Bradsworth in York.  
 489 Sir Job Harby of Aldenham in Hertford, Knight.  
 490 Sir Samuel Morland alias Marley of Southamstead-Bonnefter in Berks, Knight.  
 491 Thomas Hewit of Pitbury in Hertford, Knight.  
 492 Sir Edward Honeywood of Evington in Kent, Knight.  
 493 Sir Basil Dixwell of Broom-house in Kent.  
 494 Sir Richard Browne of London.  
 495 Sir Henry Vernon of Hodnet in Shrop.  
 496 Sir John Aubrey of Nontrested in Glamorgan.  
 497 Sir William Thomas of in Essex.  
 498 Sir Thomas Slater of in Cambridges.  
 499 Sir Henry Cowdrey of Botrisfen in Flint.  
 500 Sir Henry Green of Soupsford in Essex.  
 501 Sir John Stapeley of in Suffolk.  
 502 Sir Metcalfe Robinson of Newby in Surrey.  
 503 Sir Marmaduke Gresham of Linsfield in Surrey.  
 504 Sir William Dudley of Clapton in Northampton, Aug. 1. 1660.  
 505 Sir Hugh Smithford of Stannick alias Stanwick in York.  
 506 Sir Roger Mofin of Mastin in Flint, Knight.  
 507 Sir William Willoughby of Willoughby in Nottingham.  
 508 Sir Anthony Oldfield of Spalding in Lincoln.  
 509 Sir Peter Leicester of Talley in Chester.  
 510 Sir William Weeler of Westminster, Knight.  
 511 Sir Thomas Smith of Hetheron in Chester.  
 512 Sir Thomas Lee of Hartwel in Bucks.  
 513 Sir John Newton of Borscourt in Gloucester.  
 514 Sir John Rous of Henham in Suffolk.  
 515 Sir John Hales of Coventry in Warwick.  
 516 Sir John Drake of Ash in Devon.  
 517 Sir Oliver St. John of Carrick-Dromrick in Leyfrim in Ireland Knight, Septemb. 5. 1660.  
 518 Sir John Bowyer of Knypesley in Stafford, Knight.  
 519 Sir William Wild of London.  
 520 Sir Joseph Ash of Tittinham in Middlesex.  
 521 Sir John How of Compton in Gloucester.  
 522 Sir John Swinborn in Copbeaton in Northumberland.  
 523 Sir John Trot of Lederstoke in Southampton. Octob. 11. 1660.  
 524 Sir Humphrey Miller of Oxen-hall in Kent.  
 525 Sir John Lewis of Ledston in York.  
 526 Sir John Beale of Maydestone in Kent.  
 527 Sir Richard Franklin of Moore-Park in Hertford.  
 528 Sir William Russel of Langborne in Carmarthen, Nov. 8. 1660.  
 529 Sir William Blackhouse of  
 530 Sir Thomas Boothby of Fridayhill in Chinkford in Essex.  
 531 Sir John Cutler of London.  
 532 Sir Giles Motter of Liege.  
 533 Sir Henry Gifford of Barfall in Leicesters.  
 534 Sir Thomas Foot of London.  
 534 Sir Thomas Mainwaring of Over-Prover in Chester.  
 535 Sir Thomas Bennet of Baberham in Cambridges.  
 536 Sir John Wrath of Blonden-hall in Kent.  
 537 Sir John Win of Nestal in York, Decem. 3. 1660.

538 Sir Humphrey

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 538 Sir Humphrey Monnox of Wootton in Bedford.  
 539 Sir Heneage Featherston of Blackesware in Hartford.  
 Sir John Peyton of Doddington in the Isle of Ely, dyed a Batchelor the same month: Extinct.  
 540 Sir John Fagge of Wiston in Suffex.  
 541 Sir Edward Anderson of Broughton in Lincoln.  
 542 Sir Matthew Herlet of Bromsted in Salop.  
 543 Sir Edward Ward of Biale in Norfolk.  
 544 Sir William Killigrew of Arminick in Cornwall.  
 545 Sir John Keyt of Ebrington in Gloucester.  
 546 Sir John Buck of Hanby-Grange in Lincoln.  
 547 Sir William Frankland of Thicketby in York.  
 548 Sir Richard Stidolph of Norbery in Surry.  
 549 Sir William Gardner of London.  
 550 Sir William Huxon of Albons in Suffex.  
 551 Sir John Legard of Gorton in York.  
 552 Sir George Marwood of Little-Busby in York.  
 553 Sir John Jackson of Hickleton in York.  
 554 Sir Henry Pickering of Waddon in Cambridge, Jan. 2. 1660.  
 555 Sir Henry Beddingfield of Oxeborough in Norfolk.  
 556 Sir Walter Plummer of the Inner Temple London.  
 Sir Herbert Springet of Broyle in Suffex: Extinct.  
 557 Sir William Powel alias Hinson of Peggethley in Hereford.  
 558 Sir Robert Newton of London.  
 559 Sir Nicholas Stonghton of Stonghton in Surry.  
 560 Sir William Rokely of Seyars in York.  
 561 Sir Water Ernyel of New-Salisbury in Wilts, Feb. 2. 1660.  
 562 Sir John Husband of Ipsley in Warwick.  
 563 Sir Thomas Morgan of Kangastock in Munmouth.  
 564 Sir Richard Lane of Talsk in Rosecommon in Ireland.  
 565 Sir Benjamin Wright of Cranham-hall in Effex.  
 566 Sir John Colleton of London.  
 567 Sir James Modyford of London.  
 568 Sir Edward Smith of Esh in Durham.  
 569 Sir John Napeir alias Sande of March 4. 1660.  
 570 Sir Thomas Giffard of Castle-Jordan in Meth in Ireland.  
 571 Sir Thomas Clifton of Clifton in Lancaster.  
 572 Sir William Wilton of Eastborne in Suffex.  
 573 Sir Compton Reed of Barton in Berks.  
 574 Sir Bryan Broughton of Broughton in Stafford.  
 575 Sir Robert Slingsby of Newfels in Hertford.  
 576 Sir Ralph Verney of Middle-Claydon in Bucks, Knight.  
 577 Sir John Crofts of Stow in Suffolk.  
 578 Sir Robert Dyer of Up-hall in Hertford.  
 579 Sir Jo. Bromfield of Suffolk-place in South-wark in Surry, March 20. 1660.  
 580 Sir Thomas Rich of Sunning in Berks.  
 581 Sir Edward Smith of Edmund-thorpe in Leicester.  
 582 Sir Walter Long of Waddon in Wilts, Mar. 26. 1661.  
 583 Sir John Pettiplace of Chilcey in Berks.  
 584 Sir Walter Hendley of Conck-field in Suffex, April 8. 1661.  
 585 Sir William Parsons of Langley in Bucks.  
 586 Sir John Cambell of Woodford in Effex.  
 587 Sir Charles Gandy of Crows-hall in Suffolk.  
 588 Sir William Morrice of Werrington in Devon.  
 589 Sir William Caley of Brompton in York.  
 590 Sir VVilliam Godolphin of Godolphin in Cornwall.  
 591 Sir Thomas Curson of VValter-Perry in Oxford.  
 592 Sir Edward Fowell of Fowel-Combe in Devon, Knight, May 1. 1661.  
 593 Sir John Croyley of Clarkenwel in Middlesex.  
 594 Sir VVilliam Smith of Radcliffe in Berks.  
 595 Sir George Cook of VVheatley in York.  
 596 Sir Charles Keyde of Garth in Montgomery.  
 597 Sir Nathaniel Powell of Ewhurst in Suffex.  
 598 Sir Denny Abburnham of Bramhall in Suffex.  
 599 Sir Hugh Smith of Long-Astton in Somerset.  
 600 Sir Robert Jenkinson of VValcot in Oxford.  
 601 Sir VVilliam Glyn of Biffiter alias Burcester in Oxford.  
 602 Sir John Charnock of Holcot in Bedford.  
 603 Sir Robert Brook of Nation in Suffolk.  
 604 Sir Thomas Nevill of Hall in Leicester.  
 605 Sir Henry Andrews of Lashbury in Bucks.  
 606 Sir Anthony Sparshold alias Sparshold of in Berks, June 4. 1661.  
 607 Sir James Clavering of Axwell in Durham, June 5.  
 608 Sir Thomas Derham of VVest-Derham in Norfolk, June 8.  
 609 Sir Abraham Cullen of East-Sheen in Surry, June 17.  
 610 Sir VVilliam Stanley of Horton in Chester.  
 611 Sir Godfrey Copley of Sprethorough in York.  
 612 Sir James Rushout of Adilast-Green in Effex.  
 613 Sir Henry VVincombe of Bucklebury in Berks.  
 614 Sir Thomas Vynor of London Knight.  
 615 Sir Clement Clark of Lane-Abbey in Leicester.  
 616 Sir John Seylyard of De-la-ware in Kent.  
 617 Sir Christopher Guise of Elmore in the County of the City of Gloucester, July 10. 1661.  
 618 Sir Regnold Forster of East-Greenwich in Kent.  
 619 Sir Philip Parker of Erwarton in Suffolk.  
 620 Sir Edward Duke of Ben-hall in Suffolk.  
 621 Sir Edward Barkham of VVanstee in Lincoln.  
 622 Sir Charles Hufsey of Capthorpe alias Kaythrop in Lincoln.  
 623 Sir Thomas Norton of Coventry in VVarwick.

624 Sir John

## A Catalogue of the Baronets of England.

- 624 Sir John Dormer of Le-Grange in Bucks.  
 625 Sir Thomas Carew of Harcombe in Devon, August 2. 1661.  
 626 Sir Mark Milbank of Halmby in York.  
 627 Sir Richard Rothwell of Ewerby and Stapleford in Lincoln.  
 628 Sir John Banks of London, Aug. 22. 1661.  
 629 Sir John Ingolsby of Lothborough in Bucks.  
 630 Sir Robert Jaton of Broad-Samerfold in Wilts, Septemb. 5. 1661.  
 631 Sir John Tonng of Culliton in Devon, Knight.  
 632 Sir Francis Birkley of Atleborough in Norfolk.  
 633 Sir John Frederick Van Frisendorfe de Heerdick Lord of Kyrup, Ambassadour extraordinary from the King of Sweedland, Oct. 4. 1661.  
 634 Sir William Roberts of Willesdon in Middlesex, Nov. 8. 1661.  
 635 Sir William Luckin of Waltham in Effex.  
 636 Sir Thomas Smith of Hill-hall in Effex.  
 637 Sir Edwin Sadler of Temple-Dwinitsey, alias Dimley in Hertford, Decem. 3. 1661.  
 638 Sir George Southcote of Bleborough in Lincoln, Jan. 24. 1661.  
 639 Sir George Trevilian of Nettlecombe in Somerset.  
 640 Sir Francis Duncombe of Tangley in Surrey, Feb. 4. 1661.  
 641 Sir Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham in Norfolk.  
 642 Sir Richard Cocke of Dumbleton in Gloucester.  
 643 Sir John Coryton of Newton in Cornwall.  
 644 Sir John Koyd of Woking in Surry.  
 645 Sir Thomas Proby of Elton-hall in Huntingdon, March 7. 1661.  
 646 Sir Miles Stapleton of Carlton in York.  
 647 Sir Richard Braham of Windsor in Berks, April 16. 1662.  
 648 Sir John Witterange of Stenton-Bury in Bucks, Knight, May 2.  
 649 Sir Philip Mathewes of Great-Gozvors in Collier-row-ward in Effex, June 13.  
 650 Sir Robert Bernard of Hungton in Huntingdon, Serjant at Law, July 1.  
 651 Sir Reger Lort of Stack-pole in Pembroke, July 15.  
 652 Sir Edward Gage of Hengrave in Suffolk.  
 653 Sir Thomas Hook of Planchford in Surrey.  
 654 Sir John Saville of Copley in York, July 24.  
 655 Sir Christopher Wandesford of Kirklington in York, August 5.  
 656 Sir Richard Affley of Lathal in Stafford.  
 657 Sir Jacob Gerrard of in Norfolk.  
 658 Sir Edward Fast of Hill in Gloucester.  
 659 Sir Robert Leag of Westminster in Middlesex, Sept. 1.  
 660 Robert Canne of Compton-Greenfield in Gloucester.  
 661 Sir William Middleton of Ralslaw in Northumberland, Oct. 24.  
 662 Sir Richard Graham of Norton in York, Nov. 17.  
 663 Sir Thomas Tankred of Borough-Bridge in York.  
 664 Sir Cuthbert Herron of Chipehuse in Northumberland.  
 665 Sir Francis Wenman of Ciprel in Oxford.  
 666 Sir Henry Pursoy of Wadley in Berks, Dec. 4. 1662.  
 667 Sir Thomas Colbe of Aterbury in Oxford.  
 668 Sir Henry Brook of Norton in Chester.  
 669 Sir Peter Pindar of Edrinsraw in Chester.  
 670 Sir Nicholas Stanning of Mairston in Devon, Jan. 9.  
 671 Sir George Rev. of Twayte in Suffolk.  
 672 Sir Thomas Brograve of Hamells in Hertford, Mar. 8.  
 673 Sir Thomas Barnardiffon of Ketton alias Kedington in Suffolk, April 7. 1663.  
 674 Sir Samuel Barnardiffon of Brightwel-hall in Suffolk, May 1.  
 675 Sir John Daves of Putney in Surry, June 1.  
 676 Sir John Holman of Banbury in Oxford.  
 677 Sir William Cook of Bromhall in Norfolk.  
 678 Sir John Bellet of Morston in Chester.  
 679 Sir John Downing of East-Hatly in Cambridge, July 1.  
 680 Sir William Gawdy of Westerling in Norfolk.  
 681 Sir Charles Pym of Brymore in Somerset, Knight.  
 682 Sir William Doyley of Shottisham in Norfolk, Knight.  
 683 Sir John Malsham of Cuxton in Kent, Knight, Aug. 12.  
 684 Sir John Barnham of Roughon-Munselsfe in Kent, Aug. 15. 1663.



A  
CHRONICLE  
OF THE  
KING'S  
OF  
ENGLAND:

From the time of the *ROMANS* Government,  
Unto the Death of King  
CHARLES I.

*Of the first known times of this Island.*

A



Lthough we begin the *Era* of our Computation from *William* called the Conquerour, as though he was the first of our Kings of *England*: yet before him, were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after ages can know nothing of former times but what is recorded by writing: it hath happened, partly by the devallation of Libraries; and partly by the scarcity of Copies, before Printing came up, that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: and besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets; so the first writings have been Fictions: and nothing is delivered to Posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables:

B

such as the story of *Albina* (of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*: though others say, *Ab allis rupibus*, of the white cliffs) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty daughters of *Diocletian* King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their husbands: for which fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this; then have you the story of *Albion* the son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took its name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Attestation, and yet as very a fable as these; namely the story

*Albion* why  
*England* called.

B

story

Brutes story fabulous.

Matth. West.

Geoffrey of Monmouth a fabulous writer.

story of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom the Island they say, was called *Britain*: though many other causes are given of the name :) as likewise the story of *Brutes* cousin *Corineus*, of whom they say, the Countrey of *Cornwall* had its name, to whom it was given, for overcoming the Giant *Gogmagog*: and that *Brute* having three sons, *Loecine*, *Allbanath*, and *Camber*; he gave at his death to his eldest son *Loecine*, all the land on this side *Humber*, and called it *Loegria*; to his second son *Allbanath*, all the land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*: ) and to his youngest son *Camber*, all the land beyond the river of *Severne*, of whom it was called *Cambria*, (now *Wales*: ) with other such stuff, which may please children, but not ripper Judgements; and were first broached by *Geoffrey Archdeacon of Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of this time cryed shame upon him; and yet can scarce keep many at this day, from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffrey of Monmouth* (afterward made, by the favour of King *Stephen*, Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a book written in *Welch*, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter Archdeacon of Exeter* of the *British* affairs, and translated by *Geoffrey*, in which, though there were many notable passages, that might give much light to our History, yet so many commentitious Fables were inferred, that they rendred even what truths he writ suspected.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very little benefit can be gotten by the knowing it, and was not till the time of *Julius Caesar*, a thousand years after the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small vessels, made of boards and wicker. And as they had no ships for defence without, so neither had they any Forts, for defence within: scarce any houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of trees fastened together; neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers: so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Caesar* calleth them) four Kings; *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which division, as it made the *Britains* the more ealie to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two battails might have made a conquest of the whole; where being thus divided, there was need to be as many battails as there were divisions: So as it was many years, before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of *Julius Caesar*, to the time of the Emperour *Domitian*; not much less than two hundred years. It is true, after *Caesar's* first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part, made choice of *Cassibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their wars; which made indeed some little stop to the *Romans* proceedings; but after the loss of a battail or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, then by a general power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true: *Nulli singuli pugnanti, universi vincuntur*. Yet before the Countrey could be wholly conquered; at first by reason of the Nations valour, seeking to keep themselves free, and afterward by reason of the insolvency of the garrison Souldiers, that sought to make them slaves: many great oppositions were made, amongst which the most memorable was that of *Podicia*, a certain Queen of the Countrey, who having been by the *Roman* Souldiers her self abused, and her daughters ravished, used means to leavy an Army of sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the field, and set upon the *Romans* in their chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (now *Malden* in *Essex*: ) of whom she slew above seventy thousand: but then in a second battail, had fourscore thousand of her own Army slain, after which defeat, for avoiding of slavery, she poysoned her self.

This Island for a long time, was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperours sometimes came hither in person; as first the Emperour *Adrian*, in the year 124. who reedified that great wall between *England*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero's* General in *Britain*, and father in law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set the Countrey in order returned: the same wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperour in the year 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incurfions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom in a battail near *York*, he was wounded and thereof dyed; or as others say, he died of age and sickness. Afterward in the year 305. *Constantinus* the Emperour came into *Britain*, and ended his life at *York*, making that City famous for the death and burial of two great Emperours; and yet more famous for the honour done to *Constantine* the Great, son of *Constantinus*, who in that City was first saluted Emperour. But notwithstanding the great estimation the *Romans* a long time made of this Island, yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater then the benefit; for to keep it in subjection, they maintained no fewer than fourscore thousand Souldiers in pay; and when wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carried them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their service, and the rest planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good case, being freed from them that kept them in subjection, but it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, then it was before in servitude; for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without issue, they were left as a few loose sticks without the bond of a Governour: which the *Picts* and

*Scots*.

How long the Romans were in conquering England.

Julius Caesar invading England, Cassibelan resists him.

Podicia discomfitteth the Romans: and after is discomfitteth her self.

The Emperour Adrian comes into England.

The Emperour Severus comes into England.

The Emperour Constantinus comes into England.

The Romans leave England, and why.

*Scots* observing, thought now was the time to make the Countrey their own; and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britains* having none left of their Native Kings to succed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: and he, whether so advised by his Cabinet Counsellor, the Propheticall *Aderlin*, or as finding his own strength too weak to make resistance; implores first aid of the *Romans*, and they making answer, they had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for aid, a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater swarms then their hives could well hold.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation, to call in strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters; as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

These *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several dayes of the week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first day *Sunday* or *Sunday*. The second *Monday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon*. Another god they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it *Tuesday*. The tradition is, that this *Tuisco* was the son of *Afcenez* Grandchild to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their fore-fathers out of *Asia* into *Europe* from the unfinished Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a god, was *Woden*, representing an Armed man, and they named the fourth day from him *Woden-day* or *Wednesday*; they honoured him as the god of battail. He had been a famous and victorious Prince amongst them, and of him lineally descended *Hengist* and *Horsa* their first leaders into this Island. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the Septentrional Nations adored and sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue resembling a crowned King, his head encompassed with twelve bright golden Stars, of whom they denominated the fifth day *Thursday*. *Friday* took the name of *Friga* an Idol representing both Sexes, with a bow in one hand, and a sword in the other; and though the Statue exprest an *Hermaphrodite*, yet she was generally reputed a Goddess. Then they had a god called *Seater*, and to him they consecrated *Saturday*: this Idol was like an old man with a long beard and hair, bare headed and bare footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something

of the state of the Christian Church in this Island. First then, it is recorded, that in the year 63. what time *Arviragus* reigned here, *Joseph of Arimathea* (who buried the body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western parts, at a place called then *Thurde*, now *Glastenbury*; and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more then this, that *Simon Zelotes* one of the Apostles suffered martyrdom here in *Britain*: and more then this, that both *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* came into this Island and preached the Gospel; all which and more to this purpose, is recorded by Authors of good account: though it be hard believing, That persons, and specially women of so great age, as these must needs be at this time, should take so long a journey. But howsoever it was, certain it is, that the Doctrine of Christianity was about this time planted in this Island, though it made afterward

but small progress, and that with some persecution; as in which time, *St. Alban* suffered martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Liechfield* shortly after, no fewer then a thousand. After this in the year 180. what time *Lucius* was King of this Island, *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, sent *Paganus* and *Damianus* to him: upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Archflamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to so many Bishops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caeleyn* (now *St. Davids*) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the Parish Church of *St. Peter*, on *Cornhill*, *London*, which Recordeth, that the Foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishop Sec. In the year 359. a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*; where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*, and though they were Orthodoxal, and with that Synod determined to give their voyces against the *Arian* Heresie, yet by reason all these Western Fathers were ignorant in the *Greek* Language, they were circumvented by the *Arian* Bishops, and unanimously they would have Christ, but not *Homousion*. After this, about the year 420, rose up in this Island, one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who spread the poyson of his Heresie, first in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the world over. And these had been the chief passages in matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the year 450.

And now under the conduct of two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, came over nine thousand *Saxons* with their Wives and Children, to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots*, and were appointed the Isle of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which assistance, the *Britains* give their enemies battail, and overcome them: so as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels sent from Heaven, and then allowed them *Kent* also for their inhabiting. Not long after *Hengist* obtained of King *Vortigern* the property of so much ground, as he could enclose with a Buls hide: which cutting into thongs, he there built the Castle, *Fili de nomine*, called *Thong Castle*. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feast, who there fell in love with *Rownena*, the Daughter or rather the Niece of *Hengist*; For when *Hengist* first arrived in *Britain* he was but 30 years of age: howsoever *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengist* into such a height of boldness, that he began to aspire, tending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself hither, and to

B 2

make

*Vortigern* is chosen King.

He calls in the *Saxons*.

*Joseph of Arimathea* plants the Gospel at *Glastenbury*.

*St. Alban* suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heathenish Temples converted into Bishops Sees at the preaching of *Paganus* and *Damianus*.

*Pelagius* the Heretick riseth up.

*Hengist* and *Horsa* *Saxons* come into *England*.

*Thong Castle* why so called. *Vortigern* marries *Rownena* the daughter of *Hengist*.

Vortigern is deposed, and his Son Vortimer set up.

Catigern and Horsa fight a single combat.

The Saxons forced to flee England.

Rowena poysons Vortimer.

Vortigern is again received. The Saxons return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the English Nobility.

Aurelius Ambrosius burns Vortigern and his Castle: which he had built by the advice of Merlin.

Is poysoned.

After Pendragon, why so called.

Is poysoned.

Arthur the Son of Ieter Pendragon, kills eight hundred Saxons with his own hands.

He institutes the order of the Round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

Chichester burnt by what chance.

make this Island his Inheritance: which the British Lords perceiving, and not able to wean their King from his new Wife, and her father Hengist, they Depose him; and in his place set up his Son Vortimer, a true lover of his Country: who presently in a pitched battail near unto Aylesford in Kent, set upon the Saxons; where Cartigern the brother of Vortimer, and Horsa, of Hengist, in single fight hand to hand slew each other. In which place Catigern was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected, the stones whereof at this day are standing in a great plain in the Parish of Aylesford; which in stead of Catigern, is corruptly called *Kits-Cotthouse*. Another like Monument was erected for Horsa, though now defaced; remembered only by the Town where it stood, called *Horsehead*. Three other battails after this, were fought between the Britains and the Saxons: one at *Craford*; another at *Weppestfleete*; the third upon *Colmore*: in which last, the Britains got so great a Victory, that the Saxons were clean driven out of Kent, and Thanet also not suffered to rest; so as shortly after, Hengist with his Saxons departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his fortune in this Island. But while Vortimer was thus intentive for his Countreys liberty; Rowena the former Kings Wife, being daughter to Hengist, was as intensive to bring it into servitude; which knowing he could not do as long as Vortimer lived, she used means by poysen, to take away his life, after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the British Nobility, that her Husband Vortigern was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but Hengist, (relying upon his Son Vortigerns love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being resisted, he makes a shew, as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his daughter Rowena, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the first of May; the place upon the Plain of Ambrii, now called *Salisbury*; whither the plain-meaning Britains came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent Saxons under their long Cassocks had short keynes hidden, with which upon a watch-word given, they set upon the Britains, and of their unarmed Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of these four Countries, *Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, and Norfolk*. Whereupon Vortigern, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether to advised by his Cabinet Counsellour the Prophetical Merlin, betook himself into Wales, and there built him a strong Castle for his safeguard; while the Saxons coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this time over-run all, if Aurelius Ambrosius a Roman born, but affected to the British Nation, had not landed at *Tolnes in Devonshire*, to whom reformed great troops of Britains. His first expedition was against Vortigern, (as the first cause of the Britains misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by wild fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this Ambrosius is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stonehenge*, in the place where the Britains had been treacherously slaughtered and interred; and of whom the Town of *Ambersbury* bears its name. After this he set upon the Saxons, and in many battails discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester*, a Saxon, in shew a Britain, and in habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who in stead of Phyllick, ministred poysen, whereof he died, in the year 497. after he had reigned two and thirty years.

After Ambrosius, succeeded *Meris* (some say his brother, others a Britain) called *Pendragon*, of his Royal Banner born ever before him; wherein was portrayed a Dragon with a golden Head, as in our English Camps it is at this day born for the Imperial standard. And he also in many battails discomfited the Saxons, till after eighteen years Reign he came to his end by treachery; dying by poysen put into a Well, whereof he usually drank, in the year 515.

After him succeeded his Son Arthur, begotten of the fair Lady *Igren*, Wife of the Duke of Cornwall, to whose bed the Art of Merlin brought him in the likeness of her husband: and he in twelve set battails discomfited the Saxons; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Calibourn*, he flew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand slew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his wonderful deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enough to give them credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence, and to teach Heroical minds, not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at last in battail wounded, whereof he dyed, in the year 522. after he had reigned six and twenty years.

After King Arthur succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*; and after his three years reign, *Aurelius Conanus* the Nephew of King Arthur, whose reign is uncertain, that some say, he reigned only two, some, three years, some again thirty, and some, three and thirty. After Conanus succeeded *Vortiporus*, who after many Victories against the Saxons, and four years Reign, dyed. After whom succeeded *Malgus Conanus*, and reigned six years. After him *Caretiens*, who setting upon the Saxons and beaten, fled into the Town of *Chichester*, whereupon the Saxons catching certain Sparrows and fastening fire to their feet, let them flee into the Town, where lighting upon straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon *Caretiens* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he died, after he had unprosperously reigned three years: and from that time forth, the Britains lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Severn* and

A and Deo. After *Caretiens* succeeded *Cadwan*, who reigned two and twenty years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned eight and forty years, and then died; whose body was buried in St. *Martins* Church near *Ludgate*, and his Image of brass placed upon the same gate, for a terror to the Saxons. In his time the Doctrine of *Mahomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo*, succeeded his son *Cadwaladar*; in whose time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven years, that the Land became in a manner desolate: inasmuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Country, and *Cadwaladar* himself went to his Cousin *Alan* King of little *Britain*, in *France*. At which time the Saxons taking advantage of his absence, came over in swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn Britains of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. B whereupon *Cadwaladar*, obtaining assistance from his Cousin *Alan*, was coming over to restrain their insolencies; when making prayers to God for good success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbade him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will, the Britains should rule this Land any longer; and therefore bad him lie him to *Rome*, and receive of Pope *Sergius* the habit of Religion, wherein he should die and rest in peace; which accordingly he did: and in him ended the blood of the British Kings, in the year 689. So as Britain now was no longer Britain, but a Colony of the Saxons.

And now is time to speak of the Heptarchy of the Saxons, so much spoken of by all Writers; and to shew by what degrees the Britains lost, and the Saxons got the whole possession of this Island: for this Heptarchy or division of this Island into seven Kingdoms, came not in, all at once, nor yet in an equal partition, but some good distance of time, one after another, and as the Invader had strength to expel the Natives.

### The first Kingdom being of KENT.

The first Kingdom of the Saxons began by Hengist, in the year 455. containing all Kent, and continued 372 years, during the Reigns of seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remembered, and for the rest, it will be no loss to pass them over in silence. Of these seventeen Kings, *Ethelbert* being the fifth, was the first Saxon Christian King of this Island, converted by *Austin* the Monk, whom Pope *Gregory* sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the year 596. to whom King *Ethelbert* gave his chief City of *Canterbury*, and his own Royal Palace there, made since the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himself to *Reculver* in the Isle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himself and his successors. He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of St. *Pancras*, and then added a Monastery to it, and dedicated it to St. *Peter* and *Paul*, appointing it to be the place of the Kentish Kings Sepulchres. But in regard of *Austin* the procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soon forgotten, and it was, and is to this day called St. *Austins*, which Abbey St. *Austin* enriched with divers Reliques which he brought with him from *Rome*; amongst which was a part of Christs seemless Coat, and of *Ansons* Rod. This King after his own conversion, converted also *Sebert* King of the East Angles, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, London; as also the Church of St. *Peter*, on the west of London, then called *Thorny*: and himself at *Rockesfer* built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apostle St. *Andrew*; and dying, when he had reigned six and fifty years, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by this first Saxon Kingdom, was all Kent lopped off from the Britains Dominion; and this was the first impairing, and this happened in the Reign of *Ambrosius* before spoken of. The sixth King of Kent was *Ethelwald*; who at first an Apostate, was afterwards converted, and built a Chappel within the Monastery of St. *Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The seventh King was *Ercombert*, a virtuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the observing of Lent; and in his daies, the Archbishop *Honorius* divided Kent into Parishes. The eighth King was *Egbert*, who obtained the Kingdom by murdering his Nephews: whose sister the Lady *Dopnena*, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in Kent. The eleventh King was *Withred*, who founded the Priory of *Merton* at *Dover*. The last was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West Saxons, left Kent a Province to that Kingdom, in the year 827.

### The second Kingdom being of the South SAXONS.

The second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South Saxons, and began by *Ella*, in the year 488. containing *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113 years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom *Cissa* being the second founded the City of *Chichester*, and reigned as some say, threescore and sixteen years. And then *Bertham* being the last King, was overcome by *Ine* King of the West Saxons, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom,

dom, in the year 601. and thus as Kent before, so now *Suffex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion : and this was a second impairing, which also happened in the Reign of the *British* King *Ambrosius*.

### The third Kingdom being of the West SAXONS.

**T**He third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the West Saxons, and began by *Cerdic*, in the year 519. containing *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the first : in whose time *Porth* a Saxon landed in the West, at a place from him called afterward *Portsmouth*, and aided *Cerdic* in his conquest. And this happened in the Reign of King *Arthur* : and as *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Surrey* before, so now these seven other shires were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion : and this was a third impairing. The sixth King of the West Saxons was *Kingils*, who was the first Christian King of this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an Italian Divine, to whom he gave the City of *Dorchester*, near to *Oxford* ; who therein erected his Episcopal See. The seventh King was *Kenwald*, who at first an Apostata, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Winchester*, and the Abbey of *Malmesbury* ; whose Wife *Seaburg* also built a house of Devotion in the Isle of *Sheppy*, wherein her self became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbess of *Ely*. The eleventh King was *Ine*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the Saxon tongue, and are translated into *Latine*, by the learned Master *William Lambert*. This King built a Colledge at *Wels* bearing the name of *St. Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulph* made an Episcopal See. He also, in most stately manner new built the Abbey of *Glastenbury* ; and out of his devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoyed every one of his Subjects, that possessed in his house of any one kind of goods to the value of nineteen pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas* day, one penny to the Pope ; which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Almes, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter Pence*. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon him the habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterward was made Abbess of *Barking* near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the bodies of the dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods, to hide himself, where by a Swine-herd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kenulph*, who founded the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrews* at *Wels*, and was afterward slain by *Kynward*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birchric*, whose Queen *Ethelburg*, having prepared a poyson for another, the King chanced to taste it, and thereof died : In fear of which chance the Queen fled into *France* ; where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in marriage : but she out of her lustful humour chooling the Son, was thereupon debar'd of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West Saxons ordained a Law, that no Kings Wife should hereafter have the Title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named *Waxmund*, and was the founder of *Warwick* Town : that he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blind, till he was seven years old, and then saw ; and dumb till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

### The fourth Kingdom of the East SAXONS.

**T**He fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the East Saxons, and began by *Erchemyn*, in the year 527. containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings ; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of *St. Paul* *London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana* : He likewise founded the Church of *St. Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the service of God ; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a Religious habit, in the Monastery of *St. Paul* *London* ; where dying, his body was intombed in a Coffin of gray Marble, the cover coped, and as yet standeth in the North wall of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with buildings, and enriched with lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight years reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West Saxons subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

The

### The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.

**T**He fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland* (so called because it lay North from the river *Humber*) and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the year 547. Containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings, of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Weschester*) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the East Angles. The thirteenth King was *Ofred*, whose Wife *Cuthburga*, out of a loathing weariness of wedlock, sued out a divorce from her husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburne* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a religious habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulp*, who after eight years reign, left his Royal robes, and put on the habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindesferne* or *Holy Island*. Unto this King the Venerable *Bede*, a Saxon and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter and Paul* at *Wor-mouth* near to *Durham*, Dedicated his work of the English History, which he continued from the first entrance of the Saxons into this Island, to the year 731. containing after his own account 285. years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty years reign, forsook the world also, and shored himself a Monk ; whose brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of learned Books. The last King was *Ofwald*, after whom this Kingdom yielded to the protection of *Egbert* King of the West Saxons, who was now in the year 926. become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of his fifth Kingdom, were the six Northern shires lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fifth impairing.

### The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

**T**He sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crida*, in the year 522. containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derbyshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Harifordshire*, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of twenty Kings ; eight of whom in a continued succession kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy : for though others Reigned as Kings in their own Territories, yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest, and was called King of *Engle-land*, till *Edgar* the West Saxon brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of *Mercia* was *Penda*, who was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*, and laid the foundation of the fair Church at *Mede-shamstead*, now called *Peterborough*. The seventh King was *Ethelred*, who reigned thirty years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolnshire*, where in the year 716. he died. The eighth King was *Kenned*, who after four years Reign went to *Rome*, where he took upon him the habit of a Monk, and after other four years died. The tenth King was *Ethelbald*, who at first was given to much lasciviousness of life, but being reprehended for it by *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, was so far converted that he founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty piles of Oake into that Marshy ground, where he laid a great and goodly building of stone ; and after two and forty years Reign, was slain in a battail by *Cuthred* King of the West Saxons. The eleventh King was *Offa*, who greatly enlarged his Dominions ; reigned nine and thirty years, and founded the Monastery of *St. Albans*. The thirteenth King was *Kenulph*, who reigned two and twenty years, and founded the Monastery of *Winchcombe* in the County of *Glocester*, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was *Witlafe*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West Saxons, held his Countrey afterward as his substitute and Tributary, acknowledging *Egbert* as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by erection of this *Mercian* Kingdom, were seventeen shires more lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and was a sixth and a great impairing, so as now they were driven into a narrow room.

### The seventh Kingdom being the East ANGLES.

**T**He seventh Kingdom was of the East Angles, and began by *Uffa*, in the year 575. containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, and continued 353 years during the Reign of fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigebert*, who first brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a School for education of youth, whether at *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, is left a Quere ; and after three years reign shored himself a Monk in the Abbey of *Camelburg*, which himself had built : but being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the East Angles, to resist the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refusing to sue

Portsmouth why so called.

Dorchester an Episcopal See. Winchester Cathedral builded.

King Ine and his laws.

Wels an Episcopal See.

Peter pence when first ordained.

Burials within Cities when first ordained.

K. Sigebert slain by a swine-herd.

Queen Ethelburg thrust into a Monastery and why.

A law that no Kings wife should have the title of a Queen. Offa blind and dumb till a certain age.

Pauls and Westminster founded.

K. Selba buried in Pauls Church.

K. Ethelfryd his twelve hundred Christian Monks at Weschester : anciently called Caerlegion. Queen Cuthburga loathing the acts of marriage becomes a Nun.

Bede dedicated his History to K. Cednulp.

A Library erected at York.

Egbert becomes absolute Monarch of all England.

Peterborough anciently called Medeshamstead.

The Monastery of Crowland founded.

The Monastery of St. Albans founded.

The Monastery of Winchcombe founded.

Oxford or Cambridge founded.

The Abbey of Barking built. Ethelred twice married and yet a Virgin still.

Ethelbert treacherously murdered by K. Offa.

The Cathedral of Hereford built.

St. Edmund-bury founded.

When first called England.

The Danes begin to infect England.

St. Ediths of Polleworth why so called.

Church lands freed from tribute. Peter pence confirmed.

use any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a battail by him slain. The seventh King was Anna, who after thirteen years Reign, was also slain by Penda the Mercian King. This King Anna was memorable chiefly for the holiness of his children, of whom his Son Erkenwald was Bishop of London, and built the Abbey of Barking near London. His eldest daughter Etheldrid was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nun, and is remembered to posterity by the name of St. Audrie. His second daughter named Sexburg, his third named Ethelburg, his fourth (a natural daughter) named Withburg, all entered into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was Ethelbert, a learned and religious Prince, who being invited by Offa the Mercian King to marry Elfrid his daughter, came for that purpose to Offa's Court, then seated at Sutton Walls, in the County of Hereford, and there by him was cruelly murdered: In whose memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a fair Church at Hereford, the Cathedral of that See, as though he could expiate a murder of the living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a Monument of his own impiety. The fifteenth King was Edmund, who assaulted by the Danes for his possessions, was more assaulted for his profession: for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their arrows shot him to death; whose body was buried at the Town where Sigebert the East Anglian King, one of his Predecessors had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occasion of his burial there, called to this day St. Edmundsbury. This Church and place, Suenus the Danish King burnt to ashes: but when his Son Canutus had gotten possession of the English Crown, terrified with a Vision of the seeming St. Edmund; in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers sacrilege, he built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyrs Tomb. After the death of this Edmund, the East Angles Country was possessed by the Danes, and so continued the space of fifty years, until that Edmund surnamed the Elder, expelled those Danes, and made that Kingdom a Province to the West Saxons.

By that which hath been said, it plainly appears, by what degrees the Britains lost, and the Saxons got the whole possession of this Island. For after that Vortigern, in the year 455, had called in the Saxons, every Britain King that succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the Saxons, till at the last in the year 689, Cadwallader the last Britain King lost all; and then the Saxon Kings striving amongst themselves for sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818, Egbert King of the West Saxons reduced them all under his subjection, and then caused all the South of the Island to be called England, according to the Angles of whom himself came; after whom they were no longer properly called Saxon Kings, but Kings of England, and so continued till the Danes in the year 1017, made an interruption; of whose succession now comes the time to speak.

### Of the Saxons that Reigned sole Kings of this Island, and may properly be called English Kings.

Egbert the eighteenth King of the west Saxons, is now become the first of the Kings of England, in whose time the Danes began first to infect the Land; as thinking they might do as much against the Saxons, as the Saxons had done against the Britains; but though they made divers Invasions, and did great spoil, yet they were still repelled. This King reigned six and thirty years, and died in the year 836, was buried at Winchester. Of his issue, his daughter Edith was made Governess of a Monastery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had given her, called Polleworth, situate in Arden, in the North part of the County of Warwick, where she died and was buried, and the place in memory of her called St. Ediths of Polleworth.

To Egbert succeeded his son Ethelwolph, who in his youth was so addicted to a Religious life, that he was first made Deacon; and after Bishop of Winchester; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope Gregory the fourth, was to that end absolved of his Vow. His reign was infected with many and great invasions of the Danes, to whom notwithstanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his reign, remembering his former religious profession, he ordained that riches & lands due to the holy Church, should be free from all Tribute or Regal services, and in great devotion went himself to Rome, where he lived a year; confirmed the grant of Peter pence, and agreed besides to pay yearly to Rome three hundred marks. Returning home through France, and being a Widower, he there married Judith, the beautiful daughter of Charles the Bald then Emperour; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a chair of Estate, with all other Majestical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the West Saxons formerly made; which so much displeased his Lords, that for it they were ready to depose him; but howsoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngest son Notho was much addicted to learning, and was one of the Divinity readers in the University of Oxford, and founded a Monastery in Cornwall, which of him was called Nothestock; and being dead, his body was interred in the County of

Huntington,

A Huntington, at a place then called Armphsbury, and afterward, in regard of his interment, St. Nees, and now St. Needes. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of them were Kings of this Land successively.

First after him reigned his eldest Son Ethelbald, in the year 857, who to his eternal shame, took to wife Judith his Fathers Widow, reigned about two years, and dying, was buried at Shirborn in Dorsetshire, at that time the Episcopall See. From this Judith, married afterward to the Earl of Flanders, after divers descents, came Maud the Wife of William the Conquerour, from whom are descended all our Kings ever since.

Next to the eldest reigned his second Son Ethelbert, all whose reign, which was only five years, was perpetually disquieted with Invasions of the Danes, which yet were at last repelled. He died in the year 866, and was buried at Shirborn in Dorsetshire.

B Next to the second reigned his third Son Ethelred, whose reign was more disquieted with the Danes then any other before: for they invading the Land, under the leading of Hungar, and Hubba, spoiled all the Country as they went, not sparing religious places; amongst other, the goodly Monasteries of Bradney, Crowland, Peterborough, Ely, and Huntington, they laid level with the ground: the Monks and Nuns they murdered or ravished: at which time a rare example of Chastity and Fortitude was seen in the Nuns of Coldingham: For to avoid the barbarous pollutions of these Pagans, they deformed themselves by cutting off their upper lips and noses. Nine battails in one year, this King fought with the Danes, in most of them victorious; but at last received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at Winborn in Dorsetshire.

C Next to the third reigned his fourth Son Alfred, in whose time came over greater swarms of Danes then ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the West, and South parts of this Island, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only Somerset, Hampton, and Wilshire; and not these neither altogether free, so that he was forced sometimes to flee into the Fens and Marsh grounds to secure himself, where he lived by Fishing and Fowling, and hunting of wilde Beasts, till at last learning policy from adversity, and gathering courage from misery, he ventured in the habit of a common Minter, to enter the Danes Camp; where having viewed the manner of their encamping, and observed their security, he returned back, shewing his Lords in what condition he found them: whereupon setting upon them at unawares, he not only made of them a great slaughter, but brought upon them a greater terror: for presently upon this the Danes sue for peace, and deliver Hostages for performance of these conditions; that their King should receive Baptism, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the present into France, yet the year following they returned with greater Forces, foraging all parts of the Country in most cruel manner, though still encountered by this Valourous Prince, till he ended his life in the year 901, after he had reigned nine and twenty years. The virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at least admirable, whereof these may be instances. The day and night containing four and twenty hours, he designed equally to three special uses, observing them by the burning of a Taper for in his Chappel; (there being at that time, no other way of distinguishing them) Eight hours he spent in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: eight in provision for himself, his health and recreation, and the other eight in the affairs of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdom likewise he divided into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings; ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without security: by which course he so suppressed Thieves and Robbers, which had formerly encreased by the long wars, that it is said a boy or girl might openly carry a bag of gold or silver, and carry it safely all the Country over. Besides his great piety, he was also learned; and as far as it might be a commendation in a Prince, a skilful Musician and excellent Poet. All former Laws he caused to be surveyed, and made choice of the best, which he translated into the English tongue; as also the Pastoral of St. Gregory, the History of Bede and Boetius his consolation of Philosophy; the Palms of David likewise he began to translate, but died before he could finish it. And so great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freeman of the Kingdom, possessing two Hides of Land, should bring up their Sons in learning, till they were fifteen years of age at least, that so they might be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily. His buildings were many, both for Gods service, and for other publick use: as at Edlinsy a Monastery, at Winchester a new Minister, and at Shaftesbury a house of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter Ethelgeda the Abbess; but his foundation of the University of Oxford, exceeded all the rest: which he began in the year 895, and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thither out of France, Grimwaldus and Scotus, and out of Wales, Asser, (who wrote his life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his own presence: And for a stock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom; and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a Book; which he kept in his Treasury at Winchester. He reigned seven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter at Winchester, though removed afterward into the Church of the new Monastery, without the North-gate of the City called Hyde. His Wife Elfwith, founded a Monastery of Nuns at Winchester, and was there buried. Their second daughter Ethelgeda, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of Shaftesbury, in the County of Dorset, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the founder of the Town itself.

St. Needes in Huntingdonshire why so called.

K. Ethelbald marries his Fathers widow.

The Danes invade England again.

Monasteries demolished by the Danes.

The Nuns of Coldingham their chastity.

K. Alfreds policy against the Danes.

K. Alfreds virtues.

He divides the Kingdom into Shires.

His love to learning.

Oxford founded.

Shaftesbury by whom founded.

King

King *Alfred* being deceased, his Son *Edward* (called *Edward the Elder*) succeeded: not so **A** Learned as his Father; but in Valour his Equal, and Superiour in Fortune: For first he overcame his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who aspired to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whose chief Leader he slew in battail; lastly the *Welch*; but these last more by humility shewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, then by force of Arms. But yet he must not have all the glory of his time: some must be imparted to his Sister *Elfrida*; who being married to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter, but with so grievous pains in her travail, that ever after she refused the nuptial bed of her Husband, saying, it was a foolish pleasure that brought with it so excessive pains: And thereupon after her husbands death, made choice to follow the wars; assisting her Brother both against the *Welsh*, and against the *Danes*, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying she was buried at *Glocester*, in the Monastery of *St. Peter*, which her Husband and her self had built. King *Edward* himself, after four and twenty years reign, deceased at *Faringdon* in *Barkshire*, in the year 924. **B** and was buried in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finished: having had by his three Wives, six Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own hands knighted, in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a girdle wrought with Pearl. His second Son *Elfred*, he so loved, that he caused him to be Crowned King with himself, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third Son *Elfwald*, presently upon his Fathers death, died himself also. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was by his Brother *Athelstan*, out of jealousy of state, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped **C** into the Sea and drowned himself. His fifth, & his sixth Sons, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, came in succession to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldest *Editha*, was married to *Sithricke* the Danish King of *Northumberland*, and she deceasing, she entred into a Monastery, which she began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickshire*, and there died. His second Daughter *Elfrida*, took upon her the Vow of Virginitie, in the Monastery of *Ramsay*, in the County of *Southampton*, where she died and was interred. His third Daughter *Egwinna*, was first married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*, and after his decease, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermandois*. His fourth Daughter *Ethelheld*, became a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Town, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Eldandun*. That we may see in those first times of Religion, when there was least knowledge, there was most devotion. His fifth Daughter **D** *Edhold*, was married to *Hugh*, surnamed the Great, Earl of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*. And *Edgith* his sixth Daughter to *Otho*, the Emperour of the West, surnamed the Great. His seventh Daughter *Elgina*, was married to a Duke of *Italy*. His ninth *Edigna*, to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded, and was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 924. The beginning of whose Reign, was molested with the Treason of one *Elfrid* a Nobleman, who being apprehended and sent to *Rome* to purge himself, and there denying the Act upon his Oath, fell suddenly down, and within three dayes died, to the eternal terror of all perjured persons. Presently upon this, another disaster befel King *Athelstan*, for having **E** caused his Brother *Edwyns* death, (as before is shewed) chiefly procured by his Cup-bearers suggestions; it happened not long after, that his Cup-bearer, in his service at a Festival, stumbling with one foot, and recovering himself with the other, and saying merrily, *See how our brother helps another*; his words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whose death he had caused, and with remorse thereof, not only caused his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did also seven years penance: and built the two Monasteries of *Middleton*, and *Michelneffe*, in the County of *Dorset*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Laws; and those to bind as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongst which, one was the Attachment of Felons, that stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old. Of this King there is one Act related, that may seem ridiculous; another, that may seem miraculous; For what more ridiculous, then that, going to visit the Tomb of *St. John of Beverly*, and having nothing else of worth to offer, he offered his Knife in devotion to the Saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent: For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good success, he prayed withal, that God would shew some sign of his rightful cause, and thereupon striking with his sword, he struck it an ell deep into a hard stone, which stood so cloven a long time after: But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great victories against the *Danes*, against the *Scots*, against the *Irish*, & against the *Welsh*, whose Princes he brought to be his tributaries, entering Covenant at *Hereford*, to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of silver, and five and twenty hundred head of Cattel; besides a certain number of Hawks and Hounds. Lastly, he joynd *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Dominions beyond any of his Predecessors: which made all neighbouring Princes to seek his friendship, and to gratifie him with rare presents, as *Hugh* King of *France* sent him the Sword of *Constantine* the Great, in the hilt whereof, was one of the nails which fastened Christ to his Cross; he sent him also the Spear of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced Christs side; as also part of the Cross whereon Christ suffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crown put upon his head. Likewise *Otho* the Emperour, who had married his Sister, sent him a vessel of precious stones, artificially made, wherein were seen Landscips with Vines, Corn and Men, **F** **G**

Elfrida forsaketh the marriage bed to follow the wars.

Knighting in an extraordinary manner.

Wilton the head Town of Wiltshire.

Perjury punished by the divine hand.

Felons punished.

A miracle of K. Athelstan.

K. Athelstan makes Wales tributary.

Holy Reliques sent to King Athelstan.

**A** all of them seeming so artificially to move, as if they were growing, and alive. Likewise the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly Ship, with a gilt Stern, purple sails, and the deck garnished all with gold. Of these accounted Holy Reliques, King *Athelstan* gave part to the Abbey of *Saint Swithin* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutelar Saint. He new built the Monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelneffe*, and *Middleton*; Founded *Saint Germans* in *Cornwall*, *Saint Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Excester*, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands, every special Abbey of the Land. But the chiefest of his works for the service of God, and good of his Subjects, was the Translation of the Bible into the *Saxon* Tongue, which was then the Mother tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen years, died at *Glocester*, and was buried at *Malmesbury*, in **B** the year 940. having never been married.

After the death of *Athelstan*, his brother *Edmund*, the fifth son of his Father, succeeded; and was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*; but no sooner was the Crown set upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his back; and in *Northumberland* made insurrections; whom yet he not only repressed in that part; but took from them the Towns of *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*; compelling them withal to receive Baptism, and to become his Subjects, so as the Countrey was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* also, which had been an entire Kingdom of it self, and was now aided by *Leolyn* King of *Southwales*, he utterly waited and gave it *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he set himself to ordain Laws for the good of his People; which *Matter Lambert* hath since translated into **C** Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he came at last to a lamentable end; for at this Manour of *Pucklekerke*, in the County of *Glocester*, interposing himself to part a fray between two of his servants, he was thrust through the body, and so wounded that he died, and was buried at *Glastenbury*, after he had reigned five years and seven moneths, leaving behind him two young Sons, *Edwyn*, and *Edgar*.

King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred* in the minority of his Nephews, was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 946. Not as Protector; (it seems that kind of authority was not yet come in use) but as King himself, though with purpose to resign, when the right Heir should come of age; which at this time needed not, for while the right Heir was scarce yet fourteen years old, he resigned to him the Kingdom, **D** by resigning his life to Nature, after he had twice repressed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiving their rebelling, which yet was not a limple rebellion; for they had sent for *Anlaf* the Dane out of *Ireland*, and made him their King; which place for four years he held; and then weary of his government, they thrust him out, and take one *Horikum* to be their King, whom not long after they put down also; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Arms, they submit themselves to him, and ask forgiveness; to whom he as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into protection. This Prince was so devout and humble, that he submitted his body to be chastised at the will of *Dunstan* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and committed all his Treasure and Jewels to his custody. The lately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* near *Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified; endowing it with revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with seals of Gold. He ordained *Saint Germans* in *Cornwall*, to be a Bishops See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopal See of *Kyrtun* in *Devonshire*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confessor, translated to the City of *Excester*. He left behind him two Sons, *Elfred*, and *Bertfred*, and was buried in the old Minster, without the City of *Winchester*, whose bones with other Kings, are to this day preserved in a gilt Coffin, fixed upon the wall, in the South side of the Quire.

After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldest Son of King *Edmund* succeeded, and was anointed and Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 955. This Prince, though scarce fourteen years old, and in age but a child, yet was able to commit sin as a man; For upon the very day of his Coronation, and in sight of his Lords, as they sat in Counsel, he shamefully abused a Lady of great Estate, and his near kinswoman; and to mend the matter, shortly after slew her husband; the more freely to enjoy his incestuous pleasure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thrusting the Monks out of the Monasteries of *Malmesbury*, and *Glastenbury*, and placing married Priests in their rooms, as also for banishing *Dunstan* the holy Abbot of *Glastenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts was so turned against him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and swore Fealty to his younger brother *Edgar*; with grief, whereof, after four years reign, he ended his life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hyde*, at **E** **F** **G** *Winchester*.

After *Edwyn*, succeeded his younger brother *Edgar*, at the age of sixteen years; but his Coronation, when, and where, and by whom, so uncertain, that some say he was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the first year of his reign; others say not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury* not till the thirtieth: Another Chronicle faith, in his eleventh year; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reason of the tranquillity of his reign, was surnamed the Peaceable; for as he was something inclined to the *Danes*, so the *Danes* never offered to stir in all **H** **I**

The Bible translated into the Saxon Tongue.

King Edmund compels the Danes to receive Baptism.

His good Laws.

His unfortunate end.

King Edred's devotion.

Excester made the Episcopal See.

K. Edwyn's shameful act at his Coronation.

King Edgar called the Peaceable, his

A Law to re-  
press drunken-  
ness.

How Wolves  
came to be de-  
stroyed in Eng-  
land.

King Edgar's  
Navie Royal  
of 3600. ships.

Souldiers made  
to restore their  
booties.

King Edgar  
builds seven  
and forty Mo-  
nasteries.

King Edgar's  
lasciviousness.

A treacherous  
Favourite.

Ramsiey Mona-  
stery in Ham-  
shire founded.

A child found  
in an Eagles  
nest: and there-  
of called Ne-  
fling.

his time; and as for the Saxons, they acknowledged him their sole Sovereign, without division of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were, some Virtuous, some Politick, some Just, some Pious; and yet all these not without some mixture of vice. To repress drunkenness, which the Dames had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a fine, by certain pints in the pot; with penalty to any that should presume to drink deeper than the mark. It was a politick device which he used for the destruction of Wolves that in his daies, did great annoyance to the Land: For the tribute imposed on the Princes of Wales, by King Athelstan, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof, a certain number of Wolves yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of North-Wales, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three years space: and in the fourth year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and so the tribute ceased. He had in his Navy Royal, three thousand and six hundred ships, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a several Quarter, to scowre the Seas, and to secure the Coasts from Pirates: and left his Officers might be careless, or corrupted, he would himself in person sail about all the Coasts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Justice, that in his Circuits, and Progresses through the Countrey, he would take special account of the demeanour of his Lords; and specially of his Judges; whom he severely punished, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his reign, only towards his end, the Welshmen moved some rebellion; against whom he went with a mighty Army, and chastised the Authors; but when his Souldiers had gotten great spoils, and made prey upon the innocent Countrey people; he commanded them to restore it all back again; which, if it made some few English angry, it made the whole Countrey of the Welsh well pleased, and found forth his praises. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared seven and forty Monasteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; especially being a Vice opposite to all those Virtues, which was Lasciviousness. For first, he deflowered a sacred Nun, called *Wolfschilde*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaste *Edyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Ethelstede*, for her excellent beauty surnamed the White, on whom he begot his eldest Son *Edward*; for which Fact he did seven years penance enjoined him by the Archbishop *Dunstan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Western Duke, exceedingly praised for her beauty, and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the dark her maid to him; who in the morning making haste to rise, and the King not suffering her to depart, she told him what great work she had to do, and how she should incur her Ladies displeasure, if it were not done; by which words the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jest; but so well liked her company, that he kept himself true to her ever after, till he married. But now his marriage it self happened by a greater vice than any of these; For hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the only daughter of *Ordgannus* Duke of *Devonshire*, Founder of *Tavestock* Abby in that Countrey, he sent his great Favorite *Earl Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commission, that if he found her such as Fame reported, he should seize her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl, upon sight of the Lady, was so surprized with her love, that he began to woo her for himself, and got her Fathers good will, so as the King would give his consent. Hereupon the Earl posted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing answerable to the Fame that went of her; yet desired the King that he might marry her, as being her Fathers Heir, thereby to raise his Fortunes. The King consented, and the marriage was solemnized. Soon after, the fame of her beauty began to spread more then before; so as the King much doubting that he had been abused, meant to try the truth himself, and thereupon taking occasion of hunting in the Dukes Park, came to his house; where coming *Ethelwold* suspecting, acquainted his wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King, and therefore to prevent the Kings displeasure, intreated her by all the persuasions he could use, to clothe her self in such attire, as might be least fit to set her forth; but she considering that now was the time to make the most of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be accessary to her own wrong, but decked her self in her richest Ornaments, which so improved her beauty, that the King at the first sight was struck with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet dissembling his passion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrida* a Widow, took her to be his Wife. This King founded the Monastery of *Ramsiey* in *Hampshire*, reigned sixteen years, lived seven and thirty, and with great Funeral pomp was buried in the Abby of *Glastenbury*. He had children by his first wife *Ethelstede*, one Son named *Edward*; and by his second wife *Elfrida*, two Sons, one named *Edmund*, who died young, the other *Ethelred*. He had also one natural Daughter, named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolfschilde*, the daughter of *Wolholme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Nefling*; which two latter, bear in their names the memory of their Fortunes; the last of them being found in an Eagles nest, by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monastery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

After the death of King *Edgar* succeeded his Son *Edward*, but not without some opposition, for Queen *Elfrida* combined with divers of the Lords, to make her Son *Ethelred* King, saying that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other side, the Archbishop *Dunstan*, and the Monks stood for *Edward*, abetting his title as being lawfully born; but while the Council

was

A was assembled to argue their Rights, the Archbishop came in with his Banner and Cross, and not staying for debating *de Jure*, de Facto presented Prince *Edward* for their lawful King, and the Assembly consisting most of Clergy men, drew the approbation of the rest; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, by Archbishop *Dunstan*, in the year 975. In the beginning of his reign, it fell into debate whether married Priests were to be allowed to live in Monasteries upon the revenues of the Church. The Mercian Duke *Alferus*, favouring the cause of the married Priests, destroyed the Monasteries in his Province, cast out the Monks, and restored again the ancient revenues to the Priests and their Wives. On the other side, *Edelwyn* Duke of the East Angles, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Suffex*, who stood for the Monks, cast married Priests out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Council at *Westminster*, the Monks cause was like to have the foil, till it was referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory wall, where the Council sate: For to this great Oracle, Saint *Dunstan* desired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent ear for an Answer, when suddenly a voice was heard to say, *God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so*. This was thought Authority sufficient, to suppress the Priests, till they persuading the people, that this was but a cunning practise of the Monks, in placing behind the wall, a man of their own who through a Trunk uttered these words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Assembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltshire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with most of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being set, and the matter at the height of discussing, it happened that the Joys of the room, where the Synod was held, suddenly brake, and the floor with all the people thereon, fell down, whereof many were hurt, and some slain; Only the Archbishop *Dunstan* then President, and mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practise, or were miraculous, it served the Monks turn for justifying their cause; and married Priests were thereupon discarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to speak of all the Miracles, reported to be done by this Saint *Dunstan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

But now a most lamentable dyfaller comes to be remembered: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Island of *Purbeck*: not far from *Corfe Castle*, where his mother in Law Queen *Elfrida*, with his brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then residing, he out of his love to both, would needs himself alone go visit them; where the cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, caused one to run him into the back with a knife, as he was drinking a Cup of Wine on Horseback at his departing; who feeling himself hurt, set spurs to his Horse, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through loss of much blood, fell from his Horse; but one foot being intangled in the stirrup, he was thereby rudely dragged up and down, through Woods, and Lands: and lastly left dead at *Corfe* gate; for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward the Martyr*. He reigned only three years and six months, and was buried first at *Winchester*, without all Funeral pomp; but after three years, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great solemnity interred in the Minster of *Shaftsbury*. Queen *Elfrida*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monasteries of *Almesbury*, and *Wormsley*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, in which latter with great repentance, she lived till her death.

After the death of *Edward* the Martyr, dying at the age of sixteen years, his half brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve years, in the year 979. was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames* by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though much against his will; which King by reason of his backwardness in Action, was commonly called the Unready. At the Coronation of this Prince *St. Dunstan* in a Prophetick spirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in these words following: Because (saith he) thou hast aspired to the Crown by the death of thy brother whom thy Mother hath murdered, therefore hear the word of the Lord: The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall furiously rage all the days of thy life, killing of thy seed, till such time as thy kingdom shall be given to a people whose customs and language the Nation thou now governest know not. Neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy Mother, and the sin of those men, who were partakers of her Counsils, and Executors of her wicked designs, be expiated but by a long, and most severe vengeance. Which prediction of the holy Archbishop was seconded by prodigies, and by the dyfallous calamities which fell on him, his house, and the whole confirmed for truth. Besides this, most remarkable are the prophecies of a holy man in the time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whete time, for two and twenty years past the Dames had lived as quiet Inmates with the English, but whether weary of so long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing something, in the second year of this King, they begin to stir, and inviting from home forces, who in seven Ships arrived upon the coast of *Kent*, they spoiled all the Countrey, specially the Isle of *Thanet*, and continued this course of forraging the Kingdom, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another, for eleven years together: till at last in the year 991. the King by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricinus* the now Archbishop of *Canterbury* was chief, was contented to pay them ten thousand pounds, upon condition they should quietly depart the Realm. This served the turn for the present, but was so far from satisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite: for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet then before, against whom the King prepared a competent Navie, and committed it to *Elfrick*, Earl of *Mercia*, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the most part did, whom the King employed against the Dames, as with whom they were allied in blood) the Dames so prevailed, that for the next composition, they had sixteen thousand pounds given them

Married  
Priests ex-  
cluded from living  
in Monasteries,  
by what ver-  
dicts.

K. Edward's  
lamentable  
end by the  
wickedness of  
his mother in  
law: and  
called the  
Martyr.

K. Ethelred  
called the Un-  
ready.

The Dames  
having been  
long quiet be-  
gin now to  
stir.

The Dames  
prevail, and  
are called  
Lord-Dames.

them, and a year after, twenty thousand; and so every year more and more, till it came at last to forty thousand: by which means, the Land was emptied of all coyn, and the English were brought so low, that they were fain to Till, and ear the Ground, whilst the Danes sat idle, and eat the fruit of their labours; abusing the Wives and Daughters of their Hosts where they lay, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called *Lord-Danes*; (which afterward became a word of derision, when one would signifie a lazy Lubber.) In this distressed state, the King at last bethought himself of a course: he sent forth a secret Commission into every City within his Dominions; that at an appointed time, they should massacre all the Danes that were amongst them; The day was the thirteenth of November, being the Festival of St. Brice, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in Oxford the Danes for refuge took into the Church of St. Frideswide, as into a Sanctuary, when the English, neither regarding place nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein many of the Danes were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that England by this Fact had clean shaken of the Danish yoke for ever? yet it proved clean otherwise: For the news of this massacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the Danes sharper set against the English; then ever they had been before; so as the year following, their King Sweyne, with a mighty Navy entered the Countrey, razed and levelled with the ground the City of Excester, all along from the East Gate to the West: against whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it, the Earl Edrick, his great Favourite, whom he had created Duke of Mercia, and given him his Daughter Edgith in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous, for being sent Ambassadour to the Danes, to mediate for Peace, he revealed to them the weakness of the Land, and treacherously dissuaded them from consenting to any Truce. Upon this King Ethelred gave order, That every three hundred and ten Hydes of Land should build a Ship, and every eight Hydes finde a compleat Armour furnished; yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but only to make a show. After this, the King seeing no end of their Invasions, nor promise kept upon any composition; (for three Danish Princes, with a great Fleet, were now newly arrived,) He intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his cause to God, by the fortune of a Battail. To which end he secretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked Edrick had not dissuaded him from fighting, and put him into a causeless fear, by forged tales. After this the Danes foraged many Countries; burnt Oxford, Thersford, and Cambridge; and lastly entered Wiltshire, which was the seventh thire in number, they had laid waste like a Wilderness. The year after they make a new Expedition, and besiege Canterbury; which by treason of a Church-man they won, took Alphegus the Archbishop, and slew nine hundred Monks, and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tyethed the people, slaying all by nines, and reserving only the tenth to live; so that of all the Monks in the Town, there were but four saved, and of the Lay-people, four thousand eight hundred; by which account Master Lambert collecteth, that there dyed in this Massacre three and forty thousand, and two hundred persons. The Archbishop Alphegus, for that he refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his ransom, they most cruelly stoned to death at Greenwich. Turkillus the leader of these Murderers, took into his possession all Norfolk and Suffolk, over whom he tyrannized in most savage manner; the rest compounding with the English for eight thousand pounds, quietly for a while sojourned among them. The year following came King Sweyne again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of Humber, and landed at Gainsborough, to whom the Northumbrians, and the people of Lindsey, yielded themselves; so that now over all the North from Wallingstreet, he reigned sole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he passed into the South, subduing all before him till he came to London, where he was so valiantly encountered by the Londoners, that he was glad to retire, in which retyring notwithstanding he entred Bathe; where Ethelmore Earl of Devonshire, with his Western people, submitted himself to him. Yet after this, between him and the English was struck a fierce battail, which had been with good success, if the treachery of some in turning to the Danes, had not hindered it. After this the Danes proceeded on victoriously, and had gotten most part of the Land, and even London also by submission: whereupon the unfortunate King Ethelred sending his Wife Emma, with her two Sons Edward and Alfred, to her Brother Duke of Normandy, himself also the Winter following passed thither, leaving the Danes Lording it in his Realm. Sweyne now as an absolute King, extorted from the English both Victuals and pay for his Souldiers; and demanding such a Composition for preserving of St. Edmunds Monastery in Suffolk, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refused to pay; he thereupon threatened spoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones there interred, when suddenly, in the midst of his jollity (saith Hoveden) he cried out, that he was struck by St. Edmund with a Sword, being then in the midst of his Lords, and no man seeing from whose hand it came; and so with great horror and torment, three days after, upon the third of February, he ended his life at Thersford, or (as others say) at Gainsborough. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the English, to free themselves wholly from the Danish yoke? but when all was done, either crossed by treachery, or frustrated by misfortune, nothing prospered. It is true, upon this occasion of Sweyns death, King Ethelred returned out of Normandy, but at his coming,

CANUTUS

The Danes massacred.

In revenge whereof King Sweyne the next year invades the Kingdom, and prevails by the treachery of Edrick.

King Sweyne is stricken by the divine hand, for offering violence to St. Edmund the Martyrs bones.

A Canutus the Son of Sweyne, had gotten the people of Lindsey to be at his devotion, and to find him both Horse and Men against their own King; so as Ethelred was now to encounter as well his own Subjects, as Danes, which he did so valiantly, that he made Canutus glad to return into Denmark, as utterly hopeless of any good to be done in England. And now one would certainly think the Danes had been removed, Root and Branch, out of England; and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is a true saying, *That which will be, shall be, let all be done that can be.* For now Turkill the Dane, who had before revolted to K. Ethelred, growing sensible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrey-mens case, which was now or never to be helped; with nine of his Ships sailed into Denmark, and first excusing himself to Canutus for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpose, to learn all advantages against the English, which now he could discover to him, so he prevailed with Canutus once again to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he set sail for England, and landed at Sandwich, where he gave the English a great overthrow, and passed victoriously through the Counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wilts. When (Ethelred lying dangerously sick at Cossam) the managing of the War was committed to Prince Edmund his Son, who preparing to give the Danes battail, had suddenly notice given him, that his Brother in law Edrick, meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him suspend his proceeding; and Edrick, perceiving his design to be discovered, cast off the masque, and with forty of the Kings Ships fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the West Countreys submitted themselves unto Canutus. By this time King Ethelred having recovered his sickness, prepared to go on with the Battail, which his Son Edmund had intended, but his Forces being assembled, he likewise had suddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the Danes. Hereupon he withdrew himself to London, as the place in which he most confided; where falling into a relapse of his former sickness, he ended his unfortunate daies, in the year 1016. when he had reigned 37 years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, whose bones as yet remain in the North wall of the Chancel, in a chest of gray marble; adjoining to that of Seba King of the East Saxons. He had by his two Wives, eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom, his youngest named Goda, was married to one Walter de Maigne, a Noble man of Normandy: by whom she had a Son named Rodolph, which Rodolph had a Son named Harold, created afterward by King William the Conquerour, Baron of Sudeley in the County of Gloucester, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord Chandovers of Sudeley, now being.

Ethelred being dead, his third Son Edmund called Ironside (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldest living at his fathers death, succeeded, and was crowned at Kingstone upon Thames, by Levingus Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1016. A great part of the English both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured Canutus; especially the Clergy, who at Southampton ordained him their King, and swore Fealty to him: but the Londoners stood firm to Prince Edmund, and were the principal authors of his Election. Canutus before the death of King Ethelred, had besieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompassed it: but the new King Edmund coming on, raised the siege, and made Canutus flee to the Isle of Sheppey, where having stayed the Winter, the Spring following, he assailed the West of England, and at Penham in Dorsetshire, a battel was fought, and the Danes discomfited. After this, in Worcestershire at a place called Sheroston, another battail was fought, where the Danes were like again to be discomfited, but the traitorous Edrick perceiving it, he cut off the head of a Souldier like unto King Edmund both in hair and countenance, and shaking his bloody sword, with the gasping head, crying to the Army of the English, *Flee ye wretches, flee, and get away, for your King is slain; behold, here is his head;* but King Edward having notice of this treacherous stratagem, halted to shew himself where he might best be seen: whose sight so encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke Edrick excuses his fact, as being mistaken in the countenance of the man, and desirous to save the blood of the English; upon which false colour he was received into favour again. After this, Canutus secretly in the night brake up his camp, and marched towards London, which in a fort was still besieged by the Danish Ships: but King Edmund hearing of his departure, followed him, and with small adoe removed the siege, and in Triumphant manner entered the City. After this near unto Oxford in Kent, was another great battail fought, in which Canutus lost four thousand five hundred men, and King Edmund only six hundred; the rest of the Danes saving themselves by flight; whom if King Edmund had pursued, it is thought that day had ended the wars between these two Nations for ever. But the ever traitorous Edrick, kept King Edmund from pursuing them, by telling him of Ambushes and other dangers: So as Canutus had leisure to pass over into Essex, but thither also King Edmund followed him; where at Asfdone three miles from Saffron Walden, another battail was fought, in which the Danes being at the point to be overthrown, the traitorous Edrick with all his Forces revolted to their side, by which treachery the English lost the day. There died of King Edmunds Nobility, Duke Alfred, Duke Godwyn, Duke Athelwald, Duke Athelwyn, Earl Archibald Codrath Bishop of Lincoln, Wolfey Abbot of Ramsey, with many other. The remembrance of which battail is retained to this day, by certain small hills there remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, armour, and horse-bridles. After this, at Dereberf, near to the river Severn, another battail was ready to be fought;

C 2

Canutus in despair returns into Denmark.

Is persuaded by Turkill the Dane to return into England.

Edrick continues treacherous still.

The Lord Chandovers of Sudeley from whom descended.

Edmund Ironside crowned King.

Drives Canutus from the siege of London.

Edrick treacherous still.

King Edmund and Canutus try the matter by a single combat.

They divide the Kingdom between them.

Edrick treacherous still, murders King Edmund.

Edgar Atheling his Father.

King James descended from Margaret Daughter of King Edmund Ironside.

when suddenly, a certain Captain steps forth, and for saving of blood, used great persuasions, that either they should try the battail by single Combat, or else divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entering into a small Island called *Alney*, adjoining to the City of *Gloester*, in compleat Armour assailed each other; at first on horseback, and after on foot: when *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himself over-marched in strength, desired a Compromise, and with a loud voice used these words. What necessity should move us most Valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aside, and condescend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become sworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted, and thus was the Kingdom divided between these two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the coast of *France*, and *Canutus* the rest. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his last and greatest Act of treachery to play; for King *Edmund* being retired to a place for natures necessity, he thrust from under the draught a sharp spear into his body, and then cutting off his head presented it to *Canutus*, with these fawning words, *All hail, thou sole Monarch now of England, for here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.* *Canutus* though ambitious enough of soveraignty, yet abashed at so disloyal a fact, replied and vowed, that in reward of that service his own head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: which soon after he performed; for by his command the false *Edricks* head was cut off, and placed upon the highest gate in *London*. *Matthew of Westminster* and *Huntingdon*, relates this murder to have been acted by *Edricks* own Son at the commandment of his Father: *William of Malmesbury* writes that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber hired by the same disloyal *Edrick*; notwithstanding *Roger Hoveden* reports that he died a natural death at *London*. The death of this King in this manner, some say was acted at *Oxford*; others, that he died of a natural sickness in *London*; but howsoever he came to his death, his reign was but only seven months, and his body was buried at *Glastenbury*, near to his Grandfather King *Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth*, two Sons; the eldest named *Edward*, surnamed the Out-law, because he lived out of *England* in *Hungary* as a banished man, for fear of King *Canutus*; but when his Uncle King *Edward* the Confessor, had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died. He married *Agatha*, Sister to Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second; by whom he had *Edgar* surnamed *Atheling*, the right Heir of the *English* Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The second Son of *Ironside* was called after his Fathers name *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had also two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christiane*, of whom the younger became a Veiled Nun at *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*; the elder *Margaret*, after sole Heir to the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolm* the third King of *Scotland*, from which princely bed in a lineal Descent, our High and mighty Monarch King *James* the first, doth in his most Royal person, unite the *Britains*, *Saxons*, *Normands*, and *Scotish* Imperial Crowns in one.

### Of the first DANISH King in England.

Canutus posselt of the whole Kingdom.

He marries Queen Emma.

**C**anutus being posselt of half the Kingdom by composition with King *Edward*, now after his death seized upon the whole, and to prevent all further question, he called a Council of the *English* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been reserved for King *Edmunds* Brethren or Sons: to which (not daring to say otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleared of all Opposites, he prepared with great solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Levingus* surnamed *Elfsane*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1017. being the first *Dane* that reigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himself sufficiently safe, as long as any that might pretend, were in the peoples eye, caused first *Edwyn* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterward recalled, and treacherously murdered by his own men, and his body buried at *Tauestock* in *Devonshire*. Next were the two Sons of *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward* and *Edmund*, whom to the end the people might not see him shed the blood of Innocents, he sent to his half Brother King of *Sweden*, to be made away: But the King of *Sweden* more compassionate and noble, then this jealous and cruel *Dane*, sent the young Princes into *Hungary* to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in whose Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mentioned. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of King *Ethelred*, and them their Mother Queen *Emma* had sent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in safety: so as none of the Royal blood was now left in the land, to give *Canutus* any fear of competition. After this, he took to wife the virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himself three great benefits: one that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they so intirely loved; another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he secured himself against the Sons: as likewise Queen *Emma* was not unwillingly persuaded to the match, upon agreement to make her issue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the love of the people more, he caused

great

**A** great numbers of his *Danes*, who pestered the Countrey, to return home, bestowing amongst them for their satisfaction, fourscore and two thousand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now set himself to the making of good Laws, in a Parliament at *Oxford*; whereof, for a pattern of those times, some that concern Religion, may not unfitly be here related. First, for the celebration of Divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the encrease of Reverence and Devotion should be used as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all publique Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all secular actions should be forborn, unless some urgent necessity should require it. Thirdly, that every Christian should thrice in the year receive the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Minister of an Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he should be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convicted of adultery, should have her nose and ears cut off. Sixthly, that a widow marrying within a twelve moneth after her husbands decease should lose her Joynture. These and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained during all his time, in a most peaceable state and government. In the third year of his reign, he heard how the *Vandals* taking advantage of his absence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *English* he passed over the Seas, and gave them battail, but with ill success the first day; when preparing for the next days battail, the Earl *Godwyn* who was General of the *English*, secretly in the dead of the night, set upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great slaughter of their Souldiers, made their two Princes *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to flee the field. In the morning it was told *Canutus*, that the *English* were fled, for that their station was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his patience: but he going in person to see the truth, found the great overthrow the *English* had given, for which service ever after, he held the *English*, and especially the Earl *Godwyn* in great estimation. After this, returning home, he made a prosperous Expedition against *Malcolm* King of *Scots*; and at last, in the fifteenth year of his reign, wearied with the honorable troubles of the World, and out of a devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to visit the Sepulchre of *St. Peter* and *Paul*, from whence he writ to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, that they should carefully administer Justice, and never seek to advance his profit by any undue ways, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from *Rome*, he built in *Essex* the Church of *Abdene*, where he got the victory against King *Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abbey of *St. Benets*, which Saint he greatly revered; and in *Suffolk* the Monastery of *St. Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Winchester* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Crofs, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of *England* amounted to in one year. To *Conventry* he gave the arm of the great *St. Austin*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid an hundred Talents of silver, and one of gold. One strange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatterers, who used to tell him that his powers were more then humane: For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his chair of State should be set on the shoar when the Sea began to flow, and then sitting down there in the presence of his many attendants, he spake thus to that Element; I charge thee that thou presume not to enter my Land, nor wet these Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his usual course of Tyde, first wet his skirts, and after his thighs, whereupon suddenly arising, he thus spake in the hearing of them all; Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth and Sea in obedience. After which time he would never suffer the Crown to be set upon his head, but presently Crowned therewith the Picture of Christ on the Crofs at *Winchester*: from which example arose perhaps the custom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings consecrated to him who is the Lord of battail. When he had reigned nineteen years, he deceased at *Shaftesbury* in the County of *Dorset*, the twelfth of *November*, in the year 1035, and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery at *Winchester*, which being after new built, his bones with many other *English* Saxon Kings, were taken up, and are preserved in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives, three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first wife *Alfgive*; and *Hardikute* by his second wife Queen *Emma*, and two Daughters, of whom the eldest, called *Guinbilla*, was married to the *Roman* Emperour *Henry* the third, who being accused of adultery, and none found to defend her cause, at last an *English* Page, a very boy and dwarf, who for the littleness of his stature, was generally, and jestingly surnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain his Innocency against a mighty Giantlike Combatant; who in fight, at one blow cutting the sinews of his adversaries leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his Sword taking his head from his shoulders, redeemed both the Emperesses life and honour. But the Emperers after this hard usage forsook her Husbands bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Burges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her life.

He makes good Laws.

The Sabbath to be strictly observed.

The Communion to be received thrice a year.

A married woman convicted of adultery, to have her nose and ears cut off.

He takes a journey to Rome.

He builds divers Monasteries.

A Jewel as much worth as the revenues of *England*.

His Act for convincing his flatterers.

Hanging up the armour of worthy men in Churches, from whence it began.

Guinbilla's Innocency defended by a Page.

## Of the Second DANISH King in England.

**K**ing Canutus dying, left his Kingdom of Norway to his eldest Son Sweyne, and his Kingdom of England, to his youngest Son Hardiknute, whom he had by his wife Emma, but he being at the time of his Fathers death in Denmark, Harold his elder Brother, by a former wife, taking advantage of his absence, layes claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at Oxford, where Queen Emma pleaded for her Son Hardiknute, urging the Covenant of Canutus at their marriage, and his last Will at his death; as also Earl Godwyn of Kent did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Will. But Harold's presence, together with the favour of the Londoners, Danes, and Northumbrians, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent Hardiknute was neglected, and Harold was proclaimed and Crowned King at Oxford, by Elnothus Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1036.

Harold succeedeth his father Canutus.  
His plot to intercept Competitors.

His cruelty against his Brother in law Alfred.

Called Harefoot for his swift running.

Harold having now attained the Crown, was not so jealous of his brother Hardiknute, as of his Mother in Law Queen Emma, and her Sons by King Ethelred who were beyond Sea, and therefore how to secure himself against these was his first care: For effecting whereof, he framed a Letter, as written by Queen Emma, to her two Sons Edward and Alfred; instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by Harold, against their Right: to which Letter, coming first to the hands of Alfred, he suspecting no fraud, returned answer, that he would shortly come over, and follow her counsel. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few Souldiers lent him by Baldwyn Earl of Flanders, he took the Sea for England, where coming to shore, Earl Godwyn met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his guide to his Mother Queen Emma, but being wrought firm for Harold, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at Gailford, making known to King Harold what he had done, who presently committed them all to slaughter, sparing only every tenth man, for service of sale. Prince Alfred himself he sent Prisoner to the Isle of Ely, where having his eyes inhumanely put out, in grief and torment he ended his life. Some add a more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and fastened to a stake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his Entrails were extracted. This done, then he set upon Queen Emma, confiscating her Goods, and banished her the Realm. And now further to secure himself, he kept the Seas with sixteen Danish Ships, to the maintenance whereof, he charged the English with great payments; by which, if he procured the safety of his Person, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his swiftness in running was called Harefoot, but though by his swiftness he out-run his Brother for the Kingdom, yet could not he run so fast, but that death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four years and some months, he dyed at Oxford and was buried at Westminster, having never had Wife or Children.

## Of the Third and last DANISH King in England.

**K**ing Harold being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, send now for Hardiknute, and offer him their Allegiance, who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of Kent, the sixth day after he had set sail out of Denmark; and with great pomp conveyed to London, was there Crowned King by Elnothus Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1040. His first Act, was to be revenged of his deceased Brother Harold, whose body he caused to be digged up, and thrown into the Thames, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of St. Clement without Temple-Bar, commonly called St. Clement Danes, because it was the burying place of the Danes, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince Edward, he shewed true natural affection, inviting them both to return into England; where he received them with all the honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

St. Clement Danes, why so called.

His intemperance in diet.

He imposeth Ship-money upon his Subjects.  
He dies suddenly.

But now, as the King Harold, for his swiftness in running, was surnamed Harefoot; so this King for his intemperance in dyet, might have been surnamed Swinesmouth, or *Bocca di Porco*: for his Tables were spread every day four times, and furnished with all kinds of curious dishes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and twilling; and as for managing the State, he committed it wholly to his Mother Queen Emma, and to the politick Earl of Kent, Godwyn; who finding this weakness in the King, began to think himself aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he sought by all means to alien the subjects hearts from the Prince; amongst other courses he caused him to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Ship-money to pay his Danes, amounting to two and thirty thousand pounds: which was so offensive to the people, that the Citizens of Worcester slew two of his officers, Thurstan and Feudax, that came to collect it. But this King had soon the reward of his intemperance; for in a solemn Assembly and banquet at Lambeth, revelling and carousing, he suddenly fell down without speech, or breath, after he had reigned only two years, and was buried at Winchester. His death was so welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death is to this day commonly celebrated with open pastimes in the street, and is called

**A** called *Hock-tide*, signifying scorn or contempt, which fell upon the Danes by his death: For with him ended the Reign of the Danes in England; after they had miserably afflicted the Kingdom, for the space of two hundred and forty years; though in Regal Government, but only fix and twenty.

A day called *Hock-tide*, and why.

## Of ENGLISH Kings again, and first of EDWARD the Confessor.

**K**ing Hardiknute dying without issue, as having never been married, and the Danish line clean extinguished, Edward for his Piety called the Confessor, half Brother to the deceased Hardiknute, and Son to King Ethelred by his Wife Queen Emma, was by a general content admitted King of England, and was Crowned at Winchester by Edsne Archbishop of Canterbury, on Easter day, in the year 1042. being then of the age of forty years. He was born at Islip, near to Oxford, and after his Fathers death, for safety sent into France, to the Duke of Normandy his Mothers Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of England. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were first, the remitting the yearly tribute of forty thousand pounds, gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had been imposed by his Father, and for forty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the Mercians, West Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, he selected the best, and made of them one body certain, and written in Latin, being in a fort the Fountain of those which at this day we term the Common Laws, though the forms of pleading, and process therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerour. The Reign of this King was very peaceably: Only in his sixth year, the Danish Pirats entred the Port of Sandwich; which with all the Sea-coasts of Essex they spoiled, and then in Flanders made merchandise of their prey. As likewise the Irish, with thirty ships entred Severn, and with the assistance of Griffyth King of Southwales, burnt or slew all in their way, till at last, Reest the Brother of Griffyth was slain at Bulenden, and his head presented to King Edward at Gloucester. His Domestical troubles were only by Earl Godwin and his Sons; who yet after many contestations and affronts were reconciled, and Godwin received again into as great favour as before. But although King Edward forgave his Treasons, yet the Divine Providence did not; for soon after as he sat at Table with the King, on Easter Monday, he was suddenly stricken with death, and on the Thursday following dyed, and was buried at Winchester. Some make his death more exemplar, as that justifying himself for Prince Alfreds death, he should pray to God, that if he were any way guilty of it, he might never swallow down one morsel of bread, and thereupon by the just Judgment of God was choaked by the first morsel he offered to eat.

Edward the Confessor succeedeth Hardiknute.

He remits *Dane-gilt*.

He ordained the Common Laws.

Earl Godwin punished by the Divine hand.

Extremity of Snow.

In this Kings time such abundance of snow fell in January, continuing till the middle of March following, that almost all Cattel and Fowl perished, and therewith an excessive dearth followed.

Two Acts are related of this King, that seem nothing correspondent to the general opinion he had of his Virtue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife: That concerning his Mother Queen Emma was this, that because after King Ethelred's death, she married the Danish King Canutus; and seemed to favour her issue by him, more then her issue by King Ethelred, therefore he dispossessed her of all her Goods; and committed her to custody, in the Abbey of Worpwell; and more then this, so far hearkened to an aspersion cast upon her, of unchast familiarity with Aethne Bishop of Winchester, that for her Purgation, she was fain to pass the tryal of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner; Nine Plow-shares red hot were laid in unequal distance, which she must pass bare-foot and blind-fold, and if she passed them unhurt, then she was judged Innocent, if otherwise, Guilty. And this tryal she passed, and came off fairly, to the great astonishment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; He had married Editha the beautiful, and indeed virtuous daughter of Earl Godwyn, and because he had taken displeasure against the Father, he would shew no kindness to the daughter; he had made her his wife, but converted not with her as his Wife, only at board, but not at bed, or if at bed, no otherwise then David with Abigail, and yet was content to hear her accused of Incontinency, whereof if she were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as, what the virtues were, for which after his death he should be reputed a Saint, doth not easily appear. It seems he was chaste, but not without injury to his Wife; Pious, but not without ungratefulness to his Mother; Just in his present government, but not without neglect of Posterity; for through his want of providence in that point, he left the Crown to so doubtful succession, that soon after his decease it was translated out of English into French, and the Kingdom made servile to a fourth forain Nation.

Queen Emma passeth the tryal of Fire Ordeal.

Mar. West.

The first King that cured the Kings Evil.

He builds Westminster, standing

One Ability he had which raised him above the pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, that by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Disease, which from his Curing, is called, *The Kings Evil*. His Mother Queen Emma, in memory of the nine Plow-shares she had passed in her Tryal, gave nine Mannors to the Miltier of Winchester, and himself remembering the wrong he had done her, bestowed on the same place, the Island of Portland in Dorsetshire, being about seven miles in compass. He made also of a little Monastery in the west of London, by the River of Thames, a most beautiful Church, (called of the place Westminster) where he provided for his own Sepulchre, and another dedicated to St. Margaret, standing

He first used  
the Broad  
Seal,

He dyed in the  
Painted Cham-  
ber at Westmin-  
ster.

standing without the Abbey. This of *Westminster* he endowed with many rich revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the first of the Kings of *England*, who used that large and stately impression in their Charters and Patents. He founded also the Colledge of *St. Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Ottery*, and removed the Bishops See from *Cridington* to *Exeter*, as a place of far more dignity: and when he had reigned the space of three and twenty years and six moneths, he ended his life the fourth of *January*, in that room of his Palace at *Westminster*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber*, in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at *Westminster*, which he had builded.

### Of HAROLD the second English King after the Danes.

Harold suc-  
ceeds Edward  
the Confessor:  
setting the  
Crown upon  
his own head.

Edgar Atheling  
made Earl of  
Oxford,

**K**ing Edward the Confessor, being himself without issue, had in his life time sent into *Hungary* for his Nephew Edward called the Outlaw, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*; with a purpose to delign him his Succesour in the Crown, but he dying soon after his coming into *England*, King Edward then gave his son *Edgar* the name of *Etheling*; as to say, Prince *Edgar*, meaning to delign him for his Succesour, but being prevented by death, before the Succesour was fully established, and *Edgar Atheling*, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his Right, *Harold* the Son of *Earl Godwyn* steps into the Throne, and never standing upon Ceremonies, set himself the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violater of holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Laity, durst oppose him, as being at that time the most martial man in the Kingdom; and such a one, as the state of the Realm stood at that time in need of, and besides his own worthiness had the assistance of *Edwyn* and *Maregar*, the two great Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, whose sister *Algyth* he had married. It is true withal, that King Edward had appointed the Crown after his own decease, sometime to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, sometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and sometimes to this *Harold*, so as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, as not coming in by intrusion or wrong, but by the appointment of King Edward, though that appointment of King Edward, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of *Edgar*, then to make him absolute King; but howsoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* some amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to use him like a Childe, take a way a Jewel, and please him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himself with great Valour and Justice, for the time he fate in it, which was but very short, (only nine moneths) as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Tostayne*, who by diverting his Forces to suppress a Rebellion, made him of less force to resist an Invasion. But now that we have shewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we must forbear to shew how he was cast out, till we come to him that cast him out, who because he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we must necessarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, seeing in him, we shall joyn our Island to the Continent, which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Discourse then heretofore they have done.

THE

# THE L I F E O F KING WILLIAM THE FIRST: Called the CONQUEROUR!

## His Parentage and Descent.



**H**ere were six Dukes of *Normandy* in *France*, in a direct line succeeding from Father to Son. The first was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmark*, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wrested by force of Arms from *Charles* the Simple King of *France*, to be made Duke of *Normandy*. The second was *William* his Son, called *Long-Espee*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, called the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, Father of *Edward* the Confessor. The fourth was *Richard* the second, his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the third his Son, who by a first Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*, and by a second, two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Arguon*, and *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldest Son by his first Wife succeeded him by the name of *Richard* the fourth, and dying without issue, the Dukedom descended to *Robert* his second Son by his first Wife; which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conquerour, of whom it is thus recorded; That riding one time abroad, he happened to pass by a company of Countrey Maids that were a dancing, where staying a while to look upon them, he was so taken with the handsomeness, and graceful carriage of one of them whose name was *Arlette*, a Skinners Daughter (from whence as some think our word *Harlot* comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he caused her that night to be brought to his bed; where being together, what was done or said between them, is no matter for History to record, though some Historians have recorded both; making her not so modest as was fit for a Maid: only ten moneths after, it appeared that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary spirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before and at his birth fore-running tokens which prefiged his future greatness: for his mother *Arlette* being great with him, had a dream like that of *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus* the first *Persian* Monarch; namely, that her bowels were extended and dilated over all *Normandy* and *England*. Also as soon as he was born, being laid on the chamber floor, with both his hands he took up rushes, and shutting his little fists, held them very fast; which gave occasion to the Gossiping wives to congratulate *Arlette* in the birth of such a boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the childe would prove a King.

His

The race of the  
Dukes of Nor-  
mandy.

## His succeeding in the Dukedom, notwithstanding his Bastardy.

Bastardy no bar to succession.

Princes to appoint their Successors.

It appears by many examples, that Bastardy in those daies was no bar to succession, till a law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought some disgrace, where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Bastardy seemed to have some allay, if it be true (as some write) that his Father took the said *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom so much by succession, as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, caused them to swear Allegiance to this base Son of his, and to take him for their Leige Lord after his decease. Neither was this in those daies unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own deceases upon whom they pleased; counting it as lawful to appoint Successors after them, as Substitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of Northumberland prevailed with King *Edward* the sixth, to exclude his two Sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to succeed him.

## His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

His Father having declared and appointed him to be his Successor, went soon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was suspected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianship to the King of France, in whose Court for a time he was brought up. A strange confidence, to commit the tuition of a Son that was base, to pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of France, who aimed at nothing more, then to re-annex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of France; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

## His Troubles in his Minority.

First, *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedegree directly from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his Valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: a fair pretext, if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who though he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresney*, with his two Brothers was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle laies claim to the Duchy, and assisted by the King of France comes to a battail, but by the Valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one *Guy* Earl of *Burgoyne*, Grandchilde to *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible of his Right to the Dukedom, and joyning with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Bessin*, two powerful Normans, conspired Duke *William's* death, and had affected it, if a certain fool about him had not stoln away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to flie for his life instantly, or he would be murdered. The Duke considering, that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away, all alone, toward *Falaife*, his principal Castle, but missing his way, he happened to pass where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the conspirators came presently inquiring if such a one had not passed that way, which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their guide to overtake him, but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaife*; and from thence journeys to the King of France, complaining of his injuries; and imploring his aid, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his servant his Father; The King of France moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was less then he was, yet he so aided him, that he made him greater then he was; for himself in person, suffering much in the Battail, procured him the Victory. By which we may see, that Folly, and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better, indeed to the divine Providence. Many other affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes; some afterwards by the King of France himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountered with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were, become Legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his person.

A Fool saves Duke William's life.

His

## His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

By this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years, and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a provident Governour in Peace, composing and ordering his state, wherein he so carryed himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him, or if not hate him; at least emulate him.

## His Incitements for Invading of England.

Duke *William* had incitements to invade England, and some shew of a title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessour, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl *Godwin* falling out with King *Edward*, the business was carryed with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwin* makes his refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the Kings Mother decealing, they both return with a great Navy, and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles: but *Edward* jealous of *Godwin's* arts and treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Countrey: Hostages are delivered; *Walnoth* the Son of *Godwyn*, and *Harrn* his Grandchild; whom the King for more security sends into *Normandy*, there to be detained by Duke *William*, his kinsman. After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* succeeds him Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and kinsman: the King in this manner answers him; *Harold* you may do your pleasure, and I may permit though will not consent, for I do foresee, that if you undertake this journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. *Harold* notwithstanding, obstinate in his resolution, after a tempestuous voyage, arrives in France, where he is taken prisoner by the Lord of *Pontive*, and at the command and threats of Duke *William* dismist; and though first robbed of his treasures, and choicest things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*; where relating the cause of his journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entred into private discourse with him, and told him, that *K. Edward* being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of England, he would make him his heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will assist me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into England, you shall have your Brother and Nephew: and to make our tie of friendship the stronger, you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords; you shall also promise me to secure the Castle of *Dover* for my service; and I promise you that when I am King of England, I will deny you nothing, which in reason you shall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed; but seeing himself in such streights, that he must either venture on a promise, or hazard an imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded, and for more security, with a solemn Oath confirms his agreement: and returning into England acquaints *Edward* with all these passages, who replied, Did not I know *William's* disposition, and foretell thee how much mischief this journey would bring upon England? Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had sufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of *Edward*, and that *Harold* was Crowned King; he thought himself not more forgotten by *Edward*, then wronged by *Harold*, and therefore sent a messenger to put him in mind of King *Edward's* promise, and his own Oath. *Harold* returns answer, that he could not send his Sister over, because she was dead, but if *William* would have her Carcase he should. Secondly, that he could neither promise, nor dispose of a Kingdom, which was none of his own. Lastly, he should be injurious to his own Nobility, if he should without their consent and advice take a stranger for Wife. *William* having heard his answer, was as yet patient, and again sending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at last to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by force of arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promise of King *Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke *William* thus slighted by *Harold* endeavours to make him honest by force, and assured himself he should find him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perjured a Friend. These were the incitements which caused *William* in his declining age to undertake this expedition; but who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when *Gaius* above 73. years of age buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy limbs for the attaining of the Roman Empire?

The

## The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

Duke William incensed with Harold's answers, acquaints the Nobility with his purpose, who with some ado consented to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of France, but specially Baldwin Earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married: and who being at that time Guardian of the young King of France, procured aid from him also; and to make the Enterprise the more successful, Pope Alexander the second sent him a Banner with an Agnus of Gold, and one of the hairs of St. Peter. So as the preparation of the Duke, both by Sea and Land, was very great, having three hundred fail of Ships, and as some write, 890. and as one Norman above a thousand, and as *Gemeticensis*, three thousand: and though Harold had likewise provided a warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way; for *Toussayne* his Brother, being then in rebellion in the North, and Harold *Harfager* King of Norway, at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, that the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither: where though he got the Victory at Stamford, with the death both of his Brother *Toussayne*, and of the King of Norway, yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entered the Kingdom, as easily as one may enter a house, when the doors are all left open. By this means King Harold's shipping (the best wall of defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate: and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battail at Stamford, exceedingly both weakened and impaired; yet hearing that Duke William was landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings* in *Sussex*, he repaired thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke battail. Duke William in the mean time, as soon as he had landed his men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory: And then going himself on land, it is said, his foot slipped, and he fell down: which some that stood by, taking for an evil sign, No, (saith he) I have by this taken possession of this Land. And indeed presages are but as *Animus ejus qui presagit*, as in this Dukes fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of spirit shewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to joyn; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of haught, or out of perturbation of minde, putting the forepart behind, and the backpart before: the Duke seeing it, merrily said, I see now by this inversion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a good omen, which some other of weaker spirits would have taken for a bad. Many wayes of compulsion between Duke William and King Harold were propounded, yet Harold would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of success, and perhaps thinking it a disgrace, to capitulate for that, which was now his own: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being less interested, and therefore clearer sighted, intreated him to consider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath, which he so solemnly had sworn: Harold seemed to conceive, that nothing which he did being a private man, could be of force to bind him, now being a Prince; and so on the fourteenth day of October, being Saturday, in the year 1066. (which day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day, hoping, that the day of his Birth, would not so much degenerate, to prove the Day of his Death, though this also even bred no good blood to the Action: For the Souldiers of Harold, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, spent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke out of consideration of their next days work, spent the night in quietness and devotion) they joyned battail, (the *Kentish-men* being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient custom is their due, and King Harold with his *Londoners*, leading the main battail) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about three-score thousand men) yet there was great odds in the expertness of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons: for, the Duke had with him all the flower of France and Flanders, where King Harold had lost his best men, in his late battail; and for advantage of weapons, the Normans had long Bows and Arrows, which among the English at that time were not at all in use; what marvel that the Normans got the victory, though King Harold losing his life, yet lost no reputation; and though the English Souldiers shewed no less valour, in being conquered, then the Normans did in conquering? One circumstance may not be omitted, that King Harold as an expert General, had ordered his men in so firm a Body, that no force of the Normans could disorder their Ranks, till Duke William used a Stratagem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the English on, upon a hollow ground covered with earth; whereinto many of them fell and perished, and besides into an ambush of his horsemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Which, there seems one great error to have been committed (at least, if it were an error, and not rather a necessity) that there was not a supplemental Army provided; (as his Brother *Gyrth* would have had it) which might have come on if the first had failed, and would have been of great advantage against a wearied Army. But when *Sic visum est superis*, all humane force is weak and cannot withstand, all humane Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke William that day fought so valiantly, that he had three Horses killed under him: but King Harold shewed no less valour, in killing many Normans with his own hands: so as the fight continued doubtful along time; till at last, King Harold being struck into the brains with an Arrow, fell down dead: upon whose falling, a

Duke William's number of ships to invade England.

King Harold prepares to resist Duke William.

Duke William at his landing takes a fall.

An. Dom. 1066.

Kentish men are to be placed in the fore-front of the battail.

Duke William useth a Stratagem.

King Harold is slain.

A base Norman Souldier, cut off one of his thighs, while he was yet breathing: which Duke William hearing, was so much offended, that he caused the Souldier to be disarmed, and with shame cashiered. The body of King Harold, his Mother *Thyra* offered a great sum, to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the nobleness of his mind, would take no money; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in *Waltham* Abbey; which himself had begun to build; at least, to repair. But here *Gyranus Cambrensis* tells a strange story, that Harold was not slain in the Battail, but only wounded and lost his left eye, and then escaped by flight to *Chester*, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorets life, in the Cell of St. James, slain by St. Johns Church.

## How Duke William proceeded after his Victory at Hastings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, so his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was suddenly become a young King: and indeed, nothing so much renews life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, specially when it is the fruit of merit. First therefore, having given publick thanks to God for his happy success, he led his Army towards London, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of some new encounter) but coasting about through part of Kent, through *Sussex*, *Surry*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, Where at *Wallingford* he passed over the *Thames*; and then through *Oxfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Hartfordshire*, until he came to *Barkhamstead*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Archbishop of York, *Woolstan* Bishop of Worcester, *Wilfere* Bishop of Hereford, and many other Prelates, accompanied with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers; and men of the greatest sway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at *Hastings*, Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, had a purpose to set up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir of the Royal blood; and *Grandchild* to *Edmund Ironside*, and so beloved of the people, that he was called their darling: but considering his young years, and other inabilities, but specially finding the minds of the Bishops, (who at that time bare all the sway) to be otherwise inclined, they desisted from that course, and thus the Duke without any opposition, coming to London, was received by Bishops and Lords, and all, with great joy, though small gladness, and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in most humble manner they submitted themselves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord, and upon Christmas day after, he was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Aldred* Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, *Stigand*, not being admitted to do that office, for some defect in his Investiture; and perhaps for some asperion in his manners.

1067.  
Duke William is Crowned King of England.

## How he rewarded his Followers.

THOUGH he hath had the name of Conquerour, yet he used not the Kingdom as gotten by Conquest, for he took no mans living from him, nor dispossessed any of their goods, but such only, whose demerit made unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one *Warren* a Norman, to whom he had given the Castle of *Sherborne* in *Norfolk*; for when *Sherborne*, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, that the Castle was his, and that he had never born Arms against him; he presently commanded *Warren*, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacancies of Offices, and filling up the places of those who were slain or fled, were the present means he made use of, for preferring his Followers. One special preferment we cannot omit, that where one *Herlowyn* a Noble man in Normandy, had married his Mother *Arlotte*, and had by her a Son named *Hugh Lupus*, he gave to the said *Hugh*, the Earldom of *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held England by his Crown, by virtue of which Grant, the said *Hugh* ordained under him four Barons, *Nigel*, he made Baron of *Hglton*; *Matbank*, Baron of *Nantwich*; *Eustace*, Baron of *Mawpafe*, and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shiplrooke*. Such an honour, as no Subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew *Alane* Earl of *Brittain*, the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a strong Castle near to his Mannor of *Gillingham*, and named it *Richmont*; from which Castle the Earls of *Richmont* bear their titles of honour.

He useth his conquest moderately.

## What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

BESIDES the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, at his Coronation; in Lent following going into Normandy, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Archbishop of Canterbury, *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltbeoff* Son to *Syward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnoth* Abbot of *Glastenbury* were the chief; leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother; and to *William Fitz Osborne*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford*: and to abate the greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he

D

ordained,

He takes from the Clergie all Temporal Authority.

He takes from the people all their armour.

He ordains Courte seu at eight a clock.

ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any Temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common people are no less to be feared for their number, then the Nobility for their greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without stings, they might afterward be but Droans. And because there is seldome any danger from singular numbers, but all the danger ariseth from plurality: therefore to prevent conspiracies and combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at eight a clock in the Evening, and that in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights (which was called *Courte seu*) and go to Bed. And for more security he erected Castles in the most doubtful places of the Kingdom. One at *Tork*, another at *Lincoln*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester in the County of *Hereford*, calling in to his aid the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance: And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in his very person find something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For first, the People might think themselves in a fort advanced, being now made members of a greater body; when the Dukedom of *Normandy* should come to be annexed to the Kingdom of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former Kings choosing, and though a stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some veins of the same goodness of their good King *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as strong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

### What Troubles or insurrections were during his Reign.

Anno Reg. 2.  
1068.

Edgar Atheling is cast upon the shore of Scotland.  
Whose sister Margaret King Malcolm married.

But the body of a State being more obnoxious to crudities and ill humours, than the state of a Natural body; it is impossible to continue long without distempers; notwithstanding any preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his reign, brake forth the discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late Royal blood, and therefore the most apt to be sensible of servitude; who taking along with him his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christine*, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into *Hungary*, the Countrey where he was born; but by contrary winds was cast upon the coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolm*, not only most kindly entertained him, but for a stricter bond of kindness took his Sister *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had many children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a match was found, by which in the person of King *Henry* the second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* blood were conjoynd, the union whereof continues in the race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Not long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harold's* Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrick*, and *Synard*, with many other Lords; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity, to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had lost; And assisted by the *Scots*, they invade the North parts, spoyling the Countrey, and killing many for the fault they had themselves committed, but all they could do, was but to forrage the Countrey, and so return.

Anno Reg. 3.  
1069.

The Danes invaded England: and at Tork slay 3000 Normans.

King William purchases their departure with a great sum of money. Northumberland left desolate 60 miles together.

After this, in the third year of his reign, the two Sons of *Swayne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold* and *Cnutin*, with a fleet of 240 ships entred *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joyned, and forraged all the Countrey, till they came near to *Tork*. When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent wind, took hold of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth then the City, a Library of excellent books; and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of three thousand, were all slain. King *William* hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entred *Northumberland*, waiting the Countrey that already lay wast; and yet for all this great rage, was contented with a great sum of money, to purchase the *Danes* departure. By these devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, but especially in *Northumberland*, so great a Dearth and Famine followed, that men were glad to eat horses and dogs, cats and rats, and what else is most abhorrent to nature; and between *Tork* and *Durham* the space of 60 miles, for nine years together, there was so utter desolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled.

Many other insurrections there were in his reign; as at *Excester*, at *Oxford*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and many times by the *Scots* in the Northern parts; the most dangerous of all the conspiracies, and most distasteful of him, was that of *Roger Fitz Aube* Earl of *Hereford*, *Ralph Waler* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, *Waltheoff* Earl of *Northumberland*, with *Eustace* Earl of *Boloinne*, (sent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of *France* into *England* to incite and joyn with the conspirators) *Ralph Waler* married the Sister of *Roger* the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the express commandement of *K. William*: at the solemnization of the marriage, these Lords conspire to keep the King now in *Normandy*, and dispossess him of his soveraignty, which to perform, they agreed

A agreed to joyn theirs with the *Danish* forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous combination of all, it happening when he was out of *England* at the siege of *Dole*; a Castle in *Brittain* belonging to *Ralph Waler*, and defended against him by the King of *France*: and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affections towards him. The King of *Scotland*, and Princes of *Wales* ready to assist the rebels at home; *Swayne* King of *Denmark* invading *England* with a Navie of 200. sail, to which *Drone* King of *Ireland*, added 65. Ships. How much such an action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, by that most of these great Noblemen were either his kinsmen, or in affinity nearly allied to him. But *William's* fortune secures him as well at home against Traitors, as in the field against his Enemies. This grand conspiracy is discovered by *Waltheoff* to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who persuades the Earl to go over to King *William* and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, *Roger* and *Ralph* persist in their intentions, raise forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of *Odo* the Kings Brother B. of *Baton*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Abbot of *Evesham*, were so prevented that they could never unite their forces. *Ralph* flies into *France*, *Roger* Earl of *Hereford* is taken, put in prison, and as some report; to death; *Waltheoff*, of all lamented, beheaded. But all these were easily suppressed, for they were but scattered Forces; *Et dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*; whereas if they had united themselves into an Army: they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more then Routs and Riots. Yet some write, that King *William* granted *Cumberland* to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, to hold from him conditionally, that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, for which grant King *Malcolm* did him homage.

The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in *Normandy*, by his Son *Robert*, the more dangerous because unnatural, for by the instigation and assistance of *Philip* King of *France*, (emulous now of King *William's* greatness) he entred *Normandy*, and claimed it as in his own right. His father indeed had made him a promise of it long before, but *Robert* impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better then disinheriting, endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his father. But his father King *William* hearing hereof, with a strong Army passed over into *Normandy*, where in a battail meeting hand to hand with his Son, he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the arm: but his Son perceiving him by his voyce to be his father, suddenly leaps off his horse, takes up his father, casts himself down at his feet, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a father he easily grants, embraceth his Son, and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly love; and the Father from the Son a filial obedience. But though his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a Nemesis, or to say better, a Divine Providence, that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begat his subjects Insurrections; or his subjects Nurfes each of them to other. Yet after this, King *William* so far trusted his Son *Robert*, that he sent him with an Army against *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who had invaded *Northumberland*: but at the coming of Duke *Robert* retired: at which time, Duke *Robert* began the foundation of a Castle upon the River of *Tyne*; whereof the Town of *Newcastle* did after take both beginning and name: which before this time was called *Monceaster*. In his 20. year in *Whitsun* week, he honoured his Son *Henry* with the order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he used, is not certainly known; but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custom among the *Saxons* was; first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest: Then he continued all that night in the Church; watching and applying himself to his private devotion. The next morning, he heard Mass, and offered his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a benediction put about his neck. Lastly, He communicated the mysteries of the blessed Body of Christ; and from that time, remained a perfect Knight. But this custom of consecrating Knights, the *Normans* abhorred.

His Son Robert riseth in arms against him.

He unhorseth his father.

### His aptness to forget Injuries.

Certainly there is no such goodness of nature, as aptness to be reconciled; of which vertue it seems King *William* had a large proportion, for he seldom remembered injuries after submission. *Edrick* the first that rebelled against him, he placed in Office near about him. *Gospatrick*, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of conspiracies against him, he made Earl of *Glocester*, and trusted him with managing a war against *Malcolm* King of *Scots*. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloinne*, who in the Kings absence in *Normandy* attempted to seize upon *Dover* Castle, he received afterward into great favour and respect. The Earls *Marchar* and *Synard*, with *Wolnoth* the brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he released out of Prison. *Edgar*, who as next heir to the *Saxon* Kings, had often attempted by Arms to recover his right, he not only after twice defection pardoned, but gave him also allowance as a Prince: It is said twenty shillings a day, or rather a pound weight of Silver, and other large livings beside; so as *Edgar* finding the sweetness of safety, and the pleasures of a Countrey life, spent the rest of his dayes (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only *Waltheoff*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Northampton*, of all the *English* Nobility was put to death in all the time of this Kings reign; and nor he neither, till he had twice falsified his Oath of Allegiance.

Waltheoff Earl of Northumberland, the only Nobleman put to death in all this Kings time.

## Of new Acquests to this Kingdom, by this Kings means.

1079.  
An. Reg. 13.

IN the thirteenth year of his Reign, he subdued *Wales*, and made it tributary to him, as before in the seventh year of his Reign, he brought *Malcolm* King of *Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hostages; that if *England* made him greater then he was before, a King of a Duke; he no less made *England* greater then it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

## Of his Exactions and Courses for Raising of Money.

AS his Taxations were many in number, so they were various in kind, not always bringing in money directly, but sometimes obliquely saving it. The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first year of his reign, after his return out of *Normandy*; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third year of his reign he ranked all Monasteries, and all the gold and silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal; and richer persons of the Realm, fearing King *Williams* cruelty, and insatiable desire of moneys, deposited their Treasures, Jewels and chiefest commodities in the Monasteries and Abbeys, as in sure sanctuaries to be safely kept for their own uses; the King violently seized on all for himself, neither regarding the sanctity of the places, nor what injustice he did to his own subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own security. Likewise he seized all Bishops and Abbots what number of Souldiers they should find to serve him in his wars: also the strangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispersed into Religious houses, and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their charge. Many other Taxations he made, but last of all in the eighteenth year of his reign, by the advice of

The Roll of  
Winton, or  
Doomed-day  
Book.

*Roger* Earl of *Hertford*, he caused the whole Realm to be described in a Censal Roll, (whereof he took a Precedent from King *Alfred*) so as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly rent, and the owner thereof was therein set down: How many Ploughlands, what Pastures, Fens or Marishes, what Woods, Farms, and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Villains every man had; what Beasts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Possessions did yield. This Book was called the Roll of *Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*. By the *English* it was called *Doomed-day* book, either by reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, in stead of *Domus Dei* book, for that it was laid in the Church of *Winchester*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two shillings, and at this time six shillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing, as some account it, twenty Acres, but as Master *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres). In all those Lands which he gave to any man, he reserved Dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly rent, and likewise a Fine whensoever the Tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heirs body, until his age of one and twenty years. To be short, his greediness of money, was so great, that he spared not his own brother *Odo*, but found accusations against him, to the end he might seize upon his Treasure; which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kind of profit he forbore to meddle with, that is, Vacancies of Abbeys and Bishopricks; which he always reserved for the Successors: but then he took another course of far greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleasure, for confirmation of any Grant or Privileges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm: by which devise he got into his possession the greatest part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of *Ely*, to purchase their peace, agreed to give him seven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, there wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in those days greater sums were not paid by tale, but by weight) which the King understanding, denied them all composition for Peace, until with much suit he was intreated to accept of a thousand Marks more.

## Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice erected by him.

ALTHOUGH at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of King *Edward* then in use, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of *Normandy*; commanding them to be written in *French*; and also that all Causes should be Pleaded, and all matters of Forms dispatched in *French*; upon a pretense to dignify the *French* tongue, but with a purpose to intrap men through ignorance of the language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Norman* language predominant in the Kingdom as he had made their persons; which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the *Norman* language in the *English* tongue. Forms of Judgment, and tryals by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly used,

A Hyde of  
Land, how  
much it con-  
tains.  
Wardships or-  
dained by K.  
William.For a groat in  
weight wan-  
ting, a thou-  
sand marks ex-  
acted.He brings in  
the Laws of  
*Normandy*: and  
causeth them to  
be written in  
*French*.

used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day; though by the Laws of *Etheldred* it appears, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all business in every Shire, and the Bishop, in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King; now he confined the Clergie within the Province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in business concerning rule of souls, according to the Canons and Laws Episcopall. And where the Causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gemote, or Conventicle held monetly in every Hundred: now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain daies, the same businesses should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scacarium*, corruptly called so, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the board or Table, where the Officers sat;) also his Courts of Justice, which always removed with his Court. These places he furnished with officers, and assigned four Terms in the year for determining controversies among the people.

He brought in  
the trial by  
verdict of  
twelve men.

The place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his provisionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants, who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Victuals; and a just note of the quality and quantity of every mans ratemement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for maintenance of the Kings house. Only the *Kentish* men procured the continuance of their ancient Laws by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swancombe*, two miles from *Gravesend*, the *Kentish* men met him, but in the form of a moving wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands, and compassing the King about, they only made suit for the continuance of their Laws, and Customes; of which one special was, that the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind*; by which they defended not the eldest alone, as in other Countreys, but were partable between all the Sons: and the Priviledges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conquerour considering, that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request. But see the levity of these *Kentish* men, to hazard themselves more, for the preserving a simple Custome; then for preserving the Liberty of themselves, and their Countrey: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather to very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to see abolished, without cutting down so much as a twig. But one Law especially he made, extremely distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land, for where before they might at their pleasure hunt, and take Deer which they found abroad in the woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no less than putting out their eyes; that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them only for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kind of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six and twenty Towns, and fourscore Religious Houses, and made it a habitation for such kind of Beasts; which was then, and to this day is called the New Forest. But the lamentable disasters that have happened to this Kings issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power, that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first year of this Kings Reign, he granted to the City of *London*, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large form, as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, which he granted at the suit of *William* a *Norman*, Bishop of *London*; in grateful remembrance whereof, the Lord Major and Aldermen, upon the solemn daies of their resort to *Pauls*, do still use to walk to the Grave-stone, where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jewes to inhabit here in *England*: as likewise he made a Law, that whosoever forced a woman should lose his Genitals: and in his time, long Bowes came first into use in *England*, which as they were the weapons with which *France* under this King conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after Kings, conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover* Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities, as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Laws, and had them so well executed; that it is said a girl might carry a bag of Money all the Countrey over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first used, where before there were only witnesses to Deeds.

He ordained  
the four Terms  
of Law.He ordained  
Sheriffs and  
Justices of  
Peace.He ordained  
the Court of  
Chancery and  
Exchequer.His Tenants  
pay their rents  
in corn and  
other victuals;The *Kentish*  
men procure  
the continu-  
ance of their  
ancient Laws,  
*Lambert*.He restrains  
hunting.He depopu-  
lates 26 Towns  
to make the  
New Forest  
in *Hampshire*.He grants to  
the City of  
*London* their  
first Charter  
of Liberties.He first  
brought Jewes  
into *England*:  
Also long  
bowes.

## Affairs of the Church in his Reign.

Bishops Sec-  
moved.The Archbi-  
shop of York,  
Primas Anglie;  
of Canterbury,  
Primas totius  
Anglie.Aldred Arch-  
bishop of York,  
his insulting  
over King  
William.  
An equivoca-  
ting Bishop.A miracle done  
upon a Bishop.A miracle done  
by a Bishop.Prayers devi-  
sed Secundum  
usum Sarum.  
No Priests to  
be married.  
Eudemare.

**I**N his time, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was for divers causes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Castle of *Winchester*: after whom succeeded *Lanfrank*, an *Italian*, in that See: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at *London*, where amongst other things he removed Bishops Sees, from small Towns to great Cities, as from *Sillway* to *Chichester*; from *Kyrton* to *Excester*; from *Wells* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborn* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; and from *Lichfield* to *Chester*, and from thence again to *Coventry*: and not long before, the Bishoprick of *Lindisfern*, otherwise called *Holy Land*, upon the River *Tweede*, had been translated to *Durham*. In the sixth year of his reign, a controverſie arising between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Bishops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windsor*, where sentence was given on *Lanfrank*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury* side: That in matters of Religion, the Archbishop of *York*, should ever be subject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Only at *Rome* it was decreed, for matter of Title, that the See of *York* should be stiled *Primas Anglie*; and the See of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Anglie*, as it is at this day. And as the Archbishop of *York* oweth obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so all the Bishops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the Primate of *Scotland*. It shall not be amiss here to write the journey of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Rome*; who in the fifth year of King *William's* Reign made Bishop of *Canterbury*, went to *Rome* to obtain the Pall, due to Archbishops, taking for his companions *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*; arrived at *Rome*, and admitted to the Popes presence, Pope *Alexander* rose from his seat, and gently saluting him, faith with all, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archbishoprick, but as due to my Master: to whose labour I must acknowledge to be due what learning I have. The next day having audience he accused the two companions of his journey.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalities, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporal Authority at all; so in Spiritualities, he rather raised them, as may be seen by a passage between *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* and the King: for at a time, upon the repulse of a certain suitor, the Archbishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised to grant his suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishops feet, the Noblemen that were present put him in mind that he should cause the King to rise: Nay (saith the Archbishop) let him alone, let him find what it is to anger Saint *Peter*. And as by this story we see the insulting pride of a Prelate in those daies: so by another, we may see the equivocating falsehood of a Prelate at that time; For *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* would often swear, he had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of *Simonie*, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him that a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost; and therefore to buy a Bishoprick, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; which the Bishop beginning, and oft assaying, could never say [and to the Holy Ghost] but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age so barren of virtue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founder of University-Colledge in *Oxford*, but specially Bishop *Woolstan*; whom upon *Lanfranks* reporting to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontifical Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: when suddenly out of a divine Inspiration, *Woolstan* answered: A better then you, O King, belottowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And therewithall going to St. *Edwards* shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staffe upon St. *Edwards* Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrified both *Lanfrank* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Bishoprick. Also *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who devised a Form of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *Secundum usum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Berengarius*, who denied the true body of Christ to be in the Sacrament; Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, removed married Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great troubles arose in *England*: also in his time was instituted the Feast of the conception of the Virgin *Mary*: also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, in a Synod holden at *Rome*, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of *Rome*; where before all Bishops were called Popes.

## Works of Piety, by him, and others in his time.

**T**His King founded the Abbey of *Battell* in *Sussex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a monument in memory of his victory; but there succeeded a greater monument in memory of this battel, if it be true which *Nenrigensis* faith, that after every small rain, the grafs where the battel was fought, shews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do so, to his dayes, who lived in the time of King *Stephen*, almost an hundred years after the battail was fought. The Abbey of *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and a third near *London*, called St. *Saviours*. He founded also the Priory of St. *Nicholas* at *Excester*; and gave great privileges to St. *Martins le Grand* in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by *Ingebricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Cousins to King *Edward* the Confessor. He also builded the Tower of *London*: namely the great white and square Tower there. These were this Kings works of Piety in *England*; but in *Normandy* he founded also an Abbey at *Caen*: where his Wife *Maude* built also a Monastery of Nuns. He gave also to the Church of St. *Stephens* in *Caen*, two Manors in *Dorsetshire*, one Manor in *Devonshire*, another in *Essex*, much land in *Barkshire*, some in *Norfolk*, a Mansion in *Woodstreet*, *London*; with many Advowsons of Churches; and even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the said Church, being of his own Foundation, for the redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Mannor of *Brydleton* in *Dorsetshire*. In this Kings time, *Robert*, Son to *Hyldebert Lacies* founded the Priory of *Pouffraight*; *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Castle at *Tutbury*; *Alwyne Chylde*, a Citizen of *London*, founded the Monastery of St. *Saviours* at *Burmondsey* in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in *London*: Also in this Kings time, *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, began the foundation of the new Church, a work so admirable, that many thought it would never have been finished. Towards the building of the East end whereof, the King gave the choice stones of his Castle, at the West end of the City, upon the bank of the River *Thames*; which Castle having been at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilmarly* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards found a Monastery of *Black-fryers*. The King also gave the Mannor of *Starford* to the same *Maurice*, and to his successours in that See; after whose decease, *Richard* his next successour bestowed all the Rents of his Bishoprick to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himself by his private Patrimony; and yet all he could do, made no great shew, but the finishing of the work was left to many other succeeding Bishops. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, founded University-Colledge in *Oxford*: Also one *Gillert* a *Norman* Lord, founded the Abbey of *Merton* in *Surrey*, seven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, first builded the Minster of *York*. In this Kings sixteenth year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being sent against the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this day standeth *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Also in this Kings time *Ledes* Castle in *Kent* was builded by *Creveken*, and the Castle of *Oxford*, by *Robert d'Oyle*: two Noble men that came into *England* with him. *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury* builded the new Church there; Also *Waring* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, built two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*; and another at *Wenlock*.

St. Pauls  
Church new  
founded.University  
Colledge in  
*Oxford* found-  
ed.New-Castle  
upon *Tyne*  
builded.

## Casualties happening in his time.

**I**N the twentieth year of his Reign, so great a fire happened in *London*, that from the West-gate to the East-gate, it consumed Houses and Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of St. *Paul*, the most grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Also this year, by reason of distemperature of Weather, thunders and lightnings, by which many men perished, there ensued a famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of Men and cattel; and which is very strange, Hens, Peacocks, Geese and Ducks bred in, and accustomed to houses forsook their wonted hives, and turned wilde. (*Matth. Westmon. An. Dom. 1087.*) Also this year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea-shore, was found the body of *Gawen*, Sisters son to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*: reported to be fourteen foot in length. Also in this Kings time, a great Lord sitting at a Feast, was set upon by Mice, and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land, yet the Mice still followed him; and at last devoured him.

A great fire in  
*London*.The body of  
*Gawen*, sisters  
Son to King  
*Arthur*, found.  
A Lord eaten  
up with Mice.

## Of his Wife and Children.

**H**E had to Wife, and her only, *Mathilde* or *Maude*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queen of *England*, the second year of his reign: the seventeenth year of his reign, she dyed; a Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where she lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldest called Court-cayse, of his short Thighs, or Court-hose, of his short Breeches, or Courtois, of his courteous behaviour: (for so many are the comments upon his name) succeeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his second Son was kill'd by misfortune, hunting in the New-Forest. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngest Son, called *Beauclerk*, for his learning, had by his Fathers will, five thousand pounds in money, and the inheritance also of his Mother. His Daughters were *Cicelle*, *Constance*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Elenor*, of whom *Cicelle* was Abbess of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Constance* was married to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married, and died young. *Elenor*, betrothed to *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia*, but desiring to die a Virgin, she had her wish, spending her time so much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were brawned.

Robert Courtois  
why so called.

Good Devotion.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

**H**E was but mean of stature, yet big of Body, and therewithall so strong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in years, he was Bald before; his beard alwaies shaven, after the manner of the *Normans*; and in his younger time, he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of strength of Youth, Incontinency: after he was once married, whether out of satiety, or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kind. Of perfect health, that he was never sick, till that sickness whereof he died. Of a stern countenance, yet of an affable nature: In War, as expert as valiant: In Peace, as provident as prudent: and in all his Enterprizes, as fortunate, as bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no less pleasant then magnificent. He made no great proficiency in learning; as having had his Education in the licentiousness of the *French* Court; yet he favoured learned men; and drew out of *Italy*, *Langfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*, *Tarberne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and Piety. Very devout he was, and alwaies held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence: And this is one special honour attributed unto him, that from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

## His Places of Residence.

**H**is Christmas he commonly kept at *Glocester*; his Easter at *Winchester*; and his Whitson-tide at *Westminster*; and once in the year, at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it sit the easier upon his head. And for the houses which the Kings of *England* had in those daies in *London*; I find that at *Westminster* was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confessor: which in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age, for building, incomparable. The Remains whereof, are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called *St. Edwards* Painted Chamber, because the Tradition holdeth, that the said King *Edward* died in it. Adjoining unto this, is the White-hall, wherein at this pay the Court of Requests is kept: Beneath this, is the Great Hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the second, out of the ground; as appeareth by his Arms engraven in the stone work: (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in anno 1512. lay desolate, and King *Henry* the Eighth shortly after translated the Kings seat, to a house not far off, built by Cardinal *Woolsey*; and is called White-hall. The Tower of *London* was anciently used by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other Houses they anciently had; one where Bridewel now standeth, out of the ruines whereof, the now Bridewel was built. Another called the Tower Royal, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in *Bucklers-bury*, called *Sermes* Tower. Another where now the Popes-head Tavern is, over against the Old Exchange, thought to have been the Kings house; also another in *Lincolntre* called the Kings Artifice. Also another in the Old Jury: and oft-times they made

King William  
new Crowned  
every year.  
Westminster Palace the ancient habitation of the Kings of England.

Westminster Hall built by Richard the second.

White-hall when made the Kings habitation.

A use of *Baynards* Castle. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and places have their fates and periods as well as men. And as for his Arms, he gave Three Lions passant Gold in a Field Gules; which have ever since been used as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; to which the three Flowre de Luces were added by King *Edward* the Third, by reason of his claim to the Crown of *France*.

## His Death and Burial.

**T**owards the end of his reign, he appointed his two Sons *Robert* and *Henry* with joyne authority, Governours of *Normandy*: These went together, to visit the King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, *Henry* played with *Lewis* the Heir of *France* at Chesse, and winning much money of him, *Lewis* grew so cholericke, that he threw the Chesse-men at *Henries* face; calling him the Son of a Bastard: and thereupon *Henry* struck *Lewis* with the Chesse-board, and had presently slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not stepped in, and stayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and draws *Robert*, King *William's* eldest Son, to joyn with him against his Father: but King *William* coming presently over with an Army, was soon reconciled to his Son, yet being corpulent and in years, was by this means much dis tempered in body, and so retired to *Rom*, where he stayed, as not being well in health. The *French* King hearing of his sickness, scoffingly said, that he lay in Child-bed of his great belly. Which so incensed King *William*, that he swore by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, (his usual Oath) that as soon as he should be Churchd of that child, he would offer a thousand Lights in *France*: and indeed he performed it; for he entred *France* in Arms, and set many Towns and Corn-fields on fire, in which he was so violent, that by reason of his travail and the unreasonable heat, being in the month of *August*, it brought upon him a relapse of his sickness, and withal, leaping on Horseback over a ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pommel of his saddle, that he took a rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Rom*, his sickness so increased, that in short time he dyed; and that which is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain, the very same day he dyed at *Rom*, his death was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off: which if it be true, it seems there are certain Invisible Intelligencers, that can make such speed: whereof *Freissard* tells a strange story: and for the strangeness, not unworthy to be there related. There was (saith he) in the time of King *Edward* the Third, a Knight in *France*, called *Covasse*, who could tell any thing that was done all the World over, the very day it was done; or within a day or two, how far so ever it were off: and this he did by such an invisible Intelligencer, for he had gotten a Familiar Spirit, called *Orthone*, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him divers years till at last he lost him, by this occasion. He had only heard the voyce of his spirit *Orthone*: and now had a great longing to see his shape: whereupon the spirit seeing his earnestness; Well then (saith he) to morrow morning when you rise out of your bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the Knight rising the next morning, looked out, but could see nothing: whereupon he blamed his spirit *Orthone*, for not keeping his promise with him. *Orthone* answered, he had kept his promise: for saith he, bethink your self, what it was you first saw after your rising. Then the Knight bethinking himself, remembered he saw two straws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another: Why (saith *Orthone*) that was I. Then the Knight desired he might see him in such a shape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then said *Orthone*, to morrow morning when you rise, the first thing you see, that shall be I. So the next morning, the Knight rising, and looking out of his chamber window, the first thing he saw was a Sow, so lean and deformed, that he could not abide to see it: and thereupon caused his men to set Dogs upon it, to drive it away: which being done, the Sow vanished away; after this his spirit *Orthone*, never came to him any more. And this Relation *Freissard* had from the Knights own mouth: and by such a like means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King *William* was known at *Rome*, the very day he dyed at *Rom*, though a thousand miles asunder. And now to go on with the story: *William* the Conquerour in all the time of his sickness retained to the very last his memory and speech. and shewed many demonstrations of his Devotion, and true contrition, specially for his severity used towards the *English*: And thus he who was a Conquerour of men, was conquered himself by death; the ninth day of September, when he had reigned twenty years, and near eleven months, in the threescore and fourth year of his age: *Malmesbury* saith in the fifty ninth. I may well say he was conquered by death; seeing death used him more despitefully, then ever he living used any whom he had conquered: For no sooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloining what they could lay hands on, forsook him and fled: leaving his body almost naked upon the ground. Afterwards, *William* Archbishop of *Rom*, commanded his body should be conveyed to *Caen*, but his command was little regarded: till at last, one *Herlewyne*, a Countrey Knight, at his own charges caused his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monks meeting the corps, suddenly in the midst of their solemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the second time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Herfe to the Abbey Church; but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the grave, one

The French King scoffs at King William's great belly.

1087.  
King William's death known the same day he dyed, a thousand miles off.

King William being dead, how neglected and neglected at his burial.

one *Anselm Fits Arthur*, stood up and claimed that ground to have been the Floor of his Fathers house, which King *William* had violently wrested from him; and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his Body with the earth of his inheritance. Whereupon after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was payed in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it self, paid him by *Henry* the Kings youngest Son, who only of all his Sons was present at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the Earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of Stone which stood within the grave, was hewen somewhat too strait for his fat belly, so as they were fain to press it down with some violence, with which, whether his bowels burst, or whether some Excrements were forced out of their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, that none were able to indure it, but made all the haste they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the last of his miseries; for in the year 1562. when *Castillon* took the City of *Caen*, certain dissolute Souldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treasure they expected, threw forth his bones with great derision: whereof some were afterward brought into *England*. So that if we consider his many troubles in life, and after his death, we may well think, that notwithstanding all his greatness, a very mean man would hardly be perwaded to change fortunes with him. He bare the same Arms as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; which all succeeding Princes have used: namely, Three Lions passant gold in a Field Gules: for as for the three *Flower de Lucies*, they were added by King *Edward* the third, upon his claim of the Crown of *France*.

The Arms  
born by King  
*William*,

### Men of Note in his time.

Men of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly *Marianus Scottus*, a Historiographer, and *Alphredus* a Monk of *Beoverly*, a Writer also of Historical Argument. And as for the Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of servitude, but as if all the *English* Valour were now remaining in the *Kentish* men, they only made resistance, when all other Countries had submitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private *Norwegian* Souldier did; who himself alone upon a Bridge, resisted the whole Army of the *English*, slew forty of them; and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the bridge, found means to thrust up a spear into his body and killed him.

THE

## THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM THE SECOND.



**K**ING *William* the second, called *Rufus*, second Son to *William* the Conquerour, appointed Successour by his Fathers Will; was upon the fifth of *October*, in the year 1087. by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Crowned, at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and his Bow, had King *William* gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father: and in his quarrel incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps also, his Father thought the rough disposition of this Son, fitter to bridle the insurrections of the *English*, then the softly disposition of his Son *Robert*.

*William Rufus*  
is Crowned.  
Anno Dom.  
1087.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first mover of this trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former King's time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, that though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of *Kent* (as this *Odo* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to joyn with him, in behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King; but though the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother *Robert* with more cost: for it was at last agreed, that *Rufus* should pay him three thousand marks a year, during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repressing his Rebel Lords by reason of their spreading themselves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*, *Roger Montgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*; *Hugh de Grandmunt*, in *Leicestershire*, and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, posselt himself of *Briflow*; *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy, and Nobility, fortified themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and all the Countreys adjoining to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easie to repress them at leisure; for being thus divided, they were but as single ticks, that are easly broken; where if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Woolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, firm of his side: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts

His brother is  
incited to claim  
the Crown.

He is com-  
pounded with  
for 3000 marks  
a year.

The Rebel  
Lords are won  
or overcome.

of

of all unto him; that some of the Rebel Lords he reconciled with fair words; as Robert Montgomery; (a principal line of the Faction) some again he mastered by strong hand; and Odo the chief Engineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of Rochester, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood spilt. A happy rebellion for the English; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all Normans, the King had none to trust to, but the English, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after respected more than he had done before.

This year died Lanfrank, after he had been Archbishop of Canterbury eighteen years, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, to the great discredit of their profession.

After this storm was over in the South, there arose another in the North; For now Malcolm King of Scots, thinking it a fit time to do some feats when King William was troubled at home; invades Northumberland, and having burnt and spoiled the Countrey, returns home laden with booties: Which King William hearing, he takes his brother Robert along with him, and with a mighty Army enters Scotland, brings Malcolm to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given, returns to London. After this, Duke Robert finding his brother King William not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of France, and with his aid, assaults and takes some Towns; which he before had delivered in pawn for money to his brother King William; who hearing of it, hastens into Normandy with an Army, and by the mediation of money takes off the King of France, and makes his brother, being left destitute of assistance, to ask him pardon; a wife and merciful course in King William; for to buy his peace with the King of France, did cost him but money, where to have purchased it by War, must besides money, have cost the lives of many.

After this Malcolm, K. of Scots, came in kindness to visit K. William at Gloucester: but the King not vouchsafing so much as to see him, put him into so great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades Northumberland, making great spoil, and getting great spoils, but by Robert Morbray, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in ambush, and together with his eldest Son Edward, defeated and slain. This King Malcolm was a most valiant Prince, who appeared by an Act of his of an extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy plotted to murder him, whereof one was author, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, till being abroad one day a hunting, he took the fellow apart from the company, and being alone, said unto him: Here now is a fit time and place, to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present; you can incur no danger; with which speech of the King, the fellow was so daunted, that presently he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The death of King Malcolm and his Son, was so grievous, and so grievously taken of Margaret his Queen, the Sister of Edgar Atheling; that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to over-live them, and so within three daies after died: a woman as full of virtues all her life, as at this time of sorrows; whom yet I should not break order to mention, but for one pious Act of hers, in causing a most barbarous custome of Scotland to be abrogated, that when a man married, his Lord should lie the first night with his Bride. Which custome by her endeavour was altered to a payment in money.

After these troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble arose in the West; for now the Welsh men hearing of King William's distractions, enter upon the English borders, making spoil and havock of men and Towns: whom King William went with an Army to encounter, but could do no good upon them, till he was fain to return to London, and provide him a stronger Army. About this time also Robert Morbray Earl of Northumberland, by whom Malcolm King of Scots was in King William's service formerly slain; finding his service not rewarded as he expected, enters into conspiracy against the King; but the King being informed of the practice, seizes suddenly upon many of his Complices, and himself, after many devices and shifts for flight, is taken and put in prison in the Castle of Windsor. After this, King William to take a further revenge of the Welsh, and to make an absolute conquest of that unquiet people, with a far greater Army than ever before, enters Wales, and thinks with new devices of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them, but they defending themselves, with their Woods and Mountainous passages, tyre and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the business to two Hugh, one Earl of Salop, the other of Chester, who first invaded and took Anglesey, (their Island of refuge) where they used all kind of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noses: in prosecuting of which business, Hugh Earl of Salop was slain; but Hugh Earl of Chester, entered Wales; and in the end with the slaughter of Rees, the last King of Wales, made an absolute conquest of the Countrey. For after this, though they often rebelled, yet they were in a true subjection. And these for the most part, were all the troubles of his reign: where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them, and from none of them he ever fled, but was still the pursuer, and yet so many as might well have taken away all the comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a pair of Beads, but that Ambition, though sometimes weary, yet never tires.

## His Exactions and courses for raising of Money.

IN the second year of his reign, Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury dyed, who had kept the Kingdom and King in some good Order; but as soon as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got loose, ranged without reins; in all licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When Bishopricks or Abbeys were vacant, it was familiar with him to seize them into his own hands, as this of Lanfranks, he kept to his own use four years together, and longer would have kept it, if a sickness of his Body had not healed this disease of his mind: For finding himself in some hazard of death, he then conferred the Archbishopricks of Canterbury upon Anselm, and the Bishoprick of Lincoln upon Robert Bloet, two eminent men of that time; but as soon as he was well again; it repented him of that he had done, and he was not quiet, till he had drawn from the said Bloet, five thousand pounds, and from Anselm also good sums of money: For he repented not more in time of sickness for the evil he had done in health, then being in health he repented of the good he had done in sickness; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but health, and nothing made him be in health but sickness. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a custom with him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three Bishopricks; Canterbury, Winchester; and Salisbury; and twelve Abbeys; all which he let out to Farm, and received the profits; and from this King the use is said to have risen first in England, that the Kings succeeding had the Temporalities of Bishops Sees, as long as they remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of France a great sum of money, he raised it in this manner; He caused twenty thousand men to be levied, under pretence for his wars in Normandy; but when they were ready to be shipped, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the levying of Souldiers in Normandy, should be excused from going, and stay at home; which was so plausible an offer to the Army, that scarce a man was found that accepted not that condition. When Duke Robert went into the Holy Land he pawned his Duchy of Normandy to his Brother King William for 6666 pounds, or as some write, for 12600, which money King William took up part by a grievous Imposition: so that Bishops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords spoiled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by loan; but chiefly of Religious Persons. He sold the Abbey of Glassebury to Thurstan for five hundred pounds; and when he built Westminster Hall, he made that an occasion to lay a heavy tax upon the people, who grugged at it, as done on purpose. He usually sold all Spiritual Preferments, to them who would give most; and took Fines of Priests for Fornication, as also he took money of Jews, to cause give of them as were converted, to renounce Christianity, and return to Judaism, as making more benefit by their unbelief then by their conversion. He caused divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for transgressing his Laws, though the fault were never so small. He set forth a Proclamation that none should go out of the Realm without his Licence, by which he drew much money from many; for either they must tarry at home and live discontented, or else content him for giving them leave to go abroad. And from thence the Custom or Law of *Ne exeat Regnum*, seems to have taken its beginning: for Precedents of servitude are sure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly still-born. These were his wayes for raising of money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling servants; and the most officious of all was Ralph Bishop of Durham, of whom he would often say, there was not such another man in the world to serve a Kings turn. And yet he was not so greedy of lucre, but that he did some acts that may serve for examples: as one time, an Abbey being vacant, two Monks of the Covent came suiters to him for the place, offering great sums; and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and espying another Monk standing not far off, asked him what he would give for the place? Who answering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it: Well (said the King) thou hast spoken honestly, thou art fitter to be Abbot then either of these; and so bestowed the place upon him gratis.

## Of his Magnanimity.

Word was brought him as he sat at dinner, that his City of Mans in Normandy was besieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not presently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way Mans lay; and then caused Mafons presently to take down the Wall, to make him passage the next way, and so rode instantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, advising him to stay till his people were ready, No (saith he) such as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempestuous, he was advised by the Master of his Ship, to stay for some calmer season: No (saith he), Fear nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to Mans unexpected, he presently dispersed the Besiegers, and took Helias Count de la Fleche, who had been Author of the tumult, prisoner; who vaunting to the King, and saying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wife; but if I were at liberty again, you should find me to do other kind of feats: at which the King laughing, Well then (saith he) go your wayes and do your worst, and let us see what feats you

The English  
finner to King  
William then  
the Normans.

Anno Reg. 5.  
1090.

King William  
represents the  
Scots.

He represents  
his brother Ro-  
bert taking up  
Arms for his  
Pension not  
paid.

Anno Reg. 6.  
1093.

Malcolm King  
of Scots with  
his eldest son  
Edward is  
slain.

A most valiant  
Prince.

With grief of  
whole death  
his Queen  
Margaret dy-  
eth within  
three daies.

A barbarous  
custome in  
Scotland abro-  
gated by her  
means.

An. Reg. 11.  
1098.

Wales absolu-  
tely conquered  
by King Will.

Rees the last  
King of Wales  
slain.

King William  
keeps Abbeys  
and Bishop-  
ricks vacant, in  
his hands.

From this  
King the  
Kings succeed-  
ing took the  
Temporalities  
of Bishops Sees  
vacant.

Fines taken of  
Priests for for-  
nication.

Ne exeat Reg-  
no, whence it  
began.

A notable part  
of King Will-  
am.

you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he assisted him to recover the Fort of Mount *St. Michael*, which their Brother *Henry* did formerly hold in *Normandy*: during which siege, stragling one time alone upon the shoar, he was set upon by three Horsemen, who assaulted him so fiercely, that they drove him from his saddle, and his saddle from his Horse; but he taking up his saddle, and withal drawing out his Sword, defended himself till rescue came: and being afterward blamed for being so obdurate to save his saddle, he answered: It would have angered me at the very heart, that the knaves should have bragged they had won the saddle from me.

### In what he was just in keeping his word, in what he was failing.

His virtue specially was commended in him, and he would often say, That even God himself was obliged by his Word. But if we observe the course of his life, we shall find that howsoever he might keep his word in small matters, yet certainly not in great: For he kept not his word with his brother *Robert*, to whom he promised to leave his Kingdom of *England* after his decease, but performed it not. Nor he kept not his word with his Subjects, for in the rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promised the *English*, if they would now stick to him, they should have their ancient Laws restored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Forests; which promise he kept not at all, or at least soon brake. Nor he kept not his word with God himself; for being sick at *Glocester*, and in some hazard of his life, he made a solemn vow, that if he recovered, he would lead a new life, and give over all his disorderly courses: but being recovered, he grew more disorderly than he was before: that if domination be made from the greatest actions, it cannot be truly said, that he was just of his word; but such is the privilege of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promise, it must be believed; and if they break it, it must not be questioned.

### Of his Incontinency, and Prodigality.

Much is spoken of his lascivious life in general, but nothing in particular: for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offered to any; nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are seldom concealed. It is true, he was never married, and of a strong constitution of body, and so probable he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not always concluding, and therefore whether it be a true accusation, or but a slander, it may well be doubted: only one base Son is spoken of, called *Bertram*, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble Family. But why should we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, then of his Prodigality? for he was taxed no less for being Prodigal, then for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not so much as one instance recorded, unless we take this for an instance; that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hose, which because they were new, he asked what they cost? And being told they cost three shillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a pair of hose of three shillings to be fit for a King to wear? Get thee gone (saith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair scarce so good as the former, and telling him they cost a Mark; I marry (saith the King) these are something like, and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, then with seeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wisdom, for to say the truth, it is no defect of wisdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

### Of his wavering in Religion.

He appointed a disputation to be held between Christians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Present, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing: The King took the Present, encouraging them to quit themselves like men: and swore by *St. Luke's* face (his usual Oath) that if they prevailed in Disputation, he would himself turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whose Father being much troubled at it, presented the King sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaism; whereupon the King sent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation. But the young man answered, he wondred his Majesty would use such words; for being a Christian, he should rather perswade him to Christianity: with which answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his sight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again. Nay (saith the King) I have taken pains enough for it, and yet that thou maist see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half; and the other half you cannot in conscience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denied, and were therefore condemned to the trial of fire; which by Gods merciful judgment they passed through untouched: the King hearing it, and deceived of the confes-

King William never married.

A costly suit for a King.

Endmerus. King William takes money to perswade a Christian Jew to turn to Judaism.

tion expected is laid in a great chafe to say; How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It seems also he doubted of many points of Religion, then in credit: For he would often protest, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in Gods sight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to *Peter*, or to any other for help.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

The King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his right, and forbad Appeals and Inter-course to *Rome*; for Appeals had been seldom used till *Anselm* in this Kings reign appealed to the Pope; upon whose complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, he forbore at that time to do it, left by making Excommunication common, he should make it be slighted. At this time great contention arose between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*: and *Anselm* not yielding to the King in any point prejudicial to the Popes authority; nor the King yielding to *Anselm* in any point prejudicial to his own Prerogative; (which were points indeed incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, because there were at that time two Popes on foot at once: one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the second; another set up by the Emperour called *Clement* the third: for *Anselm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*: and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree between themselves; and this contention, though palliated with pretensions, sometimes of one side, sometimes of another, yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. *Anselm* often threatening his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainly he would not thrust him out of the Realm, but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleasure; and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him: yet *Anselm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewast* was sent to rifle him in his passage at Sea of all he had, neither was he suffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profits of his Archbishopric to his own use. It may not be amiss to shew a passage here concerning the first cause of contention between the King and *Anselm*, which some say was this; The King required a thousand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See: which *Anselm* refused to give, as judging it no less Simony to give after the preferment then before; but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much: whereupon *Anselm* told him, Your Grace may have me, and all that is mine, to serve your turn in a friendly manner; but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine: Which words so angered the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings reign Pope *Urban* exhorted all Christian Princes to joyn together for recovery of *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land: and by the soliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, there assembled for that enterprise, under the conduct of *Godfrey of Bulloigne*; to the number of three hundred thousand men; amongst whom was *Robert Duke of Normandy*, who so valiantly carried himself in the action, that after *Jerusalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as some write) was offered to him: but he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*, and therefore refusing it; it is observed he never prospered all his life after. In this Kings reign, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Bishop of *Dublin* was sent over to *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop procured *Mercherdach*, King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his consent. Also in this Kings days the Pope forbad the marriage of Priests. And in his time, was the first Appeal to *Rome*, made by *Anselm*, that ever before had been made in *England*.

### Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

This King gave the Monks of *Southwark*, the Church of *St. Saviour* of *Bermondsey*, and *Bermondsey* it self; He also Founded at *York* the Hospital of *St. Leonards*: He gave the Church of *St. Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishops See. *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* in this Kings days builded the Abbey of *Chester*: *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*: *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick might be removed to *Lincoln*; began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*; and *Laufank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of *St. John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired Christs Church, and caused five and twenty Manours to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abbey of *St. Albans*, and the Church of *Rochester*, where for four secular Priests he placed to the number of fifty Monks. In the sixth year of this Kings reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abbey of *Lewis* in *Suffex*: and *Warren* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, built two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*, the other at *Wenlock*. In his twelfth year, *Robert Lofange* Bishop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Normich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

A blasphemous speech of King William. King William trusted not to the Prayers of Saints.

\* Wilfred before this appealed to the Pope; as here largely relate.

Contentions between the King & Archbishop Anselm.

Anselm fleeth the Realm; and not suffered to return, during the Kings life.

Liberty of the subject.

Godfrey of Bulloigne undertakes the recovery of Jerusalem.

Robert Duke of Normandy refusing the Kingdom of Jerusalem never prospered after.

Bathe made a Bishops See.

The Abbey of Lewis in Suffex is founded.

## His Building and Structures.

Westminster-hall  
built by this  
King.

**T**his King enlarged the Tower of London, and compassed it with new wals: he also built the great Hall at Westminster, being 270. foot in length, and 74. in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the Thames to the Kings street. He repaired the City and Castle of Carlisle, which had been waited by the Danes two hundred years before, and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished New-Castle upon Tyne and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the borders of Scotland; many also upon the frontiers, and within the very Breach of Wales.

## Casualties happening in his Reign.

A strange Fall.  
The streets in  
this Kings time  
not paved with  
stone.  
Godwins sands  
in Kent.

**I**n the fourth year of his reign, on St. Lukes day, above six hundred houses in London were thrown down with tempest, and the roof of St. Mary Bow Church in Cheapside, was so raised, that in the fall six of the beams being 27. foot long, were driven so deep into the ground (the streets being not then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order as the workman had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings reign all the Lands in Kent, sometimes belonging to Earl Godwin, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called Godwin's Sands to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called Finchamstead in the County of Berkshire, a Well cast out blood, as before it had done water: and after by the space of fifteen dayes, great flames of fire were seen in sundry places, and at sundry times.

## Of his Personage and Condition.

**H**e was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called Rufus, his forehead four square like a window; his eyes spotted, and not one like another; his speech unpleasant, and stammering, especially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his mind, they may best be known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall find he was never more assured, then when he was least sure; never less dejected, then when in most extremity; being like a Cube, that which way so ever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to pass the time, there was none in more request with him then hunting, a delight hereditary to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great new Forest, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we find not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for delights; for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them; yet sometimes he entered into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatest virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irreligion.

## Presages that preceeded his Death.

No warning  
can prevent  
destiny.

**A**t Finchamstead in Berkshire, near unto Abington, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen dayes, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kild, a certain Monk dreamed, that he saw the King gnaw the Image of Christ crucified with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same Image, Christ with his feet spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoke. This being related to the King by Robert Fitz Mammion; he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same night, the King himself dream'd that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance: and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as Julius Caesar, that did all they could to give him warning: but that as Cafars, so his malus Genius would not suffer him to take.

## Of his Death and Burial.

King William is  
slain in hunt-  
ing in the New  
Forest.

**K**ing William having kept his Christmas at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, his Whitfontide at Westminster, notwithstanding forewarned by many signs of some great dyfaster toward him, would needs the day after Lammas, go a hunting in the New Forrest; yet something resenting the many presages, he stayed within all the forenoon: about dinner time, an Artificer

came

**A** came and brought him six Cross-bow Arrows, very strong and sharp; whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir Walter Tyrell, a Knight of Normandy his Bow-bearer; saying, Here Tyrell, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose: and to having at dinner drunk more liberally then his custom, as it were in contempt of Presages, out he rides into the New Forest, where Sir Walter Tyrell shooting at a Deer, at a place called Charingham, (where since a Chappel hath been erected) the arrow glanced against a tree, or as some write, grazed upon the back of the Deer, and flying forward, hit the King upon the breast: with which he instantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common consent of all; only one Sugerius, a writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the said Tyrells; against the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the said Sir Walter swear that he was not in the Forest with the King all that day. I have been the longer upon this point, because a more pregnant Example of Gods judgment remains not any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named Richard, a young Prince of great hope; and also a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother Robert, came all in this place to violent deaths: that although King William the Founder of the Forest escaped the punishment in his own person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his issue. Thus died King William Rufus, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and some moneths, of his reign. His Body was drawn in a Colliers Cart with one Horse to the City of Winchester, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Swithin, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble stone; till afterward it was translated, and laid by King Caninus bones.

1100.  
Sugerius differs  
from all other  
Writers.

## Men of Note in his time.

**F**or men of Valour, he must stand alone by himself: for men of Learning, there was Lanfrank, a Lombard, but Bishop of Canterbury: also Robert, a Lorain, who Epitomized the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus: also Turgotus an English man, Dean of Durham, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works: but especially Osmond Bishop of Salisbury, who composed the ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.

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# THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE FIRST.

## Of his coming to the Crown.

Anno Dom.  
1100.

King Henry is  
Crowned.

The Bishop of  
London is as  
Dean to all  
the Bishops of  
England.

Why Henry  
preferred be-  
fore Robert his  
elder Brother.



Although Henry came not to the Crown, as his Brother William did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the prophecy of his Father: For when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Estate in Land between his two eldest Sons, giving to Henry his youngest only a portion in money, with which division he perceived him to be much discontented; he said unto him, Content thy self Henry, for the time will come, that thy turn shall be served as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his Prediction was accomplished; for on the fifth of August, in the year 1100. he was Crowned King of England, by Maurice Bishop of London, (as Dean of all the Bishops of England, and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbishop of Canterbury, though he had been present, who was indeed at this time in Exile.) But though it appears *fuisse in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it should be so, yet it would not have been so, if his own endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New Forest, when his Brother King William was killed, he never stayed to complement the Dysfaster, but rode presently to Winchester, and there, not without some opposition of the keepers, seized upon his Brothers Treasure, as knowing Treasure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the first means, he made use of it for the second; and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withall there were circumstances in his own person that conducted to it; his Brother was born, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; Robert but a Forainer, being born in Normandy, himself a Native, born at Selby in Yorkshire; and it was not the least circumstance, that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to say, a good Scholar, having been bred in Cambridge; not perhaps that his learning was so great, but that it was great, either in respect of that age, which had but little; or in respect of his Brothers, who had none at all: and the People having been oppressed before, by the ill Government of two Kings, that were illiterate; could not chuse but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother Robert, as being the Elder had right unto it, yet he as out of sight was out of mind, and perhaps neglected, as being himself negligent; withall it was given out, that he was chosen King of *Hierusalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give force to all these reasons, Henry *Norwich* Earl of Warwick, was a principal furtherer.

His

A

## His course for establishing himself in the Kingdom.

It is a hard matter to keep that safely, which is unjustly gotten; and therefore he took all possible care to overcome that hardness; which he effected by these means; First he called *Anselm* Archbishop of Canterbury home from Exile; placed *William Gifford* a learned man, in the Bishoprick of Winchester: and Monasteries that had been long vacant, he furnished with good Abbots. And because it is no less pleasing to the People, to have bad instruments punished, then the good to be advanced, he cast *Ralph* Bishop of Durham (a principal cause of their late oppressions) into prison: then mitigated the rigour of the new Laws; and promised restitution of the old. And that there might be no abuse in measures, he ordained a measure, made by the length of his own Arm, which is called a Yard. He restored to his Subjects the use of Lights and Fire in the night, which before had been forbidden after eight a clock at night. He acquitted the People from the Tax of Dane-gilt, and from all other unjust payments, which had been imposed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to inclose Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Conies; and such like game. And because he knew Scotland might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tyed by some Bond, and none so sure as the Bond of Alliance, he therefore takes *Matild* sister of the present King *Edgar* to be his Wife.

Anselm called  
home from  
exile.

The measure  
of a Yard or-  
dained by  
King Henry.  
Dane-gilt re-  
mitted.

He marries the  
King of Scots  
Sister.

C

## His troubles during his Reign.

*Ralph* Bishop of Durham, the late King *William's* great Instrument for Exactions, that had by this King been committed to the Tower, made an escape, and passing over to Duke *Robert* in Normandy; incensed him, not to suffer himself to be baffled by a younger brother; as for his Brother *William* there was some reason, because his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will, but what could Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother *William*, with consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the Survivor of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withall assuring him, there were many in England would take his part; he easily persuaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have dissuaded him; who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at *Portsmouth*, while Henry waited for his coming about *Hastings*; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody business; but by mediation of Friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke *Robert*, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King Henry should pay to Duke *Robert*, three thousand marks yearly, and Duke *Robert* should succeed him in the Kingdom, if he survived. And thus, this cloud, that threatened to great a storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine and fair weather: for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justify his being a King, without any scandal or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon dispersed: For *Robert de Belesm* Earl of Shrewsbury, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great Estate, he was not a King as well as some others, fortified the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Castle of *Bridge-north*, and got many *Welshmen* to assist him, but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the *Welsh*, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his Estate, for the King seized his Estate into his hands, but for his person he only banished it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood and putting to death, though for great Treasonable practices, was not much in use; Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* in Normandy, and of *Cornwall* in England, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of Kent, which because he could not obtain, he entered into Treasonable practices, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a Woman that is safely delivered; painful for a time, but ending in joy: and indeed for the most part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his losses.

After this Duke *Robert* came in Kindness into England, to visit his Brother *Henry*; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter; he released to King *Henry*, the three thousand marks, which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into Normandy, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly conspired him. Which coming to King *Henry's* ear, so incensed him, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which foraged the Countrey, and won many Towns and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke *Robert* but only *Rouen* in all Normandy to put his head in, and this done returns into England. And now Duke *Robert* begins to be sensible of his own weakness, and therefore comes over into England to try the utmost of his Brothers good nature; Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withall, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and that gratefulness and natural affection, meeting together, must needs work something in the mind of a Brother.

Anno Reg. 2.  
Ralph Bishop  
of Durham in-  
censeth Duke  
Robert to claim  
the Crown.

1101.

Duke Robert  
comes with an  
Army into  
England.

Is compoun-  
ded with upon  
certain condi-  
tions.

Robert de Be-  
lesm Earl of  
Shrewsbury re-  
bels.

Anno Reg. 3.  
1102.

Banishment as  
yet the greatest  
punishment,  
though for  
Treason.  
William of  
Cornwall re-  
bels.

An. Reg. 4.  
1104.

Duke Robert  
remits his an-  
nuity.

1105.

He gives out  
that his bro-  
ther had cou-  
sed him.

Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous words Duke Robert had given out of him, or whether aspiring to joyn Normandy to England, as his Father had done before, King Henry scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a sudden manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful usage put the Duke into such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole state to stake, and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into Normandy, he used all his force in raising of Forces, but King Henry suspecting his intentions, and not using to give Insurrections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a battail before he was half ready to fight. In which battail King Henry received sundry stripes on the head, at the hands of one William Crispine Count de Eureux; so as the blood burst out of his mouth; yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies: and particularly the said Crispine, who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Souldiers, that never battail was more fiercely fought, and the Normans seemed at first to have the better, till King Henry shewing himself in the Army, put such courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King Henry obtained a complete victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand) and in taking of Prisoners (to the number of four hundred) amongst whom, besides other Great ones, as the Earl of Mortaigne, William Crispine, and William Ferrers, was Duke Robert himself, whom the King (having first taken order for all things, in his new State of Normandy) brought over with him into England, and committed him to the Castle of Cardiffe in Wales, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which though it encreased his misery, yet it shortened not his life, for he lived many years after, in all, from the time of his first imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of Nature, in this life was the scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the English won Normandy, the very same day fortieth year, the Normans had won England. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unfatible is the state of all worldly Greatness. He died, Anno Dom. 1134. and lies buried at Gloucester. *Matth. Westmon.* writes that King Henry his Brother sent him according to his custome a Robe of Scarlet, and putting it first on himself, perceived the Capouch to be somewhat strait: whereupon he said, Carry this garment to my Brother, for his head is less then mine; the messenger delivering the Robe, Duke Robert demanded, if any had worn it, and being told him the King had first assayed it, and what speeches he had used; the Duke replied; I have now too long protracted a miserable life, since my Brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old cloathes to wear, and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King Henry as great as ever his Father was, and as greatness draws envy, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as envie makes Enemies, as much opposed as ever his Father was: for now Fulke Earl of Angiou, and Baldwyne Earl of Flanders, upon small occasions, and Lewis the Gros, King of France, upon none but such as envie suggested, seeking to place William, Sonto Duke Robert, in his Right to Normandy, assaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try whether greatness had not made him unwieldy; but King Henry, to shew that greatness had made him more active, went over into Normandy with a mighty Army, and at Nice encountered the French King, where a bloody battail was fought, with exceeding valour on both sides, but at last King Henry repelled the French King, and recovered Nice, and after many other conflicts between them, with variety of Fortune, at last the King made peace with the Earl of Angiou; confirmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son William: and upon this also the two Kings grew to a peace, in which William Son to King Henry, being about seventeen years of age, was invested into the Duchy of Normandy, doing homage for the same to the King of France: From whence it was afterward a custom, that the King of England's eldest Son (as long as Normandy remained in their hands) was made alwaies Duke of Normandy. After this, Charles Earl of Flanders, being slain at Brussels by a conspiracy of his own people, and leaving no issue behind him, Lewis King of France invaded William, Son to Duke Robert, in the Earldom of Flanders, as descended from Earl Baldwin, whose daughter Maude was Wife to King William the first, and Grandmother to this William: so as William now having gotten this step of advancement, seeks to go on, and to recover Normandy, and was thereof by the assistance of the King of France, in a fair possibility, when in a certain light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his fair possibility was upon a sudden cut off, and of that light wound he shortly after died.

King Henry now in perfect peace abroad, was not without some little disquietings at home, and marching through Powis-Land in South Wales, to repress some insurrections of the Welsh, he came to certain straight, where his main Army could not pass, in which place the King was smitten with an Arrow full upon the breast, whereat he swore by our Lords Death (his usual Oath) that it was no Welsh arm had shot that Arrow, yet in his distress, for a thousand head of Cattel, he had the passage left open, and came safely off. And these were his troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

His

1106.

Duke Robert is invaded by King Henry.

1107.

Is taken prisoner, brought into England, and hath his eyes put out.

1112.

King Henry's Son William marries the Earl of Angiou's Daughter.

The King of Englands eldest Son alwaies Duke of Normandy.

William Son to Duke Robert, is wounded and dieth.

King Henry in distress in Wales.

## His Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

Towards the marriage of his Daughter Maude with the Emperour, he obtained at his first Parliament at Salisbury, three shillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the Kingdom, which was afterwards drawn to a custom, to receive aid from the Subjects, whenever the King gave his eldest Daughter in marriage. Besides this he had no more in all his reign, but only one supply for his wars in France; but he kept Bishopricks and Abbeyes void in his hands, and that of Canterbury five years together. By an Act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Bishops holden at London, he was authorized to punish marriage, and incontinency of Priests; which the Bishops afterwards repented, for he suffered Priests to have Wives for Fines, or rather took Fines of them, whether they had Wives or no, because they might have them if they would. Punishments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Provisions of his house, which were used to be paid in kinde, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings days, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations; whereof the one may be thought to be cause of the other, the first perhaps of the second, but certainly the second of the first.

## Laws first instituted in his time.

HE first instituted the form of the High Court of Parliament, for before his time, only certain of the Nobility, and Prelates of the Realm were called to consultation, about the most important affairs of State, but he caused the Commons also to be assembled, by Knights and Burgeses of their own appointment, and made the Court to consist of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common people, representing the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to sit in several Chambers; the King, the Bishops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another, to confer together by themselves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in use at this day. The first Council of this sort was held at Salisbury, on the 19. day of April, in the 15. year of his reign. He forbade the wearing of long hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the French. He commanded Robbers upon the High way, to be hanged without redemption: of whom a famous one at that time was one Dunne, and of him, the place where he most used, by reason of the great Woods thereabout, is to this day called Dunstable, where the King built the Borough as now it standeth. Counterfeiters of money he punished with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy members, a punishment both less then death, and greater.

## Affairs of the Church in his time.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he forbore his claim to the investitures of Bishops, but after he had been King some time, he claimed that both to invest Bishops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to Rome, belonged to him; In these Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, who was now returned into England, opposed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope: the contention at last was brought to the Pope, to whom King Henry sent William Warlewast, elect Bishop of Excester, who saying to the Pope, that his Master would not for the Crown of his Realm, lose the Authority of Investing his Prelates; the Pope started up and answered, Neither will I lose the disposing of Spiritual Promotions in England, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (said he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many messengers were sent to and fro about it: The conclusion was (which proved no conclusion) that the King should receive homage of the Bishops elect; but should not invest them by Staffe and Ring: to which the King said nothing for the present, but forbore not to do it ever the less: for five years after the death of Anselm, Ralph Bishop of Rochester, was by the King made Archbishop of Canterbury, and notwithstanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Investiture of the King. About this time a Council of Bishops was held at London; at which the Temporal Lords were present: to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man desire to know more of the passages between the King and Anselm; and of the many great virtues of Anselm, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of Canterbury, who was as his Secretary; and hath written of purpose to set forth his praises. About this time a Canon was made against the marriage of Priests, to which purpose *Johannes Cremenstis*, a Priest Cardinal, by the Kings license came into England, and held a solemn Synod at London, where inveighing sharply against it, affirming it to be no better then profest Adultery, he was himself the night following taken in bed with a common Harlot. Even Anselm himself, the most earnest

The custom giving aid for marrying the Kings eldest daughter, when it first began.

Punishments made pecuniary. His Rents paid now in money.

The Court of Parliament first instituted by King Henry.

Long hair forbidden. Dunstable why so called. Counterfeiters of money how punished.

Contention between the King and the Pope about investiture of Bishops.

Eadmerus. Marriage of Priests forbidden.

Cardinal Cremenstis taken in bed with a harlot.

earnest enforcer of single life, dyed not, it seems, a Virgin, for else he would never in his writings make such lamentation for the loss thereof. A little before this, *Anselm* being at *Roan*, *Bocmundus* one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jersusalem*, came thither; and amongst other holy Reliques, gave unto him certain hairs of the blessed Virgin *Mary*; which *Anselm* held always in great veneration, and \*my self having the custody of them committed to me, have found by experience great holiness to be in them. About this time *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, held a Council at *Westminster*: where divers constitutions were made; of which there were two, That Priests should no more be suffered to have Wives: and that there should be no more buying and selling of men in *England*, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anselm* about this time dying at the age of 76. years, *Rodolph* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five years after the death of *Anselm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurstone* succeeded in the Archbishoprick of *York*: between which two Prelates, there arose great contention; *Rodolph* would not consecrate *Thurstone*, unless he would profess obedience; *Thurstone* was content to embrace his benediction, but profess obedience he would not: In this contention the King takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurstone*: after many passages, in the business, upon the Popes Threatning to Excommunicate the King, *Thurstone* entred upon his Bishoprick, and the King connived. In the tenth year of his reign, the Abbey of *Ely* was made a Bishops See, and *Cambridgeshire* was appointed for the Diocese thereof, which because it belonged before to the Jurisdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Bishop of *Lincoln*, in recompense thereof, the manner of *Spalding*. This King also created a Bishoprick at *Carlisle*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templars* began, in the 27. year of his reign, the *Grey Friars* by procurement of the King, came first into *England*, and had their first house builded at *Canterbury*. Also in this Kings time, the first Legat to supply the Popes room came into *England*, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two stories of Church-men, for refreshing of the Reader: *Guymond* the Kings Chaplain, observing that unworthy men for the most part were advanced to the best dignities of the Church, as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read these words out of *St. James*, [It rained not upon the Earth, 111 years and VI moneths] he read it thus; It rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one years, and five one moneths. The King observed his readings, and afterwards blamed him for it; but *Guymond* answered, that he did it of purpose, for that such Readers were soonest preferred by his Majesty. The King smiled, and in short time after preferred him to the Government of *St. Frideswids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* falling sick, his Physicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to company with a woman; to whom he answered, that the Remedy was worse then the Disease, and so dyed a Virgin. This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his successors, the custody of Constable-ship of the Castle of *Rocheſter* for ever. In this Kings time the errors of *Gilbertus Porretas*, were condemned in a Council holden at *Rheims*, by Pope *Calixtus*: also in his time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schism arose in the Church.

### Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

His King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunstable*, the Abbey of *Cirenceſter*, the Abbey of *Reading*, the Abbey of *Hide*, without the Walls of *Wincheſter*, the Abbey of *Shirburne*: He also new builded the Castle of *Windſor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between *Torkeſay* and *Lincoln*, a work of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queen *Maude*, passing over the River of *Luc*, was somewhat endangered; whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another stream there, called *Channel-bridge*, and paved the way between them with gravel. She gave also certain Manours, and a Mill called *Wyggon* Mill, for repairing the same Bridges and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges that were made in *England*, and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also founded the Priory of the *Holy-Trinity*, now called *Chriſt-Church*, within the East Gate of *London* called *Aldgate*; and an Hospital of *St. Giles* in the Field, without the West part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briſet* Baron, founded the House of *St. John* of *Hierusalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave 14 Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwell*, to build thereupon a House of Nuns, wherein he with *Myriol* his Wife were buried in the Chapter House. *Robert Fitzham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conquerour, Founded a new the Church of *Tukeſbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Bishop of *Nottingham*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of *St. Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minſtre of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became first Prior there. Before this time, *Smithfield* was a Loystal of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Lanſthony* near to *Glouceſter*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, founded the Church there, and gave to maintain it half a Hyde of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first built *Baynards* Castle in *London*. *Endo* the Kings Sewer, founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Colcheſter*,

A *Colcheſter*, of black Canons, and those were the first of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Maude* his Wife, Founded the Monastery of *St. Andrew* in *Northampton*. In the seventh year of this Kings reign, the first Chanons entred into the Church of our Lady in *Southwarke*, called *St. Mary Overy*; founded by *William Pountelarge* Knight, and *William Dancyes*, *Normans*. *Robert* the first Earl of *Glouceſter*, the Kings base Son, builded the Castles of *Bristol* and *Cardiffe*, with the Priory of *St. James* in *Bristol*: and his Son Earl *William* began the Abbey of *Kensham*. *Geoffrey Clinton*, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at *Kenelworth*, of Regular Canons. *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* his Wife, Founded the Colledge of *St. Mary*, in the Town of *Warwick*; and *Roger de Belemond*, his Son, and *Elyne* his Wife translated the same Colledge into the Castle of *Warwick*, in the year 1123. *Roger Bishop of Salisburie* built the *Devifes* in *Wiltſhire*; the Castles also of *Malmesbury* and *Shirburne*. He repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the stately Church of *Salisbury*: destined to a longer life then any of his other works. *Ralph* Bishop of *Derham* began to build the Castle of *Norham*, upon the bank of the River *Tweed*. In the 32. year of this Kings reign, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheshire*, was founded by one *William* the Son of *Nichel*, and the Abbey of *Cumbermere* in the same shire. The Colledge of *Secular Canons* also in the Castle of *Leiceſter*, and the Abbey without the North gate of the same Town, called *St. Mary de Prato*. Also in this Kings reign was founded in the Monastery of *Plimpton* in *Devonſhire*, with the Cathedral Church of *Exceſter*; the Priory of *Merton*, the Hospital of *Keſpar*, the Priory of *Oſney* near *Oxford*, by *Robert de Oylve* Knight: and the Hospital of *St. Croſs* near *Wincheſter* by *Henry Blois* Bishop there: also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merivall*: and indeed so many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish so many great buildings in so short time as this Kings reign.

### Casualties happening in his time.

IN this Kings dayes all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the water: For *King Henry* returning into *England* after his conquest of *Normandy*, left his Son *William* with his Sister *Mary* Countess of *Perche*, *Richard* his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of *Cheſter* with his Wife *Lucie*, the Kings Niece by his Sister *Atela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him; who taking shipping (and the best Ship the King had) whether by carelessness, or drunkenness of the Sailors were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boat, and out of danger; but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compassion wrought so in him, that he turned about his boat to take her in, which over-charged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all perished: none escaped but only one Sailour, who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all night upon the Malt, came safe to land. An accident not more grievous then exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no state is so uncertain as prosperity; no fall so sudden as into adversity; and that the rule [He that stands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot always be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings dayes wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned: whereupon a great number of *Flamings* being suitors to King *Henry* for some place to inhabit; he assigned them a part in *Wales* near the Sea, called *Pembrokeſhire*, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to distressed strangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to do mischief as much by defect, as this was by excess; for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many miles together did so fail of water, that in the middle of the Channel, the smallest vessels could not pass: and the same day also in the *Thames*, between the Tower of *London* and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the space of two dayes: also at another time the River of *Trent* at *Nottingham* was dried up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves sometimes when it is to do mischief, specially being assisted by the Air; as in this Kings dayes, it moved with so great a violence, that many buildings were shaken down, and *Malmesbury* faith, that the house wherein he fate, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper place. Also in divers places it yielded forth a hideous noise, and cast forth flames at certain rifts many days together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be suppressed. But yet the active Element of Fire was busiest of all, for first *Chicheſter* with the principal Monastery was burnt down to the ground. From *West-cheap* in *London* to *Aldgate*, a long tract of buildings was consumed with fire: *Worceſter* also and *Rocheſter*, even in the Kings presence; then *Wincheſter*, *Bath*, *Glouceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, and other places did also partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to speak of one forain casualty, because a strange one; in *Low-crdy* this year was an Earthquake that continued forty dayes, and removed a Town from the place where it stood, a great way off: In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodigies were seen; a Pig was farrowed with a face like a Child; a Chicken was hatched

The *Devifes* in *Wiltſhire* by whom built.

The Cathedral of *Exceſter* when built.

The Hospital of *St. Croſs* by whom founded.

The Kings children drowned.

*Pembrokeſhire* assigned to the *Flamings* to inhabit.

A strange Earthquake.

Great Fire in many places.

Hounded. A long Earthquake.

\* *Eadmerus*.

Contention between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*.

*Ely* made a Bishops See.

*Carlisle* made a Bishops See.

The order of the *Templars* begins.

Preferment for ignorance.

A rare chastity.

The errors of *Gilbertus Porretas* condemned.

*Windſor* Castle new builded.

The first stone bridges in *England*.

*Stratford* the Bow why so called.

*Saint John* near to *Smithfield* founded.

*Saint Bartholomew* Hospital founded by a Minſtre.

*Baynards* Castle in *London* by whom first built.

hatched with four legs; and the Sun was so deeply eclipsed; that by the reason of the darkness; many stars did plainly appear. In this Kings time Gerard Archbishop of York, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, sleeping one day in his garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

### Of his Wives and Children.

King Henry takes a wife out of a Nunnery.

Her great humility and devotion.

Monuments for great personages erected in divers places.  
An insolent part of Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he married *Matild* or *Maunder*, Sister to *Edgar* then King of Scotland, and Daughter to *Malcolm* by *Margaret* the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*. This *Matild*, if she were not a veiled Nun, she was at least brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown to averse from marriage, that when the motion was first made her to marry with King Henry, she utterly refused it, as resolved, though perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at last importuned, and even forced by the authority of her Brother, she rather yielded then consented; for she did it with so ill a will, that it is said, she prayed, if ever she had issue by the marriage, that it might not prosper: and indeed it prospered but untowardly, as will be seen in the sequel. But though she made this imprecation before she knew what it was to be a Mother, yet when she came to be a Mother, she shewed her self no less loving and tender of her children, then loyal and obsequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this seeming impiety towards her children, there is a story related of her real piety towards the poor: for a Brother of hers coming one morning to visit her in her Chamber, found her sitting amongst a company of *Lazar* people, washing and dressing their Ulcers and sores; and then kissing them after she had done: who wondering at it, and saying to her; How could she think the King should like to kiss that mouth, which had kissed such filthy Ulcerous people? she answered, she had a greater King to kiss, who she knew would like her never the worse for it. By this Queen *Matild*, King Henry, according to some Writers, had four children; but as the received opinion is, only two, a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Maunder*; of whom the Son at fourteen years old had fealty sworn to him by the Nobility of *Shrewsbury*: at seventeen married the Daughter of *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*: and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been shewed. The Daughter lived to be an Empress, and afterwards a Dutchess; but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as shall be shewed hereafter. She survived her second Husband seventeen years, living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* dyed, and was buried there in the Abbey of *Bec*, though there be a tradition that she was buried at *Reading*, in the Abby there beside her Father: but it appears to have been a custom in those days, for great personages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queen *Matild*, who dyed at *Westminster*, in the eighteenth year of his reign, King Henry married *Adeliza*, the Daughter of *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorraine*; who though she were a beautiful and accomplished Lady, yet had he never any issue by her. When she was to be crowned, *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was to do the Office, came to King Henry, sitting Crowned in his Chair of State, asking him who had set the Crown upon his head? the King answering, he had now forgotten, it was so long since. Well E (said the Archbishop) whosoever did it, did me wrong to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no Office at this Coronation. Then (saith the King) do what you think good: whereupon the Archbishop took the Crown off from the Kings head; and after at the peoples entreaty, set it on again, and then proceeded to Crown the Queen. By Concubines King Henry had many children; it is said seven Sons, and as many Daughters; of whom some perished in the great Shipwrack; of the rest, two of the Sons, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earls: *Reynold* of *Bristol*, *Robert* of *Glocester*, and was a great assister of his sister *Maunder*, in her troubles with King *Stephen*; who after many acts of valour performed by him, in the twelfth year of King *Stephen* died, and was buried at *Bristol*. The Daughters were all married to Princes and Noble-men of *England* and *France*, from whom are descended many worthy Families: particularly one of those Daughters by *Anne* Corbet, was married to *Fits-herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King: from which *Fits-herbert*, our Family (*alibi invidia verbo*) is by Females descended; passing by the names of *Cummin*, *Chenduit*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Fokcote*, *Dynceby*, and so to *Baker* and *Barret*.

### Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many children basely begotten: but if comparison be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him, it may be said, that howsoever they might be equal in looseness of life; yet in that looseness, *William Rufus* was the baser, and King Henry the more Noble; for King Henry had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant; where King *William* took only such as he found: constant to the pleasure, but not to the persons.

His

### His course for establishing the succession in Maude and her issue.

HE married his only Daughter *Maunder*, being but six years old, to the Emperour *Henry* the fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without issue, he married her again to *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Son to *Fulk* Duke of *Anjou*: not the greatest Prince that was a Suitor for her; but the fittest Prince for King *Henries* turn: for *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great security to it, if a friend; and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now considers how to establish her succession in the Crown of *England*; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them *David* King of *Scots*, and cauteh them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her issue: and as thinking he could never make her succession sure enough, he cauteh his Lords the year after again to take the like Oath; and after that a third time also; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the stronger: wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blou*, was the first man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a pretender. But the King should have considered that *Nalla-fides Regni*; and therefore no Oath, though never so often iterated, sufficient to warrant loyalty in persons so deeply interested, as *Stephen* was: yet Providence could do no more, and this King was well satisfied with it; especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not assurance, yet it gave him assured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Posterity.

King Henry cauteh his Nobility to swear Allegiance to his daughter *Maunder*.

### Of Ireland in his time.

THE King of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Countrey was governed by its own Kings: and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted; but now began intercourse to be more frequented: and *Mercherdach*, chief King of the *Irish*, bore such awful respect to King *Henry*, that he would do nothing but by his counsel and with his good liking.

*Mercherdach* King of *Ireland* is much ruled by King *Henry*.

### Whom King Henry used as his Vicegerent in his absence.

HE was absent sometimes in *Normandy*, three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, a politick Prelate; and one as fit to be the second in government, as King *Henry* to be the first.

### His Personage and Conditions.

HE was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbs well knit, and fully furnished with flesh; his face well fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead; his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, vilified, and thought to have but little in him: but come to the Crown, never any man shewed more excellent abilities, so true is the saying, *Magistratus indicat virum*. His natural affection in a direct line was strong; in an oblique, but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother less. Though a King in act, yet he alwayes acted not a King; but in F battails sometimes the part of a common Souldier, though with more then common valour: as at a Battail in *France*; where he so far hazzarded himself, that though he lost not his life, yet he lost his blond. He delighted much in Beasts of forain Countries; as in Lions, Leopards, Camels; and such like, for which he inclosed a place at *Woodstock* of purpose to keep them.

Huntington.

King Henry's valour.

### Of his Death and Burial.

A Discontent of minde upon some differences between him and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a distemper, which encreased by eating, against his Physicians advice; of a Lamprey, a meat alwayes pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, cast him into a Fever, which in few dayes put a period to his life: So certain it is, that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was hungry, never did drink but when he was a thirst: yet this but once yielding to his sensual appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence: though some write he took his death by a fall off his Horse. He dyed upon the first of *December* at night, in the year 1135. when he had reigned five

King Henry's sickness of eating of a Lamprey.

1135.

and

The time of  
the Norman  
Kings ends.

and thirty years, lived threescore and seven. His Bowels, brains, and eyes, were buried <sup>A</sup> at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he dyed: the rest of his body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Oxe hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himself had founded. The Physician that took out his Brains; with the intolerable stench shortly after dyed. In this King *Henry* ended the line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the *French*, by the title of Heirs general.

### Men of Note in his time.

<sup>B</sup> Men of Learning in his time were many: first, *Stephen Harding* a Benedictine Monk, who was founder to the Cistercian Order. Then *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his assiveness in matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then *Walter Calene*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the *British* tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffrey* of *Munmouth* to translate, and added forty years of his own time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *De rebus Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other works, writ the History of his own time, under the two *Williams* and *Henry* the first.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING STEPHEN.

- <sup>A</sup> After the decease of King *Henry*, presently steps upon the Stage of Royalty, *Stephen* Earl of *Boleyn*, Son to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Adela*, Daughter of King *William* the Conqueror; and though there were two other before him, *Maud* the Emperess, and *Theobald* his elder Brother, She in a substantial right, He in a colourable, yet taking advantage of being *primus Occupans*, the first Invader; (as being quickly here after King *Henry's* death, where the other staid lingering about other affairs) he solicits all the Orders of the Realm, Bishops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Sovereign: wherein besides his own large promises, what great matters he would do for them all, he had also the assistance of *Henry* his Brother, Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Popes Legate, and of *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, his great friend: (two the most powerful men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reasons, but more indeed by Force then Reasons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and so upon St. *Stephen's* day, in Anno 1135. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, in the presence of but three Bishops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great solemnity. That which put a scruple in mens minds, and made them averse at first, from consenting to *Stephen*, was the Oath they had taken to receive King *Henry's* Daughter *Maud* to be their Queen, after his decease; but the weight of this scruple was something abated, when it was urged, that no Precedent could be shewed, that ever the Crown had been set upon a womans head. And <sup>C</sup> *Robert* Bishop of *Salisbury*, brought another Reason, because they had taken that Oath but upon condition, that the King should not marry her out of the Realm without their consents, and the King having broken the condition, was just cause to nullifie their Obligation: to which was added, that the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kind of forced, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more then all these, *Hugh Bigot*, sometime Steward to King *Henry* immediately after his decease, came over into *England*, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, that he was present a little before King *Henry's* death, when he adopted and chose his Nephew *Stephen* to be his Successour, because his daughter *Maud* had grievously at that time displeased him. But howsoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated; it is certain that many of them, <sup>D</sup> as well Bishops as other Lords, came afterward to an evil end, at least to many calamities before their end.

Anno Domini.  
1135.

King Stephen  
is Crowned.

Upon what  
reasons the  
Oath before  
taken to *Maud*  
was slighted.

## What course he took to establish himself in the Kingdom.

It is a true saying, *Is robis optime servatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was Stephen's course, he got the Kingdom by promises, and he established it by performances; He pleased the People with easing them of Taxes and Impositions: He pleased the Clergy with forbearing to keep Bishopricks and Abbeyes vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporal Magistrate; He pleased the Nobility with allowing them to build Castles upon their own Lands; He pleased the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the Kings Deer in their own Woods; and besides with advancing many of them in Honors: and for his brother Theobald, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleased him with a Grant to pay him two thousand Marks a year; and then to strengthen himself abroad no less than at home, he married his Son *Eustace* to *Constance*, a Daughter of *Leues* King of *France*, which alliance alone might be thought a sufficient security against all opposition. And yet one thing more, which established him more than these, at least these the more for this, that he had seized upon King *Henries* treasure, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, which he spent not in vain riot, but employed to his best advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Souldiers out of *Britany* and *Flanders*.

He marries his Son *Eustace*, to the King of *France's* daughter. King *Henry* had left a hundred thousand pounds in ready money.

## Of his Troubles in his Reign.

There may well be made a chapter of the troubles of his reign, seeing his whole reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at least no longer intermission, then as to give him breath against new encounters; till at last, when he grew towards his last, he rather left to be in trouble, then was at quiet, being forced to make his adversary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had fought his life. For he was no sooner set in his Chair of State, but he was presently disquieted and made to rise, by the provocation of *David* King of *Scots*, who solicited by some Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maud* the Emperess (whose right he had sworn to defend) with a mighty Army entered *Northumberland*, took *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, and was proceeding further, till King *Stephen* with a greater Army coming against him, yet rather bought his Peace then won it; for to recover *Newcastle* out of his hands, he was fain to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for his as being free, did Homage to King *Stephen*.

An. Reg. 4. 1139.

The King of *Scots* in *Maud's* cause, enters *England* with an Army; but is compounded with.

Upon a bruit of King *Stephen's* death, the Lords possess themselves of several Castles.

*Geoffrey* Duke of *Anjou* enters into *Normandy*; but is compounded withall.

No sooner was this trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being fain somewhat ill at ease, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which lo distracted mens minds, that every one thought it wisdom to shift for himself; and the Great Lords made a contrary use of Castles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them, for the King intended them for his own defence against his Enemies, and they made use of them in their own defence against the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* possessed himself of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Quiscumir* of other Castles. In these difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in person be in all places at once, yet in care he was; and there most, where was most danger; employing others against the rest: Against *Baldwyn* he went himself, whom, driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Isle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him also from thence, and at last into Exile.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little breath, but then *Normandy* presently begins with him afresh: For now *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maud* his wife enters upon his Towns there, and seeks to get possession of the Country; when K. *Stephen* passeth over with an army, and arrethts his proceedings: and after some small defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a pecuniary Composition: He to pay the Duke five thousand Marks a year, and the Duke to relinquish his claim to *Normandy*. This done, he returns into *England*, where new commotions are attending him: For the Lords in his absence, resenting his breach of Promises upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make use every one of their Castles, and stand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert Mauds* Brother, *Briflow*; *William Lovell*, the Castle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Castle of *Ludlow*; *William Mowse*, the Castle of *Dunfer*; *Robert of Nichol* now called *Lincolne*, the Castle of *Warham*; *Eustace* the Son of *John*, the Castle of *Melton*; *William* the Son of *Alan*, the Castle of *Shrewsbury*; and withall *David* King of *Scots*, never regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an army, committing to great cruelty, in ravishing of Maids, murdering of Infants, slaughtering of Priests, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from the one end to the other was in combustion; that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this dismayed not the King, but as having learned this lesson, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, grows the more in confidence, the less he was in assurance; and as if danger were the fuel of courage, the more erected in himself, the less he was upheld by others; and so, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his absence, he passeth himself in person against *David* King of *Scots*; as being most dangerous, and therefore the first to be repressed: but

He goes in person against the King of *Scots*.

but finding it hard to draw him to a battail, and impossible without a battel to do any good upon him; he leaves the care of that quarrel to *Thurfin* Archbishop of *Tork*, and returns himself home, if it may be called home, where he scarce had a safe place to put his head in. But though many Lords were rebellious against him, yet from there were that stuck firmly to him, by whose assistance and his own industry, partly by inticements, partly by inforcements, he reduced most of them to obedience, and all of them to submission; when in the mean time *Thurfin* Archbishop of *Tork*, and in his sickness, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, assisted with *William* Earl of *Aumerle*, *William* Piperell of *Nottingham*, and *Hulers* de *Lacy*, fought a memorable battel against *David* King of *Scots*; wherein though King *David* himself, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderful Acts of Prowess, yet the *English* got the Victory; with the slaughter of eleven thousand *Scots* in the Fight, besides many other slain in the flight; where of the *English* none of account were slain, but only a Brother of *Hubert Lacy*, and some small number of common Souldiers. This Victory infinitely pleased and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an absolute suppression of the *Scots*, passeth again with an Army, and inforceth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into King *Stephen's* hands for a pledge; and coming homeward, by the way he besieged *Ludlow* one of the Rebels nests, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Prisoner, if King *Stephen* in his own Person had not rescued him.

The rebel Lords are reduced to obedience.

Eleven thousand *Scots* slain, and but very few *English*.

King *Stephen's* good nature and valour.

The Emperess *Maud* comes now into *England*, and hath many adherents.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters: For now *Maud* the Emperess her self in Person comes into play; in whom the Oath before taken was to have its tryal; for till now, though never so really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that she came in Person, now was the time of tryal, how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that strongly; For *Maud* coming into *England* with *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, her base Brother was most joyfully received at *Arundel* Castle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had married *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager of the late King *Henry*, and had the said Castle and County assigned for her Dowry. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, cometh to *Arundel* Castle with an Army, and besiegeth it; but either diverted by counsel, or else finding the Castle to be inexpugnable, he left the siege, and suffered the Emperess to pass to *Briflow*. The King hearing, that *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester*, Son in law to *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, had possessed himself of the City of *Lincoln*, thither he goeth with an Army and besiegeth it: thither also came the said Earl of *Chester*, and *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* to raise his siege; at which time a most fierce battel was fought between them upon *Candlemas*-day, wherein as it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed; For when all men about him were either fled or slain; yet he kept the field himself alone: no man daring to come near him; *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictum ejus immanitatem*, saith *Hovelen*: yet overmastered at last by multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and brought to *Maud* the Emperess, who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Briflow*, where he remained till *All-hallowtide* after. And now the Emperess having gotten King *Stephen* into her hands, she takes her journey to *London*; received in all places, as she went, peaceably, and at *London* joyfully; where Queen *Matild* made humble suit unto her, for the liberty of King *Stephen* her Husband; and that he might but be allowed to live a private life: the *Londoners* also made suit to have the Laws of King *Edward* restored; but the Emperess not only rejected both their suits, but returned them answers in harsh and insulting language: Indeed most unseasonably; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes: for Queen *Matild* finding thereby, how high the Emperess's pulses did beat; sent presently to her Son *Eustace*, being then in *Kenil*, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom the *Londoners*, as much discontented as she, do afterwards joyn; and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Waltham* and *Farnham*, and especially *Winchester*, where he stays himself, attending upon what Coast the next wind of the Emperess would blow. Of all these things the Emperess had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Oxford*, sending straight charge, to have King *Stephen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used, put (as some write) into fetters, and fed with very bare and poor commons; withall she sends to her Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, to come unto her with all speed possible, who coming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done; the lot falls upon *Winchester*, as being their greatest Adversary, now, no less in appearance then in power: so *Winchester* they besiege, which Queen *Matild* hearing, she with her son *Eustace* & the *Londoners*, came presently to the succour, where a fierce battel being fought, the end was, that the party of Queen *Matild* prevailed, and the Emperess to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horse-back in manner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Glocester*; while Earl *Robert* her Brother disdainful to lie, was taken Prisoner, whom Queen *Matild* caused to be used the more hardly, in retaliation of the hard usage which the Emperess before had shewed to King *Stephen*. Things standing in these terms, propositions were made by the Lords for pacification, but such were the high spirits of the Emperess and her Brother *Robert*, that no conditions would please them, unless the Emperess might enjoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by agreement between themselves, or by connivence of the Keepers, both King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* got to be at liberty. When the first thing King *Stephen* did, was to look out the Emperess to requite the kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he layes siege to the Town, and brings the Emperess to such distresses that

141.

King *Stephen's* valour. Is taken prisoner and carried to *Maud*.

*Maud* is received of the *Londoners*.

She is beaten by *Matild* King *Stephen's* wife, and her Brother the Earl of *Glocester* taken prisoner.

King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* both get to be at liberty.

142.

*Maud* bests *ged* at *Oxford*, fleeth away secretly.

that she had no way to free her self but by flight; and no way to flie but with manifest danger, yet she effected it by this device: It was in the Winter season, when frost and snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four servants that were with her in white clothes, which being of the colour of snow, made her pass the Watches without being discerned, and by this means came safe to her friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Malmesbury*, who lived at that time, confesseth he could never learn certainly by what means she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger; yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appear upon this Stage of War; but left the prosecution of it to her Son *Henry*, who was now about sixteen years of age, and being forward of his age and able to bear Arms, was by his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots* Knighted, to make him more forward.

*Henry Maundes*  
son, now six-  
teen years of  
age, prosecuteth  
the war against  
King *Stephen*.

1144.

King *Stephen*  
discredits him-  
self.

1152.

Since *Henry*  
marries the  
heir of *William*  
Duke of *Guyen*.

1153.

*Eustace* King  
*Stephen*'s son  
dyeth.

King *Stephen*  
and Prince  
*Henry* agree.  
Prince *Henry*  
thought by  
some to be  
King *Stephen*'s  
Son.

1154.

No mention  
what became  
of *Maude* at  
this time.

It was now the ninth year of King *Stephen*'s reign, when *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, keeping possession of the City of *Lincoln*, was in night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the Kings Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth, and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King, and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when perfidiously he was detained by the King; and not set at liberty, till he had surrendered into the Kings hands all the Castles that were in his possession; which though it brought the King some present benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future loss; for it lost him his credit with all men, and no man afterward would trust his word.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of nineteen years, and was in possession of the Dukedom of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father *Geoffrey Plantagenet*; and not long after this, he married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that *Dutchy*, and also the Earldom of *Poitou*: *Normandy* he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being possessor now of four great Principalities, this greatness of Estate adding to the greatness of his spirit, made him aspire to recover his Right in *England*; and over he comes, bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great, from the people of this Kingdom; and many indeed resorted to him; with whom he fell presently, and besieged *Marleborough*: but by the Kings greater Forces was repelled.

After this, their Armies continued in the Field still; rather watching advantages to be doing, then doing any thing; sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came; till at last it was like to come to a set Battel, when suddenly *Eustace* King *Stephen*'s only Son unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for the Kingdom; For now King *Stephen* being left destitute of issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Emperess *Maude*, having lately lost her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*, (her two best Champions) was no less willing then he, which being furthered by the Lords of both sides, was at last concluded upon these conditions, that *Stephen* should hold the Kingdom of *England* during his life, and adopt Duke *Henry* as his Heir to succeed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at *Winchester* confirmed, Duke *Henry* ever after accounted King *Stephen* no less then a Father, and King *Stephen*, Duke *Henry* no less then a Son: and well he might, if it be true which some write, that the Emperess, when a battel was to be fought between King *Stephen* and her Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his heart to fight against him that was his own Son? Could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her Widow-hood? But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver: It touched too near the interest of Princes then in being: and Princes must not be touched while they live, nor when they are dead neither, with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howsoever it was, certain it is, that after this agreement between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*, they continued in mutual love and concord, as long after as they lived.

But what became of *Maude* the Emperess at this time? For that she was alive, and lived many years after this agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, all Writers agree; and to say that she consented to the agreement, without any provision made for her self, is to make her too much a woman; a very weak vessel: and to say there might be provision made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great excess: And besides, being so stirring a woman as she was, that upon a sudden she should be so quiet, as not to deserve to have one word spoken of her in all the long time she lived after, (being no less then twelve or thirteen years) is as strange as the rest. And if she placed her contentment so wholly in her Son, that in regard of him, she regarded not her self at all; it deserves at least the *Encomium* of such a motherly love as is very unusual, and not always safe. Whatsoever it was, I must be fain to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helps me to untie. *Matthieu Paris* makes her to live one and thirty years after the death of King *Stephen*: and makes this her Epitaph.

*Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,  
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*

Of

## Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Moneys.

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made; for Taxations indeed, are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, where the State all this Kings time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplied with Confiscations, which by reason of the many revoltings of men of all sorts, could not chuse but fill his coffers; every Rebellion being in nature of a purchase to him, for whatsoever became of the persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then devices to hasten their pace, for upon light suggestions (not so much oftentimes as just suspicions) he would call men into question, and seize upon their Goods, as in the case particularly of *Ralph* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and it may not be displeasing to hear from what beginning this Bishop grew to such a height of greatness, which was thus: In the time of King *William Rufus* he was a poor Priest, serving a Cure in a Village near to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the Kings younger Brother *Henry* chanced to pass that way, and to make some stay in the said Village; who being desirous to hear a Mass, this *Roger* being Curate, was the man to say it; which he dispatched with such celerity, that the Souldiers, (who commonly love not long Masses) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a fitter Priest be found for men of war then he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him, and when he came to be King preferred him to many great places, and at last to be Chancellour of *England*, and Bishop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his rising, now hear his fall; When King *Stephen* came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predecessour King *Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; For being a great begger of Suits, the King would lay off him, if this man will never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruine: For King *Stephen* having given liberty to build Castles, and then through envy into others in magnificence, (for he builded the Castles of *Salisbury*, the *Vyas*, *Sherburne* *Malmesbury*, and *Newark*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that these Castles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of *Maude* the Emperess: which so possessed the King, or he would be thought to be so possessed, that taking this for a just cause, he seized them all into his hands, and forty thousand Marks besides, which he had in money: and not contented with this, he took the like course also with *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, only because he was his Nephew and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of money: For in the first year of his reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterwards at *Oxford* caused many to be impeached for that liberty; a trick which perhaps he learned from hunting, first to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the privilege of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

*Ralph* Bishop  
of *Salisbury* by  
what means he  
came to his  
greatness.

By what means  
to his fall.

## Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licence to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time, they had only a Sergeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37 year of King *Henry* the third, they had licence to inclose the Town with Ditches.

*Norwich* is al-  
lowed to have  
Coroners and  
Bailiffs.

## Affairs of the Church in his time.

UPON the Kings seizing into his hands, the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s Castles, and Goods, complaint was made, and a Synod was called by the Bishop of *Winchester* the Popes Legate, to right the Bishop, where the King was cited to appear; who sending to know the cause, Answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Christian King he ought not to do. The King replies by his Lawyer, *Americ de Vir*, that he had not arrested the Bishop of *Salisbury* as a Bishop, but as his servant, that was to make him Account of his employment. To this the Bishop answereth, that he was never Servant or Accountant to the King: and many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King without the Popes privy; so in the end they fell from Authority to Submission; and in the Kings chamber fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would pity the Church; and not suffer dissention to be between the Kingdom and the Priesthood. And this was no small magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high stomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his reign a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, where it was decreed, that whosoever should lay violent hands upon any Clergy man, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself: and from this time forward,

The King  
might not im-  
prison Bishops.

Clergy.

Clergy men  
exempt from  
secular power.

Clergy men were exempt from the secular power. In the tenth year of his reign, by the soliciting of Saint Bernard, many took upon them the Cross, for a supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom, some English Lords also.

### Works of Piety by him, or by others in his time.

St. Katherine  
by the Tower  
founded.

Boxeley Abbey  
in Kent found-  
ed.

HE founded the Abbeys of Coggeshall in Essex; of Furneys in Lancashire; of Herguilers and Feverham in Kent; at Heigham in Kent, a house of black Nuns, also an house for Nuns at Carew: his Queen Matild built the Hospital of St. Katharines by the Tower of London: A Knight called Sir William of Mount Fitchet, founded the Abbey of Stratford Langthorn, within four miles of London; William of Tyre founded Boxeley Abbey in Kent; Robert Earl of Ferrers, founded the Abbey of Merival in Warwickshire, and in the same Shire, Robert Earl of Gloucester, the Abbey of Nonne Eaten. Thurstine Archbishop of York founded the Monastery of Fontes in Yorkshire. Also by others were founded the Abbeys of Tiltney; of Ricwall; of Newborough and Beeland; of Garedon in Leicestershire; of Kirkstead in Yorkshire: and divers others in other places, so that more Abbeys were erected in his days, then had been within the space of a hundred years before.

### Of Casualties happening in his time.

Newbrigenis.

Newbrigenis and also Huntingdon, reporteth of one Raynerus, a wicked Minister of a more wicked Abbot, that crossing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his iniquity, overweighed the ship, that in the midst of the stream, it was not able to stir; at which the Mariners astonished, cast lots, and the lot fell upon Raynerus; and left this should be thought to happen by chance, they cast the lots again and again, and still the lot fell upon Raynerus; whereupon they put him out of the ship, and presently the ship as eased of her burthen, sailed away. Certainly a great judgement of God, and a great miracle: but yet recorded by one, that is no fabulous Author. In this Kings time also, there appeared two children, a boy and a girl, clad in green, in a stuff unknown, of a strange language, and of a strange diet; whereof the boy being baptized, dyed shortly after, but the girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were; she answered, They were of the Land of St. Martyn, where there are Christian Churches erected: but that no Sun did ever rise unto them: but where that Land is, and how she came hither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World, then those which to us are known: and this story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible witnesses, as it is. In the fifteenth year of this King, the River of Thames was so hard frozen, that Horse and Cart passed over upon the Ice. In this Kings time lived Johannes de Temporibus, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred sixty and one years: he was one of Charlemain the Emperours Guard, and dyed in the reign of Conradus the third, Anno Dom. 1139.

### Of his Wife and Children.

Queen Matilds  
commendation.

The strange  
death of En-  
face.

HE married, by his Uncle King Henries means, Matild Daughter and Heir of Enface Earl of Boleyn, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In adversity not dejected; in prosperity not elated: while her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance, as it were a Man; Acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that fortune should fall into her lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen, he had only one Son named Enface, a Prince more then of hope, for he lived to the blossoming of much Valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger accident. But strange Relations must not always be rejected, for though many of them be forged, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kind, which some Writers relate of this Prince, that being at the Abbey of Bury in Norfolk, and denied some money he required to have had, he presently in a rage went forth, and set fire on the Cornfields belonging to the Abbey, but afterwards sitting down to dinner, at the first morsel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madness, and in that fit dyed? Certainly, the Persons of Princes are for more observation then ordinary people; and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Examples. This Prince Enface was so beloved of his Father, that he had a purpose to have joined him King with himself, but that the Pope upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in Feverham Abbey, where his Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate issue King Stephen had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named William, whom he made Earl of Norfolk, which honour was confirmed upon him, by a special Article, in the agreement made between King Stephen and Duke Henry: Only a French Chronicle speaks of another Son of his, named Gervase, made Abbot of Westminster, and that he dyed in the year 1160. and was there buried.

of

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, of great strength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his mind, there was apparent in him a just mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with such weak friends as he did, against such potent adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confest, he was of an excellent temper for a Souldier, seeing he never kill'd any enemy in cold blood, as Anthony did Cicero; nor any friend in hot blood, as Alexander did Clitus. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the short time between his agreement with Duke Henry, and his death: which seeing he spent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and seeking to stich up the breaches which the violence of War had made; we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good Proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a sufficient example in one action of his, which was this; Duke Henry being on a time, in some streights for money, sent to his Mother Maude the Emperess, desiring her to furnish him, but she answered, that she was in as great straights her self, and therefore could not do it; then he sent to his Uncle Earl Robert to furnish him, and he answered he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it; at last he sent to King Stephen, and he though an Adversary, and standing in terms of opposition, yet sent presently, and supplied him with it. He was withall a great oppugner of superstition, which made him on a time to ride into Lincoln with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a superstitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great dysalter would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any special vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

A good temper  
for a Souldier.

King Stephen's  
good nature.

A superstitious  
opinion held of  
Lincoln.

### Of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fish cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King, to live out of trouble; as soon as he came to enjoy quietness, he left to enjoy life, no time left him between his agreement with Duke Henry and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last leave of all his Friends: For it was but from January to October; and the last friend he took leave of, was Theodorick Earl of Flanders, whom he met at Dover, and as soon as he had dismissed him he was suddenly taken with the Iliack Passion, and with an old disease of the Emrods: and died in the Monastery there, the five and twentieth of October, in the year 1154. when he had reigned almost nineteen years, lived nine and forty; and was buried in the Abbey of Feverham, which he had founded.

1154.

### Men of Note in his time.

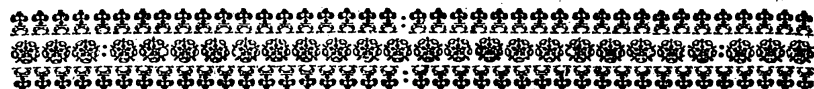
OF Clergy men, there was Thurstine Archbishop of York, and Henry Bishop of Winchester the Kings brother, also William another Archbishop of York, whom we may find in the Calender of Saints, as likewise St. Bernard who lived in this time, though not of this Countrey; and if we may reckon strangers, there lived at this time Peter Lombard; Master of the Sentences; Peter Comestor, writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and Gratian, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Basters; also Avicen, Averroes, Mesue, and Rabbi Salomon were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was Ranulph Earl of Chester; Reynold Earl of Cornwall; Robert Earl of Leicester; Hugh Bigot Earl of Norfolk; but especially Robert Earl of Gloucester, the Kings bafe Son, whose praises, if any desire to hear founded out to the full, let him read William of Malmesbury, who writ the history of these times, of purpose to be his Trumpet. Of the writers of our Nation, there was this William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon, Simeon Dunelmensis, William Revellensis, and Geoffry of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales. Also Hingo Carthusianus, a Burgundian, But made Bishop of Lincoln here in England.

Three great  
Cleriks, all Ba-  
stards.

Robert Earl of  
Gloucester his  
praise.

The chief Hi-  
story Writers  
at this time.

THE



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SECOND.

1155.  
King Henry is  
Crowned.

A greater  
Prince then  
any of his An-  
cestors.



ING Stephen being dead, Henry Duke of Anjou, by his Father Geoffrey Plantagenet, succeeded him in the Kingdom of England by agreement, whom he preceded by right, as being Son and Heir of Maude, sole Daughter and Heir of King Henry the first; and was Crowned at Westminster, by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, on the seventeenth of December, in the year 1155. and was now a greater Prince then any of his Ancestors had been before: and indeed, the Kingdom of England, the Dukedom of Normandy, and the Dukedom of Anjou in his own right; and in the right of his Wife Queen Eleanor, the Duchy of Guyen, and the Earldom of Poitou, being all united in his person, made him a Dominion of a larger extent then any Christian King had at that time.

Born at Meins  
in Normandy.

Is educated at  
Bristol.  
Is sent into  
Scotland.

Is carried into  
Anjou.

He marries the  
Lady Eleanor,  
the divorced  
wife of Lewis  
King of France.

He was born at Meins in Normandy, in the year 1132. a great joy to his Father Geoffrey Duke of Anjou; a greater to his Mother Maude the Emperess; but so great to his Grandfather King Henry the first, that it seemed to make amends for his Son William, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwrack. The years of his childhood were spent at home under the care of his Parents: at nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle Robert Earl of Gloucester into England, and placed at Bristol, where under the tuition of one Matthew his Schoolmaster, to instruct him in learning, he remained four years, after which time he was sent into Scotland, to his great Uncle David King of Scots, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the principles of State, but chiefly of his own estate: and being now about fifteen years of age, was by him knighted, and though scarce ripe for Arms, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle Robert, one of the best Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his absence, sent with great instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying of whose longing, Earl Robert provided him of passage, and conducted him himself to the Sea side, where he took his last farewell of him. Being come into Anjou, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his presence, not long after died, leaving him in present possession of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen years of age. When shortly after he married Eleanor the late Wife of Lewis King of France, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into England, where after some velitations with King Stephen, they were at last reconciled, and his succession to the Crown of England, ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into France, and presently tell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the French King: in the time of which siege, news was brought him of King Stephen's death; which one would have thought should have made him hasten his journey into England; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle: his resolution of his being known to the Defendants, they surrendered the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six weeks after before he came into England, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

His

## His first Acts after he came to the Crown.

HE began his reign as Solomon would have begun it, if he had been in his place: for, first he made choise of wife and discreet men to be his Counsellours: then he banished out of the Realm all strangers, and especially Flemings, with whom the Kingdom swarmed: as of whom King Stephen had made use in his wars, amongst whom was William of Ypres, lately before made Earl of Kent. Castles which by King Stephens allowance had been built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather Nurseries of rebellion to the Subject, then of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reform abuses of the Laws, which disorder of the wars had brought in: He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King Stephen against him; as thinking that men once perjured, would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the less pressing upon the people with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped; as thinking it better to displease a few then many: and many other things he did, which in a disjoynted State were no less profitable and expedient, then requisite and necessary.

He caused  
Castles to be  
demolished.

He reformed  
the Laws.

He resumed  
Crown Lands.

## His Troubles during his Reign.

HE had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at first were not in Capite, strook not at the root, as King Stephens did: but were only some certain nibblings at inferior parts: till at last he brought them himself into his own bowels: For what was the trouble in his first year with the Welsh; but as an exercise rather to keep him in motion, then that it needed to disquiet his rest? for though they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers; their Woods and Mountainous passages: yet as soon as King Henry did but shew his sword amongst them, they were soon reduced to obedience for the present, and to a greater awfulness for the future. It is true Henry Earl of Essex that bore the Kings Standard, was so assaulted by the Welsh, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the Welsh, and put the English in some fear, as supposing the King had been slain; but this was soon frustrated to the Welsh, and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be shorn a Monk, and put into the Abbey of Reading, and had his lands seized into the Kings hands. And what was his trouble with Malcolm King of Scots, but a work of his own beginning? for if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, Cumberland and Huntingdonshire, by the grant of King Stephen, and Northumberland, by the gift of his Mother Maude the Emperess; he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his foot; but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his Kingdom: and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he won not; but took Northumberland from him: with the City of Carlisle, and the Castles of Newcastle and Bamburgh: and merely out of gratefulness, in remembrance of the many civilities done him before, by David King of Scots; he left him the County of Huntingdon; but yet his with condition to owe fealty, and to do homage to him for it. And what was his trouble with his brother Geoffrey, but a Bird of his own hatching; for his Father Geoffrey, Duke of Anjou, had three sons, Henry, Geoffrey and William: and dying, he left his Dukedom of Anjou to his eldest Son Henry, but to hold no longer then till he should come to be King of England, and then to deliver it up to his second Son Geoffrey. and he made his Lords to swear; not to suffer his body to be buried, until his son Henry had taken his Oath to do it; which Oath Henry afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take: but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to Adrian the then Pope, for a dispensation of his Oath: which granted, he enters Anjou with an Army, and takes from his Brother Geoffrey, being little able to make resistance; not only the Dukedom of Anjou, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kindness was content to allow him a Pension of a thousand pounds a year: which brotherly kindness was so unkindly taken by his Brother Geoffrey, that it brake his heart; and within a short time after he died.

His troubles  
with the Welsh  
soon ended.

1157.

Henry Earl of  
Essex, how  
punished for  
letting the  
Kings Stan-  
dard fall.

Malcolm King  
of Scots re-  
pre-  
sented.

King Henry's  
unkindness to  
his brother  
Geoffrey.

And thus these troubles begun by Henry himself, were soon ended; but now a trouble is coming on, begun by Lewis King of France; and this is like to stick longer by him: For King Lewis not having yet digested King Henry's marriage with his divorced wife Eleanor, seeks all opportunities to express his spleen, by doing him displeasure; and a fit opportunity was now offered: for there fell out a difference between Raymond Earl of St. Giles, and Henry King of England, about the Earldom of Tholouse, which Raymond possessed, and Henry claimed: in this difference, King Lewis takes part with Raymond, as pretending to be the juster side. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battel; but that by mediation of friends, a peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between Henry, King Henry's eldest Son, scarce yet seven years of age, and Margaret, Daughter of King Lewis not past three: who was delivered to King Henry to bring up

Troubles like  
to arise be-  
tween King  
Henry and the  
King of France.

1160.

But pacified by  
a marriage of  
their children.

up till fit years for conformation. This was then thought a strong link to hold them in friendship, but it proved afterward a cause to make a greater breach; and indeed when a son is once matched into a family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good with; seeing the Daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her Husband, and he none, at least, none so well, as by the ruine of his Father: yet this brake not out till some years after. It was now about the sixteenth year of King Henry's reign and his Son Henry grown to be seventeen years of age, when it came into the Kings mind to have his Son Henry crowned King, and reign with himself in his own time; partly out of indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for Succession are commonly eluded: but Oaths for present Allegiance, as being *Verba de presenti*, can have no evasion: and pleasing himself with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his purpose, and causeth his Son Henry to be crowned King by the hands of Roger Archbishop of York; and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him: at the Feast of which solemnity King Henry to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dish to his Table: whereupon the Archbishop Roger standing by, and saying merrily to the new King: What an honour is this to you, to have such a waiter at your Table? Why (saith he) what great matter is it for him that was but the Son of a Duke, to do service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing, began to repent him, now it was too late, of that he had done: For indeed the honour which by Gods Commandement, children are to do their Parents, is by such making them their equals, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them stomachs to take more upon them than is fit. But King Henry passed it over, and meant to set the best side outward. Notwithstanding this ill success of King Henry, yet King Lewis of France soon after, did the like to his Son Philip, and caused him to be crowned King in his own life time, Paris, Anno 1179.

And now King Lewis took displeasure that his Daughter was not crowned as well as her Husband, and therefore to satisfy him in that point, King Henry sendeth his Son Henry and his Wife Margaret into England, and causeth them both to be crowned by Walter Archbishop of Roan: and shortly after, the young King Henry and his Wife go back to King Lewis her Father, and by him with great joy, and variety of sports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King Lewis partly out of his old spleen to King Henry, and partly to make his Son-in-law more absolute: falls oftentimes into conference with him, and finding his hot spirit to be fit tinder for such fire, tells him, it was a shame he should suffer himself to be made a Slave; have the title of a King, and not the authority: and that as long as he stood in such terms, that which seemed an honour was indeed a disgrace: With which words of King Lewis, the young King Henry was set a float, and from that time forward, stuck not openly to oppose his Father: whereof his Father having intelligence, sent messengers to King Lewis, desiring him from the King their Master, to be a means to bring his Son to more moderation. But King Lewis hearing the Embassadors name their Master King, with an angry countenance said unto them: What mean you by this to call him King, who hath passed his Kingdom over to his Son? and with this answer sent them away. To this evil, another worse was added: that Queen Eleanor his Wife enraged with jealousy of her Husbands Concubines, both incensed her Son Henry, and perswaded also two other of her sons, Richard and Geoffrey, to joyn against their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother should prevail, who could not chuse but allow them better maintenance, than their Father did. With these perswasions they pass over into Normandy, and joyn with their Brother Henry; who emboldened by their assistance, grows now more insolent than he was before; that when messengers were sent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him: he proudly made answer, that his Father must not look he would lay down his Arms, unless himself first would lay down his authority, and resign the Kingdom. And now Lewis King of France, calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them William King of Scots, Hugh Earl of Chester, Roger Mowbray, Hugh Bigot, and other of his Sons parry, they all take their Oaths to assist the young King Henry with all their power, and thereupon all in one day, the French invade Normandy, Aquitaine and Britain, the King of Scots, Northumberland; and King Lewis the City of Vernouil, which he brought to that distress, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not succoured within three days, then to surrender it. King Henry hearing of this agreement, promiseth to succour them by that day. But here King Lewis useth a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not do by force; for he sends to King Henry, that if he were willing to have peace with his Sons, he should meet him at a place appointed, at such a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King Henry glad of such an offer, and with that gladness perhaps blinded, and not suspecting any deceit, promiseth to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he should have succoured Vernouil, he stayed there all day looking for King Lewis coming, who in stead of coming, sent word to Vernouil, that King Henry was defeated; and therefore their hope of succour was in vain: whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be so indeed, because he came not according to his promise, surrendered the Town: which King Lewis finding himself unable to hold, set it on fire, and so departed. But King Henry when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the slaughter of many of his men. At the same time also King Henry's Forces encountered Hugh Earl of Chester, and Robert Fulger, who had taken Dole in Britain, took them Prisoners, and brought them to King

An. Reg. 16.  
1170.

King Henry causeth his son Henry to be crowned King with himself.

The sons insolent speech against his Father.

The young King Henry is incited by his Father-in-law King Lewis to oppose his Father.

Queen Eleanor also.

The young King requires his Father to resign the Kingdom.

King Lewis and the Lords of France assist him.

King Lewis his fraud to get Vernouil.

A King Henry: and about the same time likewise in England Robert Earl of Leicester thinking to surprise Raynold Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Lacy, King Henry's Generals, at unawares, was himself by them overthrown, and the Town of Leicester taken; which only the site of the place defended from being battered to the ground. Robert Earl of Leicester being thus defeated, passed over into France, and being supplied by King Lewis with greater forces than before, is together with Hugh Bigot sent back into England, to draw the country to Henry the sons party, who at first assault take Norwich: and then sitting down before Bury, they are in a great battell, by Richard Lacy and other of King Henry's Captains, overthrown with the slaughter of ten thousand men, and as many taken prisoners; amongst whom Earl Robert himself. Yet were not Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot so daunted with this overthrow, but that together with David

B the King of Scots brother, they gather new Forces, and invade Northumberland and Yorkshire, when Robert Scoyce, Ralph Granula, William Vesli, and Barnard Bayliol (of whom Baynards Castle in London, first took the name) Knights of those parts, assemble together, and fighting a great battell with them, overthrow them, and took the King of Scots prisoner, with many others. Yet is not Hugh Bigot daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes Norwich; and Robert Ferris, Nottingham: the news whereof, when King Henry the Son heard, he recovered new spirits, and obtaining new assistance from King Lewis, prepares himself afresh for war: which King Henry the Father hearing, returns speedily into England; and to appease Saint Thomas Becket's Ghost, goes to visit his Tombe, and there asks him forgiveness. This done, he goes into Suffolk, and at Framingham Castle, which belonged to Hugh Bigot, staies with his Army, when suddenly moved, by what intinct no man knows, (unless the appealing of Saint Thomas's Ghost did work it) both Hugh Bigot delivers up his Castle into King Henry's hands, and likewise Robert Mowbray, Robert Ferris, and many others of that party, come voluntarily in, and submit themselves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King Henry returns to London, about which time he committed his wife Queen Eleanor to prison, for her practises against him. In the mean time, King Lewis understanding that Normandy was but weakly guarded, together with his Son the young King Henry, and Philip Earl of Flanders; he beliegeth Roan; which the Kings Forces valiantly defended, till he came himself in person; and thereupon King Lewis despairing of any good to be done, sends messengers to King Henry for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at Gyson, where he doubted not to make a reconciliation between his Sons and him; K. Henry agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done: It seems it was but one of K. Lewis's old tricks to come fairly off.

After this truce made with King Lewis, King Henry hearing that his Son Richard had in the mean time posselt himself of a great part of the Province of Poitou, goes thither with an Army, where Richard at last, after some hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himself to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father is freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault; and thereupon King Henry imploies him to King Lewis, and his brother Henry, to perswade them to peace: who wearied now with the wars, were easily drawn, and so reconciliation on all parts is made; and to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, Henry and Lewis, his daughter Adela is affianced to King Henry's son Richard, as Earl of Aquitaine, and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the care of King Henry, till she should be fit for marriage. Upon this King Henry sets Robert Earl of Lye ster, and Hugh Earl of Chester, giving hostages and oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and William also King of Scots paying a certain mulct; for which he delivered in pawn the strong Castles of Berwick, Roxborough, and Sterling to King Henry, and was fined to lose the County of Huntington, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. These things done, the King with his sons returns into England, where with all joyfulness they were received.

It was now the year 1179. when King Lewis began again to grow discontented with King Henry, because his daughter was not yet married to his son Richard as was agreed: but King Henry making him promise to have them married within a few daies, gave him satisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawful familiarity.

The year 1184. was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the death of the young King Henry, who died then, being of the age of one and twenty years: whose Widow Margaret returning into France, was afterward married to Bela King of Hungary. Now King Henry's Son Richard, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his Father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of discontentment: wherein though he cannot perhaps be justified, yet he may justly be excused, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his appetite the sharper; must needs be, if not a just cause, at least a strong provocation to make him do as he did. Howsoever from this fit of discontentment, he falls into a relapse of a Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brother John, and a great part of his Fathers Adherents; they all take part with Philip, (now after the decease of Lewis) King of France, who willing to make use of their assistance, before the stream of filial awfulness should return into the natural Channel, takes them along with him, and beliegeth the City of Meus, in which King Henry at that time was himself in person; who apprehending the danger, and then repenting the mischief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it self, till he should return with greater forces: for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into so great a distraction

Leicester a strong site.

Hugh Bigots resolute persisting in assisting young King Henry.

Baynards Castle of whom to called.

1174.

King Henry visits the Tomb of Thomas Becket.

Hugh Bigot and others submit themselves to King Henry. Queen Eleanor committed to prison.

A reconciliation on is made on all parts. Richard King Henry's second son affianced Adela the King of France's Daughter.

1179.

With whom King Henry is thought to have unlawful familiarity.

An. Reg. 30.

1184.

The young King Henry dieth.

Richard discontented with the delay of his marriage rebels: and draws in his brother John.

Meus taken by the King of France.

A blasphemous speech of King Henry.

A strange accident.

King Henry forsaken of his good fortune.

of mind, that it made him break out into these blasphemous words; I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffered a City so dear unto me, to be taken from me: but he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed *Mentz* was the city in which he was born, that to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him; and to say the truth, after he had lost this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not only because he shortly after died, but because the state of Majesty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forsook him: for now he was fain to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him: now he was glad to yield to conditions, which no force before could have wrested from him. It is memorable, and worth observing, that when these two Kings had meeting between *Turnyn* and *Aras*, for reconciliation of differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light just between them, with so terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time, to break off their conference; and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which so amazed King Henry, that he had fallen off his horse, if he had not been supported by those about him; which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifest prefaces of his future dyasters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of desolation, notwithstanding all his greatness; forsaken of his friends, forsaken of his wife, forsaken of his children; and (if he were not himself, when he blasphemed for the loss of *Mentz*) forsaken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatness.

### Of his Acquest of Ireland.

Who first of all English men entered Ireland.

Ireland submits itself to King Henry.

The Pope confirms their submission.

King Henry builds a stately Palace in Dublin. He sends his son John Governour into Ireland.

**R**obert Fitz-Stephen was the first of all English men after the conquest that entered Ireland, the first day of May, in the year 1170. with 390 men: and there took Wexford, in the behalf of *Dermotus*, son of *Marcherdach*, called *Mac Murg*, King of *Leynster*. In September following, *Richard* Earl of *Chepstow*, surnamed *Strong-bow*, layled into Ireland with twelve hundred men, where he took *Waterford* and *Dublin*; and married *Eve* the daughter of *Dermotus*, as he was promised. From these beginnings, King Henry being then at rest from all hostile Arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the Kingdom of Ireland, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French; and therefore purposing with himself by all means to subdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter season saileth thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing near to *Waterford*: where entering into consultation what course was fittest to be taken in the enterprise, suddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Countrey came in, and submitted themselves unto him, only *Roderick* King of *Gomnatch* stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation: but King Henry forbearing him for the present, who kept himself in the fastness of *Boggs* and *Woods*, and was not to be followed in the Winter season, takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their consent to have him and his heirs to be their King: which they affirming they could not do without the Popes authority, to whom, at their first conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves, the King sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, an English man, requiring his assent; which upon divers good considerations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without blood possessed himself of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into England. About four years after *Roderick* also sends his Chancellour to King Henry, to offer his submission, with a tribute to be paid of every ten beasts, one sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his reign, he sent his Son *John* to be the Governour there.

### His Taxations and waies for raising of money.

He keeps Abbeyes vacant in his hands. He resumes Crown Lands. His Parsimony. He left behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money.

**T**axations in his time, were chiefly once; when he took Esuage of English men, towards his wars in France, which amounted to 12400 pounds: but confiscations were many, because many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Also vacancies of Bishopricks and Abbeyes, kept in his hands sometimes many at once; no time without some. He resumed also all Lands which had either been sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors: but a principal cause that made him plentiful in money, was his Parsimony; as when he was enjoined for a Penance, to build three Abbeyes, he performed it, by changing Secular Priests into Regular Canons, only to spare cost: And it was not the least cause of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance answerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parsimony while he lived, which brought it to pass, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels

Lars

### Laws and Ordinances in his time.

**I**N the beginning of his reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people then they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six several Circuits; appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between man and man: as at this day, though altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuits. In this Kings dayes the number of Jews all England over was great: yet, whereforever they dwelt, they might not bury any of their dead any where but in London; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from far remove places, the King gave them liberty of burial in several places where they lived. It was in this Kings dayes also ordained, that Clergy men offending in hunting the Kings Deer, should be punishable by the Civil Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatsoever they committed: Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the Lions should be kept in the Tower of London. Also this King made a Statute; concerning Armour and Weapons; that every man that held a Knights-Fee, should be bound to have a pair of Curraffes, an Helmer, with Shield and Spear; and that every man of the Laity, having Goods and Revenues to the value of sixteen Marks, should have one pair of Curraffes, an Helmer, a Spear and a Shield; and every man worth ten Marks should have an Habergeon, a Steel Cap, and a Spear.

Judges circuits appointed.

Jews whereforever dwelling might bury no where but in London, till this King gave them liberty.

Clergy men punishable by the Civil Magistrate.

Lions bred to be kept in the Tower.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

**T**his Kings reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince, and though it may be thought no equal match, yet in this example we shall find it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to speak of the Contention, it is fit to say something of the Man, and of the Quarrel; The man was *Thomas Becket* born in London, his Father, one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandish woman, of the Countrey of Syria; His first rising was under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one saith, no man knew for what) made him first Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and then used means to have him be the Princes Tutor, after that to be Chancellour of England, and after the decease of the said *Theobald*, was himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrendered his place being Chancellour, as not thinking it fit to sit at the Helm of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention between the King and him: the difference was the King would have it ordained that Clergy who were malefactors, should be tried before the Secular Magistrate as Lay-men were: This *Becket* opposed, saying it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many Bishops stood with the King, some few with *Becket*; the Contention grew long, and with the length still hotter, till at last *Becket* was content to assent to the Ordinance with this clause, *Salvo Ordine suo*: the King liked not the clause, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute assent, without any clause of Reservation: At last, after many debates and demurs, the Archbishop yields to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and set his hand unto it: But going homewards, it is said, his Cross-bearer, and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done; but whether moved with their words, or otherwise upon second thoughts, the next day when they met again, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his subscription, and sends to the Pope for abolition of his fault: which the Pope not only granted, but encouraged him to persist in the course he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbishops Horses tail; after which fact, all their children were born with tails like Horses; and that this continued long in their Posterity, though now long since ceased, and perhaps their families too. But King Henry finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalities; and withal a censure was spoken of to be intended against his person; which *Becket* understanding, thought it his best course to flee the Realm, and thereupon passing under the name of *Dereman*, he passeth over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of France, was maintained as G it were of Alms; in which misery, nothing vexed him so much, as that King Henry sent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into banishment after him. And now King Henry finding that *Becket* stood much upon his Legatine Power, sent messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishop of York; but the Pope answered he would not do so, but was content the King himself should be his Legate, and sent him Letters to that purpose, which King Henry took in such scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This dignity of Legathship, for the diligent service of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was by a special Decree of Pope Innocent the second,

Thomas Becket his patronage and rising.

The contention between the King and him.

Children born with Horses tails; and the cause.

Becket flies the Realm.

The Pope offers to make King Henry his Legate.

G 2

second,

second, to remain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; so that they were intitled *Legatini*, *Legats* born.

In this mean time, the King of France prevailed with King Henry to afford Becket a conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement; where being together, King Henry alleadged before the King of France, that he required nothing of Becket, but his assent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grand-father King Henry the first's time, all the Bishops of the Realm; and the Archbishop of Canterbury that then was, did give their Assent; yet this moved not Becket at all; but he continued his former Tenet; it was against the honour of God; and therefore desired to be excused: See now (saith King Henry) the perverseness of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is presently against the honour of God. While these things were thus a working, Becket had gotten him more friends at Rome, and by their means prevailed with the Pope, to give him power to interdict some Bishops in England that had done him wrong, and the Pope spared not to threaten Excommunication to King Henry himself, if he restored not Becket to his dignity. But whether awed with his threatnings, or won by the King of France's importunity, or else perhaps relenting in himself, he was contented at last that Becket should return home and enjoy his Bishoprick; who being come to Canterbury, the Bishops whom he had interdicted for Crowning the young King Henry, (which he said was his right to have done) made humble suit unto him, to be released of the censure. Which, when the Archbishop would not grant, but with certain cautions and exceptions, the Bishops discontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard measure that was offered them by the Archbishop: whereat the King being much moved, Shall I never (saith he) be at quiet for this Priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find some way or other to rid me of this trouble: Whereupon four Knights standing by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely Reynold Fitzurse, or Bareson, Hugh Morvill, William Tracy, and Richard Britton, thinking they should do an acceptable service to the King, went shortly after into England, and going to Canterbury, found the Archbishop then at Church, when upon the steps there, they struck him upon the head with their Swords and slew him the thirtieth day of December, in the year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by King Henry's means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoyed Penance to go on Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as some write, but others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three years after they all dyed miserably. You have heard his persecution, and (as some would have it called) his Martyrdom: now hear the honours that have been done him, and the visitations to his Tombe. And first King Henry himself coming to Canterbury, as soon as he came within sight of Becket's Church, lighting of his Horse, and putting off his hose and shoes, he went barefoot to his Tombe; and for a further penance suffered himself to be beaten with rods, by every Monk of the Cloister. A few years after, King Lewis of France comes into England of purpose to visit the Shrine of St. Thomas, where having paid his Vows, he makes Oblations with many rich Presents. The like many Princes since that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tombe, which yet may be unbeliev'd without unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth observing, how some dayes are to some men more fortunate then other dayes: as Matthew Paris writes of this Becket; that Tuesday was observed to be a fortunate day to him: for upon Tuesday he was born: upon a Tuesday he was banished: upon a Tuesday he was recalled from Banishment: upon a Tuesday he suffered Martyrdom: upon a Tuesday fifty years after his death, his body with great solemnity was translated.

Another difference in this Kings dayes, was between the two Archbishops of England, about the jurisdiction of Canterbury over York, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgement on Canterburys side. Also in this Kings dayes there was a Schism in the Church of Rome, two Popes up at once, of whom Alexander the third was one; which schism continued the space of almost 20. years. Also in this Kings dayes, one Nicholas Break-spear, born at St. Albans, or as other write, at Langely in Hertfordshire, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he profited in Learning, that the Pope made him first Bishop of Alba, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legate to the Norweges, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity, and returning back to Rome, was chosen Pope by the name of Adrian the Fourth, and dyed, being choked with a Fly in his drink. In his dayes also Heraclius Patriarch of Jerusalem, came to King Henry, desiring aid for the Holy-Land, but not so much of money as of men; and not so much of men neither, as of a good General, as himself was; to whom King Henry answered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him with which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not Great King, that Pretences will excuse you before God, but take this from me, that as you forsake Gods cause now, so he hereafter will forsake you in your greatest need. But (saith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom; my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replied, No marvel, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they shall; and so departed. Also in this Kings dayes there came into England, thirty Germans, Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denied Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lords Supper, with other Articles, who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot Iron in the forehead, and be whipped, which punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called Gerard) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when men*

*men hate you.* After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doors in the Winter, where they died with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of Ireland, imposed the tribute of Peter pence upon that Kingdom, namely, that every house in Ireland should yearly pay a penny to St. Peter. In this Kings time, was held by Pope Alexander the third, the General Council of Lateran consisting of 310 Bishops: where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Also in the 33 year of his Reign Jerusalem was taken by the Turks.

Peter pence imposed upon Ireland.

### Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

This King founded the Church of Bristow, which King Henry the eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral: He also founded the Priors of Dover; of Stonely; and of Basingwerk; and the Cattle of Rudlan: and began the Stone-bridge over the Thames at London. He caused also the Cattle of Warwick to be builded. Maude the Emperets his Mother, founded the Abbey of Bordesly. In his time also Hugh Mortimer founded Wigmore Abbey: Richard Lincey the Kings Chief Justice laid the Foundation of the Conventual Church, in the honour of St. Thomas, in a place which is called Westwood, otherwise Lesnes, in the Territory of Rochester in the new Parish of Southfleet. He also builded the Cattle of Anger in Essex. Robert Harding a Burgess of Bristow, to whom King Henry gave the Barony of Barkley, builded the Monastery of St. Augustines in Bristow. In the tenth of his reign, London Bridge was new made of Timber, by Peter of Cole-church a Priest. Robert de Boscue Earl of Lyecester, founded the Monastery of Garendon, of Monks; and of Lyecester, called St. Mary de Pater, of Canons Regular; and his Wife Amicia, Daughter of Ralph Montford, founded Eaton, of Nuns. In the two and twentieth year of his reign, after the foundation of St. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, the Stone Bridge over the Thames at London, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a thousand Marks. Aldred Bishop of Worcester founded a Monastery at Gloucester of Benedictine Monks.

The Stone-bridge in London.

London Bridge new made of Timber.

### Casualties that happened in his time.

In the eleventh year of this Kings reign, on the six and twentieth day of January, was so great an Earth-quake in Ely, Norfolk, and Suffolk, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the Bells to ring in the Steeples. In the seventeenth year of his reign, there was seen at St. Oystes in Essex, a Dragon of marvellous bigness, which by moving burned houses; and the whole City of Canterbury was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Church of Norwich with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monks dispersed. At Andover, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder. Likewise one Clerk and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth year, a shoure of bloud rained in the Isle of Wight two hours together. In the four and twentieth year, the City of York was burnt; and on Christmas day, in the Territory of Derlington, in the Bishoprick of Durham, the Earth lifted up her self in manner of an high Tower, and so remained unmovable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise that it frightened the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep pit, which is seen at this day: for a Testimony whereof Leyland saith, he saw the Pits there, commonly called *Hell-kettles*. Also in the same year, on the tenth day of April, the Church of St. Andrews in Rochester was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentieth year of his reign, Barnwell with the Priory, near unto Cambridge, was burnt. In the thirtieth year, the Abbey of Glasfenbury was burnt, with the Church of St. Julian. In the year 1180. a great Earth-quake threw down many buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of Lincoln was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of April: and on the twentieth of October, the Cathedral Church of Chichester, and all the whole City was burnt. This year also, near unto Oxford in Suffolk, certain Fishers took in their Nets a Fish, having the shape of a man in all points, which Fish was kept by Bartholomew de Glanville in the Cattle of Oxford six moneths and more; he spake not a word; all manner of meats he did gladly eat, but most greedily raw Fish, when he had pressed out the juyce; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never shewed any sign of adoration: at length, being not well looked to, he stole to the Sea, and never was seen after. In the year 1188, on the twentieth of September, the Town of Beaurley with the Church of St. John there was burnt. And in this Kings time the bones of King Arthur, and his Wife Guinevere, were found in the Vale of Avolan, under an hollow Oak, fifteen foot under ground; the hair of the said Guinevere being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched, it fell to powder, as Faalun relateth.

A great Earth-quake.

A shoure of bloud.

Hell-kettles in the County of Durham made by an Earth-quake.

A Fish taken in the shape of a man.

The bones of King Arthur found.

## Of his Wife and Children.

**H**E married *Eleanor* Daughter and heir of *William* Duke of *Guien*, late Wife of *Lewis* the seventh King of *France*, but then divorced, but for what cause divorced is diversly related; some say King *Lewis* carried her with him into the Holy Land, where she carried her self nor very holily, but led a licentious life, and which is the worst kind of licentiousness, in carnal familiarity with a *Turk*; which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waved that cause, as which he could not bring without disgrace to himself, and made use of their nearness in blood, as being Cousins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cause sufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marries her, with whom it was never known, but she led a modest and sober life, a sufficient proof, that the former report was but a slander. By this Queen *Eleanor* he had five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maud* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor* married to *Alphonso* the Eighth of that name, King of *Castile*; and *Jane* or *Jone* married to *William* King of *Sicily*. Of his Sons, *William* died young. *Henry* born the second year of his reign, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth year, and died the nine and twentieth year, and was buried at *Roan*; married to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no issue. *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the Kings Palace there called *Beau-mont*) in the fourth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffry* born the fifth year of his Fathers reign, married *Constance* Daughter and Heir of *Conan*, Earl of *Little Britain*, in the fourteenth year, and in the two and thirtieth year died; leaving by his Wife *Constance*, two Daughters, and a Posthumous Son named *Arthur*. *John* his youngest, called *John* without Land, because he had no Land assigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded his brother *Richard* in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous than the rest; and one of these two more famous than the other; and this was *Rosamund*, Daughter of *Walter*, Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could find the way in, yet Queen *Eleanor* did, being guided by a thread: so much is the eye of jealousy quicker in finding out, than the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to *Rosamund* when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that *Rosamund* lived but a short time after, and lies buried in the Nunnery of *Godstow* near to *Oxford*. By this *Rosamund* King *Henry* had two Sons, *William* called *Longsword*; who was Earl of *Salisbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of that Countrey, and had by her much issue, whose posterity continued a long time: And a second Son named *Geoffry*, who was first Bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbishop of *York*, and after five years banishment in his Brother King *John's* time, died in the year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blouet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provost of *Beverley*, and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a dispensation, because being a battard, he was else incapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unless he would pass as the Son of *Blouet*, he absolutely answered, he would for no cause in the world deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the Place, than of his Blood, as being the Son, though but the base Son of a King.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

**H**E was somewhat red of face, and broad breasted; short of body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much Exercise and little meat. He was commonly called *Henry Shortmantel*, because he was the first that brought the use of short Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of mind, he was of spirit in the highest degree Generous; which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous heart. He had the Reputation of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and *Garsias* King of *Navarre* refer a difference that was between them, to his Arbitrament: who so judiciously determined the cause, that he gave contentment to both parties; a harder matter then to cut cloth even by a thread. His custom was to be always in action; for which cause, if he had no real Wars, he would have feigned: and would transport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himself, whereby he was always prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his children he was both indulgent and hard; for out of indulgence he caused his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King in his own time; and out of hardness he caused his younger Sons to rebel against him. He was rather Superstitious then not Religious; which he shewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead then while he lived. His Incontinency was not so much that he used other women beside his Wife, but the affianced Wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and to take the said *Adela* to be his

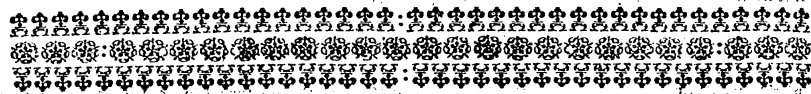
A his Wife. Yet generally to speak of him: he was an excellent Prince; and if in some particulars he were defective, it must be considered he was a man.

## Of his Death and Burial.

**H**E was not well at ease before, but when the King of *France* sent him a List of those that had conspired against him, and that he found the first man in the List to be his Son *John*, he then fell suddenly into a fit of fainting, which so encreased upon him, that within four daies after he ended his life: So strong a Corrofive is grief of mind, when it meets with a body weakened before with sickness. He died in *Normandy*, in the year 1189. when he had lived three score and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at *Fountains* in *France*; the manner of whose burial was thus: He was clothed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs; Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his side, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son *Richard* in great haste ran to see him, who no sooner was come near the body, but suddenly at his Nostrils he fell a bleeding afresh; which though it were in Prince *Richard* no good sign of Innocency, yet his breaking presently into bitter tears upon the seeing it, was a good sign of Repentance. It may not be unreasonable to speak in this place of a thing which all Writers speak of, that in the Family of the Earls of *Anjou*, of whom this King *Henry* came, there was once a Princess a great Enchantress, who being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, she suddenly flew out at the Church window, and was never seen after: From this Woman these latter Earls of *Anjou* were descended, which perhaps made the Patriarch *Heracimus* say of this King *Henry's* children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this story out of their Writings.

## Men of Note in his time.

**O**F Clergy men, there was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*; *Geoffry* of *Ely*; *Robert* of *Bathe*; *Aldred* of *Worcester*; all learned men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military men, there was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*; *Hugh* Bigot, *Robert* Ferrys, *Richard* Lucy, *Roger* Mowbray, *Ralph* Fulger, *Ranulph* Granula, *William* Vesci, and *Raynard* Baylioll; men of great achievements in War, and of no less abilities in Peace.



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING RICHARD THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

Anno Dom.  
1189.

King Richard  
Crowned.



Hoveden.

The manner  
of his Corona-  
tion.

His Oath at  
the Corona-  
tion.

**I**N Q. Richard the first of that name, after his Fathers Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he resided the state of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September*, in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers then any of his Predecessors: for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where, and by whom they were Crowned; but of this Prince, they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all circumstances; which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Trier*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, B and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Crofs, holy Water, and Centers carried before them; came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Goffrey de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and *John Marshall* next to him, bearing a massie pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshall* Earl of *Strigul*, alias *Pembroke*, who bare the Royal Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Crofs of Gold; and *William de Patrick*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Huntington*, *John* the Kings Brother, *Earl of Mortaigne*, and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand with the scabberds richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the midst betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checker Table, upon the which were set the Kings Scepters of Arms; and then followed *William Mandevill* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold a great height before the King, who followed having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Ruthe* on the left; over whom a Canopy was born: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where before the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the holy Evangelists, and the reliques of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath that he should observe peace, honour and reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the daies of his life; also that he should exercise upright Justice to the people committed to his charge, and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil Laws and wrongful Customes, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his garments from his middle upwards, but only his shirt, which was open on the shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three places; on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm; with Prayers in such case accustomed. After this, he covered his head with a linnen

**A** linnen cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garment, and his uppermost Robe, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the Enemies of the Church: which done, two Earls put his Shoes upon his feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbad him on the behalf of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, that by Gods grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod Royal in his left hand: and thus being Crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Crofs and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat: When the Bishop that sang the Mass, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Mass ended, he was brought with solemn Procession into his Chamber: and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this solemnity there fell out a very dysastrous accident: For this Prince not favouring the Jews, as his Father had done, had given a strict charge, that no Jew should be admitted to be a spectator of the solemnity: yet certain Jews, as though it had been the Crowning of King *Herod*, would needs be preling in; and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a brabble, and from words to blows, so as many Jews were hurt, and some slain: and thereupon a rumour was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of Jews houses, and what cutting of their throats: and though the King signified by publick Declaration, that he was highly displeased with that which was done, yet there was no staying the multitude till the next day; so often it falls out, that great solemnities are waited on with great dysasters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be asunder.

Many Jews  
slain at his Co-  
ronation.

Of his first Acts after he was Crowned.

**H**E began with his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whom upon her Husbands displeasure, having been kept in Prison sixteen years, he not only set at liberty, but set in as great authority, as if he had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratified was his Brother *John*; to whom he made appear, how much the bounty of a Brother was better then the hardness of a Father: For he conferred upon him, in *England*, the Earldoms of *Cornwall*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Leicester*; and by the marriage of *Isabel*, daughter and heir to the Earl of *Gloucester*, he had that Earldom also, as likewise the Castles of *Marleborough*, and *Lutgarfal*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Titchil*, and *Eye*, to the value of 4000. Marks a year: an estate so great, as was able to put a very moderate mind into the humour of aspiring, of which Princes should have a care. Concerning his affianced Lady *Adela*, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: but the cause was known, and in every mans mouth; that she was now but his Fathers leavings: yet he would not send her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loss of her Virginity: though this was somewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleasure, that the Son should afterward pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet way for his marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be consummated in *Sicily* with *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Garfias* King of *Navarre*. And now his minde is wholly set upon his long intended voyage to the *Holy-Land*, for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds: but fore-casting with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of money by all the means he can devise. Not long before, *Hugh Pudsey* had been advanced to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and now for a great sum of money he sold him the Earldom: and then laid merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl? From the *Londoners* he drained also great sums of money, and made them recompense in Franchises and Liberties, which they had not before. He made also great sales: to the King of *Scots*, he sold the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, for ten thousand pounds: to *Godfrey de Lucy*, Bishop of *Winchester*, the Manors of *Weregrove* and *Ments*: to the Abbot of *St. Edmundsbury*, the Mannor of *Midhall*, for one thousand Marks of silver: to the Bishop of *Durham*, the Manors of *Sadborough*; and when it was marvelled that he would part with such things, he answered, that in this case he would sell his City of *London*, if he could find a Chapman. But the worst way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signet, he made a new one; and made Proclamation, that whosoever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new; whereby he raised great sums of money to himself, but greater of discontentment in his Subjects. By these, and such like means, he quickly furnished himself with money: and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the government of the Kingdom in his absence; and after deliberation he made choice for the North-parts, of *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*; joyning in Commission with him, *Hugh Baldolph*, and *William Brumell*

He sets his  
Mother Queen  
*Eleanor* at li-  
berty.

His bounty to  
his Brother  
*John*.

He refused his  
affianced Lady  
*Adela*; & why.

He marries *Berengaria* the  
daughter of the  
King of *Na-  
varre*.

He makes  
great provision  
of money for  
his journey to  
the *Holy-Land*.

He makes the  
Bishop of *Dur-*  
*ham* an Earl  
for money.

He sells *Berwick*  
to the King of  
*Scots*.

He leaves William Longshampe Bishop of Ely, Governor of the Kingdom. He appoints his Nephew Arthur to be his Successeur if himself should fail. From whence the order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

Brnell: and for the South parts he appoints William Longshampe Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor of England, and for his greater strength, causeth the Pope to make him Legat of all England and Scotland: and for Normandy and Aquitaine, Robert Earl of Leicester, all men eminent for prudence and uprightness, and which is most of all, for loyalty: and indeed to make a man fit for such employment, all these virtues must concur. As for his Brother John, he knew very well his aspiring mind, and therefore would have tyed him to live in Normandy, and not to come into England till his return; but that their Mother Queen Eleanor interceded, and passed her word for him: and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew Arthur, the Son of his Brother Geoffrey Duke of Brittain to be his Successeur, if himself should fail. And now, Undique convenire vocat jam carbassus auris, every man is ready to take Shipping, and no stay now but for a Wind; only some say that King Richard before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true; gave to every of them a blew Riband to be known by; from whence the first occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

### Of his Journey into the Holy-Land.

**K**ING Richard having prepared an Army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse, and having appointed to meet Philip King of France in Sicily, at the latter end of June, in the year 1190. sets forward himself by Land to Marfellis, and there stays till his Ships should come about; but his Navie being driven by tempest to other parts, and the King weary of long staying, after six weeks, he hireth shipping for himself and his company, and passeth forward to Messana in Sicily, where arrived also the King of France; and not long after, his own Navy. In this Island the King Williams now lately dead, had married Jane, King Richard's sister; from whom Tancred the present King with-held her Dower: and therefore though he shewed King Richard fair countenance, yet he dealt secretly with the Messanians to use all means to get him gone; whereupon the Messanians taking a small occasion, set suddenly upon the English, and thrust them out of their Town; with which King Richard justly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himself to revenge the affront; when Tancred sending to him to signify that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much against his liking, so pacified him, that for the present he remained satisfied; but understanding afterward, that the Messanians did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King Richard should be going: he resenting their intention, stays not their leisure, but assailing the Town with fire and sword, in one dayes labour takes it, and had made great slaughter in it, if King Richard had not been moved to compassion with the Messanians tears, but chiefly with King Tancred's offers: both to pay his Sister Jane her Dower, and to marry his daughter to King Richard's Nephew, Arthur, Duke of Brittain, and to give a good part of the portion in hand. But King Philip was not well pleased with these conditions; yet he breaks not out to open dissension, till more felow was afterward cast upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King Philip sails with his Army to Ptolemais (otherwise called Acon) which the Christians had long besieged, and with them he joyns: while King Richard taking his Sister Jane and Berengaria the young Daughter of the King of Navarre with him, in 190. E Ships, and 50. Gallies, puts to Sea for the Holy-Land, but is by tempest cast upon the Coast of Cyprus; where the Islanders seeking to hinder his landing, he sets upon them with his forces; and invading the Island, easily subdues, and brings it under his subjection; and the King of the Countrey being taken Prisoner, and intreating King Richard not to put him in bonds of Iron, King Richard gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Island, he solemnized his marriage with Berengaria, and then leaving Richard de Canville, and Robert de Thurnham, his Lieutenants in Cyprus; he passeth on to Ptolemais, which City was defended by Saladine, and had been besieged now two years: when the Enemy seeing and fearing the increase of the Christian forces, propounds conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in August, the year 1192.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident, seeming an honour to King Richard for the present, but proving a disgrace, at least a great trouble and charge to him afterward: For Leopold Duke of Austria had first set up his Colours upon the wall, which King Richard caused to be thrown down, and his own to be set up; but this was no place to stand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till some time after. When Ptolemais was taken, Saladine fearing the Christians further proceeding, dismantles all the best Towns that were near it: as Porphyria, Casarea, Ascalon, Gaza; but of Joppa King Richard takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Christians: For Joppa is a City of Palestine, that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience; And now the King of France, though valiant enough himself, yet thinking his own great acts to be obscured by greater of King Richards; he began, besides his old hating him, now to envy him: For indeed emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the stronger knot of love and affection: but when it is in Glory, it makes a separation, and turns into the passion of envie and malice; and so did it with King Philip, who pretending the air of the Countrey did not agree with his body; but was indeed because the air of Kings Richards Glory did not agree with his mind, obtained King Richard's consent to return home, swearing first solemnly not to molest his Territories in his absence. But this fell out for the present enterprise most unseasonably: For the departure of the King of France, though it diminished not much the

A the strength, (for he left Odo Duke of Burgundy in his place) yet it diminished much the shew of assistance: and indeed Saladine, who was at this time in terms of surrendering Jerusalem, when he saw the King of France departed, as knowing there must needs be a conclusion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the rest would follow soon after, and thereupon stayed his hands, and grew more confident then he was before. At this time Guy of Lusignan was possessor of the City of Tyre, and with it, of the right of the Kingdom of Jerusalem: with him King Richard makes an exchange, that Guy should have the Island of Cyprus, which King Richard had won, and King Richard should have the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to which Guy had a right: and upon this title the Kings of England were styled Kings of Jerusalem a long time after: as likewise the posterity of the said Guy hath by this exchange held the Kingdom of Cyprus to this day.

B Now was King Richard more hot upon taking Jerusalem then ever before; and had certainly taken it, but that by ill counsel diverted, because the Winter drew on, and indeed by the drawing back of Odo Duke of Burgundy, who envied that King Richard should have the honour of taking it, he removed for that season to Ascalon, after which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker, all opportunity of taking it is utterly lost, and they could never come to the like again. And shortly after King Richard was advertised of the King of France his invading Normandy, contrary to his oath at his departure; which forced King Richard, much to his grief, to conclude a peace with Saladine, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Christians; and himself presently to return home: and so sending his wife Berengaria, and his sister Jane, with a great part of his Army into Sicily, and from thence into England: he passeth himself with some few in his company, by the way of Thrace, and was by tempest brought into Dalmatia; from whence being to pass through Germany, and particularly through Duke Leopolds Countrey of Austria: he remembering the old grudge, changed his apparel, and travelling sometimes afoot, and sometimes on horseback, he used all means possible to keep himself from being known; but destiny is not to be avoided, for as soon as he came to Vienna, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expences, it was presently found he was an English man, and withal some great man; and by and by a rumour was spread, that it was Richard King of England; who finding himself to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparel, and avowes himself: which Duke Leopold understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended; but King Richard refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself; the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded; whereof as soon as Henry the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke Leopold to send King Richard over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome: And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withal that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him, who soon after, put him into a prison he had, called Trivallis, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but in terror, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King Richard was charged, belide the wrong done to Leopold, in throwing down his Colours at Ptolemais, was the death of Conrade Duke of Tyre, whom they pretended King Richard had murdered; wherein though King Richard made

E his innocency appear by the testimony of Limboldus, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Marqueses death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid, which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourscore thousand was paid in hand; whereof two parts to the Emperour; a third part to Duke Leopold: and for the rest, hostages given to the number of fifty; of whom the Bishop of Roan was one: though the hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest: for Henry the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successeur had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly exacted; and indeed the accidents that befell both the Emperour and the Duke Leopold, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done; for the Emperour shortly after died, and the Duke Leopold, in a Tilting for solemnity of his birthday, fell off his horse, and so broke his leg, that to save his life, he was fain to have his leg cut off; And now after fifteen moneths imprisonment, King Richard is released, and returns into England four years elder then he went out; and thus ended his journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted: that going one day a Hawking about Joppa, finding himself weary, he laid him down upon the ground to sleep; when suddenly certain Turks came upon him to take him; but he awakened with their noise, riseth up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his sword, assaults the Turks, who feigning to flee, drew the King into an Ambush where many Turks lay; who had certainly taken him if he had known his person; but one of the Kings servants, called William de Patrellis, crying A faithful out in the Saracen tongue, that he was the King, they presently lay hold upon him, and let the King escape.

The Kings of England from whence styled Kings of Jerusalem.

The King of France invading King Richards Territories in his absence makes him return.

Is taken prisoner by Duke Leopold.

Is imprisoned in Trivallis by the Emperour.

He is ransomed.

His valour. A faithful servant.

## Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

Longshampe's proud carriage.

Which the Lord John opposed.

Longshampe seeks to fly the Realm in disguise. Is discovered and beaten by the women.

The Duke John takes up on him as King.

KING Richard at his going out of England, had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no foresight can hinder from growing, having so many hands to water them: where occasions of distaste are no sooner offered, then taken; and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King Richard had left in chief place of authority, William Longshampe, Bishop of Ely; a man who for carried himself, that although the things he did, were justifiable; yet the pride with which he did them was unsufferable: seldom riding abroad without five hundred, some say a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: and though there were other left in authority besides himself, yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but ciphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This insolvency of governing was soon distasteful by many, and especially by John the Kings brother, who counting the greatness of his birth an equal match at least with any substitute greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs, in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other; the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder, till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so; but rather indeed deposed from his authority by the Kings Letters, and the Archbishop of Roan put in his place, thought it best for him to flee the Realm: whereupon for his greater safety, disguising himself in womans apparel, and carrying a Webb of Cloth under his arm, he sought in this manner to take shipping and pass the Sea. But being discovered and known, the women in revenge of the abuse done to their clothes, in making them his instruments of fraud; fell upon him, and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get him into Normandy, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed King Richard and Queen Eleanor for reparation. But this was but a sport in comparison of the mischiefs done in Normandy by Philip King of France: for first he invades Normandy, where he takes many Towns, and amongst others Gyssort, and draws the Kings brother John to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the Kingdom of England, and to have his Sister Adela, whom King Richard had repudiated, to be his wife; with which promise Duke John had been ensnared, if his Mother Queen Eleanor had not dissuaded him. But in England Duke John took upon him as King, persuading the people that his brother King Richard was not living: and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead; but such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of Roan, and other the Princes of the Realm to King Richard, that they opposed Duke John, and frustrated all his practices: and the Bishop of Ely had told him plainly, that though King Richard were dead, yet the succession in the Kingdom belonged not to him, but to Arthur Duke of Brittain, Son of Geoffry his elder brother. And in these terms King Richard found his State when he returned from the Holy Land.

## His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy Land.

King Richard at his return depriveth his brother John of all his possessions.

Is new Crowned.

His strange haste to relieve Vernouill.

Reconciled to his brother John.

AT his coming home from the Holy Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thanks for their faithfulness to him in his absence, and then for their readiness in supplying him for his Ransome. But as for his brother John in whom Ungratefulness seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him: he depriveth him of all those great possessions he had given him: some adoe he had to make found certain pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of Marleborough, Lancaster, and a Fortref at Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall; but chiefly the Castles of Nottingham and Tichill, which stood so firmly for Duke John, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expense. But his greatest trouble was with Philip King of France, in whom was to ingrafted a spleen against King Richard, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King Richard to make it appear he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at Winchester, (when the King of Scots bore one of the three swords before him) left the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred ships into Normandy; but it was withall, upon this occasion: sitting one day at dinner in his little Hall (as it was called) news was brought him, that King Philip had besieged Vernouill, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath he would not turn his face till he were revenged: whereupon he caused the wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might pass forward without turning his face, and thus in haste he goes to Vernouill, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of France made as great haste to be gone, not without some loss, and more disgrace. Here his brother John submits himself to him, and with great shew of penitence intreats his pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, I wish you may as well remember your fault, as I shall forget it. The King of France having left Vernouill, enters Turronia, and near to Venducinum pitcheth his Tents; thither King Richard follows him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving bag and baggage, Munition, Tents and Treasure to a

marvellous

A marvellous value, he get him gone, and glad he was so rid of King Richard. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired; as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom: for Robin Hood accompanied with one little John, and a hundred stout fellows more, molested all passengers upon the High-way; of whom it is said, that he was of noble blood, at least made Noble, no less then an Earl, for some deferving services: but having waited his estate in riotous courses, very penury forced him to take this course; in which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest, for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich: till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in Yorkshire called Birkleys; and desiring there to be let blood, was betrayed, and made bleed to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the Jews: and first at the Town of Linne in Norfolk, upon this occasion: A Jew being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted; which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the Jews, of whom they slew a great number, and after pillaged their houses. By this example the like assaults were made upon the Jews at Stamford; and after that at Lincoln; and lastly at York, where infinite number of Jews were massacred; and some of them blocked up in the Castle, cut the throats of their wives and children, and cast them over the walls upon the Christians heads, and then burnt both the Castle and themselves: neither could this sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellour the Bishop of Ely, with force of Arms, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a punishment of covetousness, for one Gnydower having found a great treasure in the Kings Dominions, and for fear of King Richard, flying to a Town of the King of France for his safeguard; was pursued by the King, but the Town denying him entrance, and he thereupon going about the walls to find the fittest place for assaulting it, one Bertram de Gerdon, or as others call him Peter Basile, shot at him with a Cross-bow, and hit him on the arm, of which wound he dyed within four dayes after, and so ended all his troubles.

1195.

A Truce between the two Kings.

Robin Hood and little John.

Are betrayed.

Jews slain in divers places.

King Richard is wounded and dyeth.

1199.

## Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings reign: but of ways to draw money from the Subject, never more. It is true, the first money raised for his journey, was all out of his own estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but then at his coming back, he resumed the Lands into his hands again, without paying back the money he had received; this if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the venome of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then injoyning them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; though it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation, as a Contribution: or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves: and indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Ransome, there was imposed upon every Knights Fee, 20 s. of all Lay-mens Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy; with a tenth of their Goods. Also the Chalmes and Treasure of all Churches were taken to make up the sum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land through England, he should have two shillings, and of the Monks Cisteaux, all their Wool of that year: And one more greater then this; and was this year imposed towards his Wars in Normandy; that every Hide of Land, as much as to say; every hundred Acres of Land, should pay five shillings, which computed without deductions, will rise to a sum that will seem incredible.

## Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HIS Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of London: for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Maior, as now it is; and to give the first of these Magistrates, the honour to be remembered, the names of the Sheriffs were Henry Cornhill, and Richard Reynier; and the name of the first Lord Maior, was Henry Fitz-Alwyn, who continued Maior during his life, which was four and twenty years. But Fabian who was himself a Sheriffe of London, and by that means most likely to know the truth, affirmeth, that the Officers ordained now by King Richard, were but only two Bailiffs: and that there was no Maior nor Sheriffe of London, till the tenth year of King John: and therefore at that year, I will begin their Catalogue: But howsoever, now began the City first to receive the form and state of a Common-wealth, and to be divided into Fellowships and Corporations, as at this day they are: and this Franchise was granted in the year 1189. the first year of King Richard the first. He made also divers Ordinances concerning the measures of Corn, and

Sheriffs and Maior of London first ordained.

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Wine;

Wine, and Cloth, and that no Cloth should any where be dyed of any other colour then black, *Paris. fol. 197.* but only in principal Towns and Cities: also he ordained Jufts and Torneaments to be holden for the exercife of his Gentry in arms.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

New Orders of Friars.

**T**He Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no conteftation with the Pope, no alterations amongst the Bishops, no difference between the Clergy and the Laity or the Clergy amongst themselves; they also seemed to lie asleep, till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the succeeding King. But abroad, in his time, there was an addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Augustine* Friars, called Friars Mendicants, begun by *William of Paris*; then the Orders of Friars Minors begun by *St. Francis*; and lastly the Orders of Friars Preachers begun by *St. Dominick*, though not confirmed till the first year of Pope *Honorius*.

### Works of Piety in his time.

**W**orks of Piety are for the most part works of plenty; penury may inwardly have good wishes; but outwardly it can express but little: and indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all sorts of people were drawn so dry, by the two great occasions of his Journey and his Ransome, and afterward by other Taxations, that the richest men had enough to do to maintain themselves, without being at the charge to make provision for others. All works of Piety were now for the service of the *Holy-Land*, and therefore it may well pass, if not for a work of Devotion, at least worthy to be remembered; that *William Bishop of Ely* builded the outer wall of the Tower of London, and caused a deep ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* should have surrounded it, though it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter* who at one time was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Popes Legat, Lord Chancellour, Lord Chief Justice, and the immediate Governour under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, Founded a Monastery at *West Derham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born: begun another at *Wolverhampton*, and finished a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

### Of his Wife and Children.

Uncertain what became of Berengaria King Richard's wife.

King Richard's metaphorical daughters: how disposed.

**I**N his Infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond Earl of Barcelona*, after that affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis King of France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria* Daughter of *Garcias King of Navarr*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence passing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there solemnized, afterward going forward to the *Holy-Land*, he carried her and his Sister *Jane* Queen of *Sicily*, along with him, where they remained till his return home; and then sent them to pass to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever she came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after she parted from King *Richard* at the *Holy-Land*. But children certainly he had none, either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unless we reckon, as a Priest in *Normandy* did; who told King *Richard*, he had three Daughters: and the King marvelled who they should be, seeing he knew of none he had; yes (saith the Priest) you have three Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Lechery; which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and said; I am told by a Priest here, that I have three Daughters, and I desire you to be witnesses how I would have them bestowed: my daughter Pride upon the Templars and Hospitalers; my daughter Covetousness, upon the Monks of the *Cistercian* Order: and my daughter Lechery, upon the Clergy.

### Of Casualties happening in his time.

King Arthur's Sepulchre found.

A great dearth.

**I**N his time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was consumed with fire; and in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glastenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which stood two Pillars, in which Letters were written but could not be read; Upon the Sepulchre was a cross of Lead, whereon was written, Here lyeth the Noble King of *Britain Arthur*. Also in this Kings dayes for three or four years together, there reigned so great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18. shillings 8. pence, and then followed so great a mortality of men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

of

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

**H**E was tall of stature, and well proportioned, fair, and comely of face, of hair bright aboutne, of long arms, and nimble in all his joynts, his thighs and legs of due proportion; and answerable to the other parts of his body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part; were but only upon suspicion: Incontinency in him much spoken of, nothing proved: but his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lyon*) wife, liberal, merciful, just, and which is most of all, Religious; a Prince born for the good of Chritendom, if a Bar in his Natiuity had not hindred it. The remorse for his undutifulness towards his Father, was living in him till he dyed, for at his death he remembered it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him forgiveness in another world.

King Richard why called Cœur de Lyon.

### Of his Death and Burial.

**H**E dyed of a wound with an Arrow in his Arm, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as others say, ill handled by an unskilful Chirurgion, in four dayes brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembered, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the party that had wounded him to be brought before him, who being asked what moved him to do this Fact? answered; that King *Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore he would do it, if it were to do again. Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible punishment, when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him, but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt: commanding besides to give him a hundred shillings for his pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the *Holy-Land*, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But *Polychronicon* saith, that after King *Richard* was dead, the Duke of *Brabant* who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be flayed quick, and then to be hanged. He dyed the sixth day of April in 1199. when he had lived 44. years, Reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his body buried at *Founteverard*, by his Father; his heart at *Roan*, in the remembrance of the hearty love that City had always borne him; and his bowels at *Chalons*, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulness; others say, at *Carlisle* in *England*.

King Richard's charitable mind at his death.

1199.

### Men of Note in his time.

**I**N his time were famous *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed King *Richard* into the *Holy-Land*, and dyed there; *Hubert* that succeeded him: *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley* a great Mathematician, *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Historians; *Guilielmus Stephanides* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisensis*, *Nicholas Walsington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial men, *Robert Earl of Leicester*; *Ranulph de Fulgers*; two of the *Bardolphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*, *Marshall*, *Brantell* and *Mandevill*, with two, *Roberts*, *Roffe* and *Seuville*.

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# THE REIGN OF KING JOHN.



IN King Richard being dead, the right of Succession remained in Arthur, Son of Geoffry Plantagenet elder Brother to Earl John; but John as thinking the title of Arthur but a Criticism in State, and not for every ones capacity, at least in common sense not so plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, ascends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no competitor: Only Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein seeking to do him a courtesie, he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of Succession, he insisted wholly upon their Right of Election; whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, so they might cast him out, of which error when he was told, he said, he did it of purpose to make King John the more careful of his Government, by making him sensible upon what an unsure ground his Regality stood: King John resented it, but seeing it to serve his turn for the present, he took it not ill, as knowing that his turn once served, he could afterward be his own carver of what title he pleased; and so upon Ascension day in the year 1199. he was Crowned King at Westminster, with more solemnity then joy; many prefacing by their countenances and more in their minds, that all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumstances Earl John had the advantage of his Nephew Arthur, for he was a man of years fit to govern, Arthur but a child, not thirteen years old; he a Native, at least always bred up in the Kingdom, Arthur a Foreiner, and had never been here; He well known both to the Nobility and the People, Arthur a stranger to both, as one they had never seen; and besides these moral advantages, he had now added one from the politicks, that he had gotten possession; (of more force in the practical part then all the former) and withal a greater then all these, if it be true which some write, that his Brother King Richard had assigned him his Succession after his decease. But yet knowing the Title at last would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword must be Judge; he employeth all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his friend, and by all means possible to strengthen himself with Arms, and thereupon going to Chillon and Roan, he seizes upon the Treasure which his Brother had left in those parts, and with it gets Friends and Souldiers, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himself would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Assitants, who yet assisted him no less for their own ends then for his; and these were chiefly his Mother Queen Eleanor, who knew if her Grand-son Arthur should be King, that then his Mother Constantia would rule all, at least during his Minority; and thereby her self be put from the stage of all Authority; and the Archbishop Hubert, who also knew that if Arthur should come to reign, that then the Anjouyn and French should have all the best Offices, and the English wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King William the Conquerour. And yet a greater friend then both these, for coming to Roan, he used means, that Walter the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with the

King John is Crowned.

Why preferred before his Nephew Arthur.

A the Ducal sword of Normandy, and crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roses, he taking his Oath for faithful Administration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being his Loyal Subjects.

## Of his Troubles in Contestation with his Nephew Arthur.

THOUGH King John had entred upon Normandy, and made that Province sure unto him, yet the Province of Anjou stood firm for Arthur, in observance of their love to his Father their former Prince: which also King John soon after invading, reduced by force of Arms to his Obedience. And now Constantia the Mother of Prince Arthur, finding King John too powerful an adversary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to stand out against him without further assistance, conceives it her best way to have recourse to the King of France, and thereupon commits her Son Arthur to his Tuition: who seemed to receive him with the tenderness of a Father, and promised to assist him with his uttermost Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in France and England. Here we may observe upon what hinge the affections of the Kings of France were used to turn. For in King Henry the Second's time, King Lewis of France was so great a Friend to his Son Richard, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when Richard was King, then Philip King of France, was so great a Friend to John, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother, and now that John is come to be King, he is presently grown to great a Friend of Arthur's, that by all means he will help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt, if Arthur should ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him: by which it appears, that it was not the Persons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were always jealous of their growing too great; and indeed this balancing of States keeps Princes affections always in suspense, and never suffers the Glass of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflexion. About this time William King of Scots came to London to visit King John, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of Scotland, though some say, but only for the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, but being required aid against the French, he excused himself, saying, he could not do it without consent of his Kingdom, and so returned home.

Constantia Prince Arthur's mother implores aid of the King of France.

The King of Scots doth homage to King John.

D And now Philip King of France having undertaken the protection of the young Prince Arthur, with a mighty Army enters Normandy, takes many of the best Towns, and pursuing his Victories, enters the Province of Anjou also, and recovers it from King John, which he the year before had gotten from Prince Arthur. Upon this King John makes a journey into Normandy, accusing King Philip for breaking the Truce, which he had formerly made with King Richard for five years; but when he should come to make his Accusation good by Arms, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty daies: with which new Truce, Baldwin Earl of Flanders, who had professed himself of that side, was not well pleased; and thereupon cometh to King John to Roan, and entering a new league with him, they there consult how to proceed, when the fifty daies should be expired. This consultation the King of France understood; and thereupon both sides prepare for war, but at the end of the Truce, both sides seemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace, and in conclusion, King John more desirous of Peace then he was for his Honour, agreed to these conditions, that his Niece Blanch, Daughter of Alphonse King of Castile by his sister Eleanor, should marry with Lewis King Philips Son, who should have with her in Dower, besides thirty thousand Marks in Money, all those Cities, except only Angiers, which the French before that time had taken, which were many and very great: and this Peace thus made, he returns into England, with great joy, but was not with the like joy received of the English Lords, who counted themselves dishonoured, in the dishonourable conditions he had made; and Baldwin Earl of Flanders also, when he saw the poor spirit of King John, to descend to such base conditions; left his party, and entering league with the King of France, disposed himself for the Holy War.

1200.

The two Kings of England and France agree upon a peace.

The English Lords are discontented with the conditions of peace.

G But King John having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of ease, which agreed much better with his nature then War, sets his minde wholly upon pleasures; and for maintaining his pleasures, upon seeking after profit, which he pursues by all manner of injustice, under the name of Prerogative; and with such violence, that when his Brother Geoffry Archbishop of York, in the dutifullness of a Counsellor, advised him not to take such unlawful courses, he most unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbishops friends to pacifie his anger. In the neck of this injustice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife Avis, the Daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, only for being of kin to him in the third degree, and by advice of the King of France, marries Isabel Daughter and Heir of the Earl of Angoulesme, affianced before to Hugh le Brun Earl of March; and shortly after brings her with him into England, where he and she together, are both Crowned at Canterbury. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm, being all summoned to attend the King of France at Whitsuntide following, they all by a general consent fend him word, that unless he would restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no service out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in pressing their demands at this

King John divorceth his wife Avis, and marries Isabel affianced to Hugh le Brun. The Lords refuse to do the King service out of the Kingdom.

King John's unjust carriage for being denied his suit in love.

Hugh de Bruin and the King of France joynt against King John in assisting Prince Arthur.

1202.

King John by his celerity surprieth his enemies.

Prince Arthur is taken prisoner, and soon after died.

Prince Arthur's Mother accuseth King John of murdering her Son to the King of France.

King John's carelessness.

All Normandy lost by King John.

time then before, no Writers of these times do sufficiently deliver: only some of them speak scattering of certain oppressions (besides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to some of the Lords, one to the Earl of Chester, whom he would have banished, only for advising him to leave his cruelty and incontinency; Another, a pursuit in Love to a Daughter of Robert Fitz-Walter, called Maude the Fair, who not consenting to the Kings lust, a messenger was sent to give her poyson in a potted Egge, whereof she died: And a third, offered to William de Brause and his Lady, for a rash word spoken; for when the King sent to have de Brause's Son delivered him for a pledge; the Lady answered, We shall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept so well his own Nephew Prince Arthur. This rash word cost de Brause his Countrey, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being fastidied to death in Prison. For, though these directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one suffered all might; but whether any of these, or all of these together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatsoever was the true cause, this was plainly the effect, that unless the King would restore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithstanding this refusal of his Lords, he passed over with his Queen into Normandy, and from thence to Paris, where the King of France receives them with all complements of Love and Amity. But now Hugh Earl of March, resenting the injury done him by King John, in taking away his affianced Wife, joyns with Prince Arthur; and the King of France also, for all his fair shew of amity lately made, joyns with them, as having sometime before married his youngest Daughter to Prince Arthur, and these with their Forces joyned, invade first the *Tuornes*, and then the *Anjouins*: of which Province, Queen Eleanor, the Kings Mother was left Regent, who thereupon betakes her self to *Mirabel* the strongest Town of those parts, and sends to her Son King John, acquainting him with the danger she was in, and requiring his speedy succour. When in the mean time Prince Arthur takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen Eleanor, whom he used with greater reverence and respect than she expected. But King John at the hearing hereof, was so moved, calling the French King ungrateful and perfidious for succouring Prince Arthur, contrary to his League, that studying presently the art of revenge, he fell upon a stratagem, of all other the most prudent against an Enemy: For a Surprise in War is like an Apoplexy in the body, which strikes without giving warning for defence: And this Stratagem at this time King John put in practise, for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and setting upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution than a battel; and they who remained unslain were taken prisoners, amongst whom Prince Arthur himself, who committed presently to the custody of Robert de Vespont in Roan, lived not long after: whether it were that attempting to make escape, he fell down from the walls of his Prison, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as some say; or whether it were that through anguish of mind he fell sick and dyed, as others say; or whether indeed he were made away by King John, as the common fame went; Certain it is, that he survived his imprisonment but a very few daies. But though he were gone, yet his Sister Eleanor, a preceding Competitor to King John was still remaining: Her therefore, at this time also King John seized upon, and commits her in safe custody to *Brissow* Castle, where after she had lived long, she died.

### Of his Troubles after the death of his Nephew Arthur.

King John being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he should have ended all his troubles, but like a *Hidraes* head, they rather multiplied upon him: For they who had been so ready to assist Prince Arthur in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And first, *Constance* his Mother comes to King Philip, with open exclamations against King John, accusing him with the murder of her Son, and with all the instance of Tears and Intreaties, solicits him to revenge it. Hereupon King Philip summons King John to appear at a day, And because he appeared not according to the tenure of his Homage, it was decreed against him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Estate in France, and thereupon King Philip with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal consequence, while King John lived idle at Roan, no more regarding it, then if it had not at all concerned him; and when some of his Lords seemed to marvel what he meant, to suffer the French to rob him of such good Cities: You say true indeed (saith he) for it is but Robbery, and within a few daies you shall see, I will make him restore them back with usury. In this slighting humour he returns into England, where he looks not after the levying of Souldiers, or the raising of an Army, as this case required, but continues his old course for railing of money, accusing sometimes one of his Lords, sometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had lost these Towns in France; and upon these accusations made many of them pay great sums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of France understanding his unworthy courses, proceeds more violently in his Invasions then before getting *Falaise*, *Damfront*, and all the good Towns of Normandy, but only Roan, and at last though Roan was a Town strongly fortified with Walls, and more strongly with the faithful hearts of the Inhabitants, yet finding no hope of succour from King John, it was forced for want of Victuals to submit

it

A it self to the King of France, whose example all the other Cities followed; and so all Normandy returned to the subjection of the French, after three hundred and sixteen years that Rollo the Dane had first possit it.

It was now the year 1205. and the sixth of King John's reign, about which time, the two props of his Estate, or rather indeed, the two bridles of his intemperancy died, his Mother Queen Eleanor, whose virtues had oftentimes qualified the vices of her Son; and Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who repented him at his death of nothing more, then that he had been an Instrument of bringing him to the Crown.

And now King John being a substantive of himself, hath a devise in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money, as he was to have it: for knowing the great discontentment they all had for his losses in France; he gives it out, that he would presently raise an Army, for recovery of those losses, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon, never was money given with more alacrity; and as soon as he had it, he instantly went to *Portsmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was possible for his Lords and others to be in readiness to accompany him; and sailing forward some certain leagues into the Sea, upon a sudden he returns back again, and then laies the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him; and for this backwardness of theirs, imposed afterwards great Fines upon them; by which means he got money no less by pretence of his not going, then he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died Geoffrey Fitz-Peter Justiciar of England, who while he lived kept the King in some awe, in so much, as hearing he was dead, he swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of England, and with great rejoicing said to some Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom certainly he shall find there. But Philip King of France, intending to leave the English nothing on that side the Sea, invaded *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain Roger Lacy, which had given a period to King Philip's victories, had not Guido, the husband of Constantia Prince Arthur's Mother, revolted to King John; who with his assistance once again levies an Army, besiegeth Mount *Aubain*, a Castle thought impregnable, and within fifteen daies takes it, which Charles the Great could not get with his seven years siege: where so great a number of French Lords were taken prisoners, that King John sent a Catalogue of their names into England, for a memorial of so great a victory. After this, he taketh the strong Town of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was sorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battel, intercession was made by friends of both sides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two years, and King John returned into England.

King John being returned, performs no less worthy Acts at home, then he had done in France: for first he invades the Borders of Scotland, and brings Alexander King of Scots to do him homage; and then understanding many of the Irish to be revolted, he passeth over to *Dublin*, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing John Bishop of *Norwich* Governor there, he returns into England; where passing through *Wales*, he subdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty children of the best Families for pledges of their future loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew mutinous and rebelled again, he was so incensed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had seen those twenty eight children to be all hanged before his face: so inconsiderate a thing is the desire of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guiltiness, though indeed a thing oftentimes must be done for example, which considered in it self, would be forborne.

It was now the year 1214. and the fourteenth of King John's reign, when he going to *Angiers*, strongly repairs it; and the province of *Poitou* revolted to him; which Lewis King Philip's Son understanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uses much severity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes prisoners, Reynolt Earl of *Boleigne*, and William Earl of *Salisbury*, with many other of King John's Captains, and defeated his whole Army: whereof when King John was certified he grew in a manner deperate, and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of France, and returns into England; where he finds a worse business ready to entertain him: for the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but delusions, endure no longer to be abused; but meeting at St. Edmundsbury, they there confer how they may find a remedy to redress this evil; and at last concluded to go to the King themselves in person, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in King Henry the firsts time: whereupon coming to the King after Christmas, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands; he gives them this fair Answer, that within a few daies he would give them satisfaction; and causeth the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, with William Marshal, Earl of Gloucester to pass their words for him that it should be performed. But the King meaning nothing less then to do as he said, fals presently a levying of Souldiers, which the Lords understanding, they all did the like; and going to the Bishop of Canterbury, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and requiring the Kings Answer: But the Bishop shewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a satisfactory Answer: he swore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom, and that he would die before he would yield to any such demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to trust to) fall to besiege Northampton, and after that, Bedford, which is yielded to them; and withall they are sent

1205.

King John's devise to get money of his Subjects.

King John glad of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter's death.

King John assisted unexpectedly.

He was born at Angiers in France. A peace between the two Kings.

King John passeth into Ireland and reduceth it to obedience. He subdueth the Welsh rebels and takes 28 pledges of them. Upon their rebelling again he hangs up all their pledges.

1214.

King John's Army defeated by the French, and thereupon a Truce.

The Lords require their ancient Liberties.

They deliver him a copy of their demands. The King resolutely refuseth to grant them.

to

The King prom-  
iseth to grant  
his Lords their  
demands.

He sends to the  
Pope for help.

The Lords  
take Arms.

King John with  
the aid of  
strangers gets  
all the Barons  
Castles.

The Lords  
send for the  
King of France  
his Son Lewis  
to come and be  
their King.

1216.

Prince Lewis  
cometh into  
England, and is  
received by the  
Lords;  
And by the  
city of London.

King John  
through an-  
guish of mind  
falls sick and  
dieth.

to by the *Londoners* to signify their readines to joyn with them. At this time the King was at *Windsor* providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud; and thereupon sends to the Lords; that if they would come to him to *Windsor*, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a Military manner, (for they durst not trust his word) the King saluted them all kindly, and promised to give them satisfaction in all they demanded; and so in a Meadow between *Windsor* and *Stanes*, called *Running-mead*, he freely consented to confirm their former Liberties; and was content some grave personages should be chosen to see it performed. But the next day, when it should be done, he gets him gone to *Southampton*, and from thence to the Isle of *Wight*; where advising with his Council, what in this case was fittest to be done: It was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time lived skulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to find him; or which is worse (as some write) roving about and practising Piracy. And now the Lords begin to suspect fraud, when shortly after the Kings Messengers, who were *Walter* and *John*, Bishops of *Worcester* and *Norwich*, return with the Popes Decree; which was, that the Kings grant to the Lords should be void: with this Decree, the King after three moneths that he had stayed in the Isle of *Wight*, coming back to *Windsor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accusing the Messengers for false informing the Pope, and the Pope also for making a Decree without hearing both sides, betake them to Arms, and swear by the holy Altar to be revenged for this lufidication and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, sends again unto him, to acquaint him with it; who mightily incensed to have his Decree so slighted, adjudgeth them all to be held as enemies of Religion; and gives power to *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, and to the Abbot of *Reading* to Excommunicate them. In the meantime the King had sent the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancelour of *England*, and others with his Seal, to hire Souldiers, from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning shortly after, bringeth along with him out of *Poitin* and *Gascony*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffrey* and *Oliver Botewille*, Brothers; and under their conduct so great a rabble, that with these Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Castles of the Barons, to the borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and others to set upon *London*; and with the other part he goes himself into *Yorkshire*, where most of the Lords had possession, which in most cruel manner he destroyed with fire and sword. The Lords being thus on all sides distressed, resolve upon a course, neither honourable nor safe; yet such as necessity made seem both: they send to *Philip King of France*, requiring him to send over his Son *Lewis* to their aid, and promising they would submit themselves to be governed by him, and take him for their Sovereign. To this motion of the Lords, King *Philip* was as forward as themselves; which King *John* understanding, sends again to the Pope, requiring him to use his authority to stay the King of *France* from coming. But King *Philip*, though much regarding the request of the Pope, yet nothing so much as the acquiescence of *England*; with all speed provides an Army, and with a fleet of six hundred sail, sends over his Son *Lewis*; who passing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords and others resort unto him; and giving Oathes of Allegiance, joyn themselves with him. King *John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to stay there for fear of the enemy, he commits the Castle to *Hubert Burgh*; and goeth himself to *Canterbury*, and from thence to *Winchester* in the manner of a flight; which Prince *Lewis* understanding, went straight to *London*, and by a plausible Oration makes that City sure unto him: and thither came to him the King of *Scots* with an Army of choice Souldiers, as also the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* passeth all the Countrey over without resistance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his Souldiers, which was not in him to hinder: and then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City easily, but *Dover* cost him a longer siege, as being defended by the valiant and loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while King *John* finding his enemies employed in these difficult sieges; sends about and gathers a rabble of all raskal people to him, and with them runneth over all the Countrey, spoyling and killing in most barbarous manner; and now was the Kingdom made the Stage of all the miseries of rapine and cruelty: two Armies in it on foot at once, each of them seeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Woolpoole* in *Norfolk*, where the Washes were to be passed over, he sendeth one to search where the Foord was passable, and there himself with some few passed over, but the multitude, with all the carriages, passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned; with which disaster, the King through anguish of mind fell into a Fever, whereof within a few daies he died. And here was an end of all the troubles of this King: In whom it is observable, that loving his ease so well as he did, he should run voluntarily into such troubles, especially at home, upon so small occasions as he did; but it should seem there is no greater hinderance to men for accomplishing their will, then their own wilfulness.

Of

### Of his Taxations.

**T**O speak of his Taxations, it may not improperly be said that it was but one continued Taxation all his Reign through; yet to divide it into two parts: his first was the Taxation of three shillings upon every Plough-land through the Kingdom, to pay the thirty thousand Marks, for his Niece *Blanches* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he seised upon all the Temporalities of his Brother *Geoffrey Archbishop of York*, for oppoling it; and for a continuation, he makes a progress shortly after, into all the North-parts, where he exacts great Fines of offenders in his B Forfeits. Very shortly after, solicited by the Popes Legare, he grants a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all his Subjects Revenues for one year, to succour the *Holy Land*. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the losses he sustained in *France*; and thereupon Fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods: neither spared he the Church, or the Commons in this Impolition. Before this year is ended, another Leavy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Marks and a half of every Knights Fee, for Military aid; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part; and before another year is out, another Impolition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned among his Taxations, that when the Monks of *Canterbury* had displeased him about the election of their Archbishop, he seised upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own use: and presently after this: upon the like displeasure he deposes many Bishopricks, Abbeyes and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiscates all their Revenues. To these may be added, that he took eleven thousand Marks of Silver, of the King of *Scots*, for granting him peace. Add to these also great sums of money exacted and gathered from the Jews, among whom there was one that would not be ransomed, till the King caused every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the space of seven dayes, and then he was content to give the King ten thousand Marks of silver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to these, that at his return out of *Ireland*, he summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their redemption, the sum of an hundred thousand pounds sterling. Add lastly to these, that at his return out of *Wales*, he exacted of every Knight that attended him not in that expedition, two Marks.

A Jews teeth  
pulled out.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

**H**E was the first that appointed the Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and other Cities, endowing them also with their greatest Franchises. The first that caused sterling money to be here coined; The first that ordained the honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls; The first that settled the rates and measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such other necessities of Commerce; The first that planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*; The first that enlarged the Royal style with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and fattened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling money  
when first.

English Laws  
when first  
planted in Ire-  
land.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

**A**FTER the death of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Covent secretly in the night, elected one *Reginald* their Sub-prior to succeed him; and caused him to go to *Rome* for confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the King to chuse a fit man; the King is content to allow them the election, but requires himself to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey Bishop of Norwich*, whom he specially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of these two elections should stand good, after many allegations of both sides, the Pope to shew himself indifferent to both, disallows them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Langthorn*, Cardinal of *S. Chrysogone*, an *English* man born, and a man of great learning. The Monks admit him, but the King opposeth it: and now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that used the Spiritual Sword, proved so much the better Fencer, that he disarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the first Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatened the King to excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom: so the King threatened the Pope to nullifie his authority, and to banish Clergy men out of the Realm. In the second Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatened, (for he interdicted the Kingdom:) So the King performed as much as he had spoken; (for he drove the Monks out of their Cloisters) yet at last when *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great danger he stood; First, of the King of *France*, by Invasion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconciliation with the Pope; he so touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgiveness.

Contention  
between the  
Pope and the  
King about  
election of a  
Bishop.

The King surrenders his Crown to the Pope.

Peter the Hermit's prediction of no King to be in England by a certain day.

The Kingdom Interdicted six years together.

Auricular confession and Transubstantiation when first.

ness. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus* feet, to be disposed of, as the Pope should please. And *Pandulphus* stuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four days in his hands before he restored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome*, at the annual tribute of a thousand Mark. And all those three or four dayes, in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly said the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermit in a Prophetical Rapture had given out some time before, that by *Ascension* day, there should be no King of *England*. Which though in some sort it was true, yet because in some sort it was not true, and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation: it cost the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they remain as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in matters of State.

But by this means the Kingdom was released of the Interdiction, which had continued six years, three months, and fourteen days: During all which time, there was no publique exercise of Religion; no Churches open, no Ecclesiastical Sacraments administered, but only to them that are in danger of death, and baptism to children; all that dyed were buried like Dogs in Ditches and corners, but only such as had purchased or procured license from the Pope.

In this Kings reign, Saint *Dominick* continued his preaching ten years together against the *Alligence*; so called because they began first in the City of *Alba*. Also in his time Saint *Francis* renounced the World; and when a Priest to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he cast it away, and entered into a vow of perpetual poverty. Also in this Kings time, was held the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocent* the third, in which was established the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confession, and Transubstantiation.

### Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very unchristian, that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cried out, that nothing had prospered with him since the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another speech of his, which though spoken merrily, was in good earnest very irreligious, that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he said: See how this Deer hath prospered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare swear he never heard Mass. It is sufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true which some write) that being in some distress, he sent *Thomas Hardington* and *Ralph Fitz Nichols* Knights, in Embassy to *Miramumolim* King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with offer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him, and that if he prevailed, he would himself become a Mahometan, and renounce the Christian Faith. Though some there be that say, All these were but false criminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not these things of him: yet to suffer his Kingdom to stand interdicted so many years together, upon so small occasion as he did, was certainly no good sign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he shewed a respect to Religion, by the honour he did to a Religious man: For *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, lying very sick, he not only went to visit him, but being dead was one of the three Kings, (the other two were *William* King of *Scotland* and the King of *Southwales*), that carried his Herse upon their shoulders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbishops and Bishops to carry it into the Quire.

### Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

Yet did this King leave more works of Piety behind him, then all his Subjects that were in his time: For he Founded the Abbey of *Bowley* in the New Forest in *Hampshire*: also an Abbey of black Monks in the City of *Winchester*, and the Monastery of *Farendon*, and the Monastery of *Hales Owen* in *Shropshire*: he re-edified *Godstow* and *Wroxel*, and enlarged the Chapel of *Knaresborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard* Prior of *Bermondsey* builded an House against the wall of the said house of *Bermondsey*, called the Almay or Hospital of Converts and Children, in honour of St. *Thomas*. In this Kings time S. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark* was begun to be builded, and the Stone Bridge over the *Thames*, was by the Merchants of *London* finished. Also *Hulbert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Monastery at *West Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the dissolution came to the family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

The Stone bridge of *London* finished.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this Kings time, five and thirty of the most substantial Citizens of *London*, were chosen out, and called the Council of the City, and the King gave the City liberty to alter their Maior and Sheriffs every year, which before continued during life. He caused the Laws of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be coined there according to the weight of *English* money.

The Common Council of *London*, when first ordained.

### Of his Wives and Children.

King *John* lived to have three Wives: His first was *Alice* daughter of *Habert* Earl of *Morton*, who left him a Widower without issue. His second was *Alice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, by whom no issue neither, divorced from her by reason of Consanguinity in the third degree. His third Wife was *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of *Amyer* Earl of *Angoulesme*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*: By this Wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*: *Henry* succeeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry* and *John*, that dyed without issue: also *Edward* Earl of *Cornwall*, and others. *Jone* his eldest Daughter married to *Simon* Earl of *Leycester* had issue: *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* slain without issue. *Simon* Earl of *Bigorre*, and ancestour to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick*, first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard*, remaining privy in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellsbourn*, was ancestour of the *Wellesbourn* in *England*. *Eleanor*, born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married in *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Isabel*, his youngest Daughter, married to the Emperour *Frederick*, the second, had issue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* Wife of *Albert* Lantgrave of *Thurine*. She dyed in Childbed, after she had been Emperers six years. He had also two natural Sons, *Geoffry Fitz Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Castle) and had issue by her, of whom some Families of good account are descended. Also one base Daughter named *Jone*, married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The Family of the *Wellesbourns*, from whence descended.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, and something fat, of a fowre and angry countenance, and concerning his conditions, it may be said, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his ease, yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He won more of his enemies by surprizes then by battels, which shews that he had more of Lightning in him then of Thunder. He was never so true of his word as when he threatned, because he meant always as cruelly as he spake, not always as graciously; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, must have looked upon his promises. He was neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity: For prosperity made him insolent, and adversity dejected; a mean fortune would have suited best with him. He was all that he was by Fits; Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and sometimes doing all upon a suddain. Sometimes very Religious, and sometimes scarce a Christian. His unsatiableness of money was not so much, as that no man knew what he did with it; gotten with much noise, but spent in silence. He was but intemperate in his best temper, but when dis tempered with sickness most of all, as appeared at his last, when being in a Fever he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of sweet Ale. If we look upon his works, we must needs think him a worthy Prince, but if upon his actions, nothing less: For his works of Piety were very many, as hath been shewed before; but as for his actions, he neither came to the Crown by Justice, nor held it with honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and especially having his Royal Posterity continued to this day, we can do no less but honour his memory.

King *John's* intemperance.

### Casualties that happened in his time.

ONE Casualty we might count dysastrous, if it had not had relation to our selves: for *Hugh de Boves* coming to aid King *John* with threecore thousand out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the people he brought with him to inhabit. In this Kings time were great thunders and lightnings, and showers with hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs. Fishes of strange shape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and shields, and were like unto armed Knights, saving that they were far greater in proportion. About *Maidstone* in *Kent* a certain Monster was found stricken with the lightning, which Monster had a head like an Ass, a belly like a man, and all other parts

Hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs.

A strange Monster.

parts far differing from any other creature. Also in *Suffolk* was taken a fish in form like to a man and was kept six months upon land with raw flesh and fish; and then, for that they could have no speech of it, they cast it into the Sea again.

### Of his Death and Burial.

When Prince *Lewis* of France was come into England, and was received by the Lords and by the Londoners, King *John* with an Army went into the North-parts, and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to pass over the *Washes*, he sent one to search where the water was passable, and there himself with some few passed over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which dyspaster, and perhaps distempered in his body before, he fell into a Fever, and was let blood; but keeping an ill dyet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a looseness, and grew presently so weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where soon after he died. Though indeed it be diversely related; *Caxton* saith, he was poisoned at *Swineshead* Abbey by a Monk of that Convent; the manner and cause this: The King being there, and hearing it spoken how cheap corn was, should say, he would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be sold for a shilling. At this speech the Monk took such indignation, that he went and put the poison of a Toad into a cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was such a cup of Wine as he had never drunk in all his life, and there-withal took the assay of it himself, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himself presently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others say the poison was given him in a dish of Pears. But the Physician that dis-bowelled his body found no sign of poison in it, and therefore not likely to be true; but howsoever the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he died, on the 19 day of October, in the year 1216. when he had reigned seventeen years and six moneths; lived one and fifty: He was buried, his bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his body at *Worcester*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cawl, which the superstition of that time accounted sacred, and a defensive against all evil spirits.

King John thought by some to be poisoned.

A Monks Cawl of great virtue.

### Of the prices of things in his time.

Neither is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end comparison may be made between the time past and the present: as in the time of King *Henry* the second, a Quarter of Wheat was sold for twelve pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a groat. Neither is the price of silver itself much less altered, for an ounce of silver was then valued at twenty pence; which is now valued at least at five shillings. Whereof Philosophers must tell the reason, for seeing scarcity makes things dear? why should not plenty make them cheap?

### Of Men of special Note in his time.

In Military matters there were many famous men in his time, as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitcher*, with many others; but chiefly two, whose acts make them specially memorable: the one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom King *John* had left Governour of *Dover*-Castle; of whom it is related, that when Prince *Lewis* of France came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by force; he sent to *Hubert*, whose Brother *Thomas* he had taken Prisoner a little before; that unless he would surrender the Castle, he should presently see his Brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquisite torments before his eyes: but this threatening moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own loyalty, then his Brothers life: then Prince *Lewis* sent again; offering him a great sum of money; but neither did this move, but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Castle. The other was *Robert Fitz-Water*, of whom it is related, that King *John* being with an Army in France, one of his Knights in a great bravery, would needs make a challenge to any of the French Camp, that durst encounter him in a Combat, when presently comes forth this *Robert Fitz-Water*, and in the encounter threw Horse and Man down to the ground: whereof when King *John* heard, By Gods tooth (saith he) he were a King indeed that had such a Champion; whereupon some that stood by, saying to him, He is Sir, a servant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have banished. Whereupon his sentence of banishment was presently reversed, and the King received him, as he well deserved, into special favour. In matter of Literature also there lived many famous men in this Kings reign; as *Gosfray Vincesse*, *Simon Fraxinus*, alias *Asht*, *Adam Dorensis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* surnamed The Wise, *Richard Canonius*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tewsbury*, *Gervasius Dorobernensis*, *John Hanwill*, *Nigel Workar*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk of *Newburgh*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervasius Tilberienensis*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, *Johannes Devoniensis*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legley*, *Mauricium Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leycester*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger of Crowland*, *Hugh White*, alias *Candidus*, who wrote an History, intituled, *Historia Petroburgensis*; *John de Saint Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray*, an Historiographer, and Bishop of *Normich*, *Walter of Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*, and lastly *Simon Thurway*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his blasphemies against *Moses* and *Christ*, became at last so utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that must not be forgotten, *Hugo Carthusianus* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whose Miracles, as *Matthew Paris* writes, made him famous in those dayes: and the Works he hath left behind him, famous in these.

Hubert Burgh, a most loyal servant to King John.

Robert Fitz-Water his valour.

To this time the City of London had been governed by two Bailiffs, but the King in his tenth year taking displeasure against them for denying his Purveyers wheat, caused them to be imprisoned, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what small store the City had, how the Commons were ready to make insurrection about it, he was then satisfied; and moreover at their suit, granted them to have a Maior and two Sheriffs to be yearly chosen nine dayes before *Michaelmas*; which Order hath continued, though with some alteration in the time of their Election, to this day. And so,

Simon Thurway of a great Scholar becomes an idiot.

In his Tenth year, Henry Fitz-Alwin was first Maior. Peter Duke, Thomas Neal, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year, Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Maior. Peter le Josue, William Blounde, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year, Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Maior. Adam Whitley, Stephen le Grasse, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year, Henry Fitz-Alwin was Maior. John Fitz-Peter, John Garland, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year, Henry Fitz-Alwin was Maior. Randolph Eyland, Constantine Josue, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year, Roger Fitz-Alwin was Maior. Martin Fitz-Alice, Peter Bate, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year, Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Maior. Solomon Basing, Hugh Basing Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year, William Hardel was Maior. John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.

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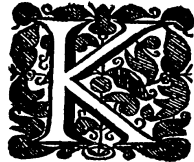
THE



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING HENRY THE THIRD.

*Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.*

An. Dom.  
1216.



King Henry is  
Crowned.

**K**ING John being dead, his eldest Son Henry was next to succeed: who being but nine years old, though he were capable of having his Right, yet he was scarce capable of understanding his Right: especially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had sworn Allegiance. But those Lords who had been constant to the Father, notwithstanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whose gracious aspect gave no small hope of a better disposition. Amongst all which Lords, there was none so eminent in worthiness, none so near him in Alliance, as *William Marshal* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the rest of the Lords together, with a solemn Oration in behalf of the young Prince, so confirmed them, and so ordered the matter, that on the twenty eighth day of *October*, in the year 1216. he was crowned at *Glocester* by *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, and *Joceline Bishop of Bath*, in the presence of *Guallo* the Popes Legat, and many Lords and Bishops; where besides the Oath usually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear Reverence and honour to God, and to his holy Church, and to do Right and Justice to all his people: he did homage besides to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for his Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*: and took his Oath for the true payment of the thousand Marks which his father had granted to the Church of *Rome*. This done, *William Earl of Pembroke*, by a general consent was assigned Protector of the Realm during the Kings minority. In which place, the first thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about; and proclaim pardon to all offenders, that within a time limited should come and submit themselves to him. In the mean time *Prince Lewis of France*, who at his hearing of King *John's* death, thought himself then sure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he should need to fear no more opposition; now that he hears of the new Kings Crowning, and that so solemnly, and with so unanimous a consent, he begins to think himself in worse case then before; and to grow jealous of the *English* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already grown in their minds, which of the two obligations should be the greater; either that of their Oath to *Prince Lewis*, or that of their Allegiance to *King Henry*. They could not but think it extreme ungratefulness to forsake *Prince Lewis*, whom they had themselves invited to come: and they could not but think it extreme undutifulness to stand out in opposition against *King Henry* their natural Sovereign: and that which added no small weight to this scale, was a discovery lately made by the Viscount *Malton* a *French* Lord at the time of his death, who confessed, as a matter of conscience, that *Prince Lewis* had vowed if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the *English* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any place of dignity. Neither was it perhaps, the least cause that moved many to leave the party of *Prince Lewis*, that *Guallo* the Popes Legat had threatened to excommunicate him, and as many as should adhere unto him. But whether any of these reasons, or any other were their motives; certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal

The Lords  
doubt to whom  
they should ad-  
here.

Many Lords  
shrink from  
*Prince Lewis*.

A principal, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Warren*, *Salisbury*, and *William* the eldest Son of the Protector, shrunk from *Prince Lewis*, and went to *King Henry*, as thinking no obligation so great as Allegiance: and many again continued constant to *Prince Lewis*, as thinking no obligation so great as an Oath. And now *Prince Lewis*, to cast the dice of fortune, before his enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, should gather to a head, and draw more forces together; staying himself at *London*, sent his Lieutenants with an Army of twenty thousand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with small opposition: but coming to *Lincoln*, where though they had the Town itself, yet the Castle stood out, and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before; they found such resistance, that their proceeding was there arrested; for thither came presently *William* the Protector, with his Son *William*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and *Chester*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*; *William de Albini*, *William de Cantilupe*, *Falcaius*, *Thomas Basset*, *Robert Vipont*, *Brent de Lisle*, *Geoffrey Lacy*, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King: who with wonderful violence assailed the City; at which time it was propounded by the *French*, to fall forth and give them battle, but conceiving their Army to be greater then indeed it was (for the *English* had set double Engins to every Company, which made a shew of twice as many as they were) they forbore that course, and kept themselves within the Town; by which means being cooped up and straitened in place, so as they could not make use of their Forces, as otherwise they might; they were in conclusion all defeated, and all the principal men of the *English* that had adhered to *Prince Lewis*, were taken prisoners: as namely, *Saer*, Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, lately made Earl of *Lincoln*, by *Prince Lewis*; *Robert Fitz-Water*, *Richard Mount Fitcher*, *William Adwray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Maudet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Cressy*, *William Colville*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Rosseley*, *Ralph Chenduit*, Barons; besides four hundred Knights or men at Arms. Only the Earl of *Perch* their General, being compassed about, and willing to render himself, swore he would never become prisoner to any *English*: and thereupon was run through the sight of his Helmet into the brains, and instantly died. This was a main blow to *Prince Lewis*; and the last of his battels in *England*; and because the City was very rich in Merchandise, the *English* in derision called it *Lewis Fair*. But *Prince Lewis* was not yet discouraged, For he had sent to *King Philip* his Father to send him new supplies out of *France*; and new supplies were indeed sent: but *Hubert de Burgh*, Governour of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few escaped: and now this blow at Sea was so much greater then that at Land, that where that made him only doubt, this made him despair, at least made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by compulsion; whereupon it was at last concluded, that *Prince Lewis* should have fifteen thousand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any interest in the Kingdom; and withal to work his father for restitution of such Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crown: and that when himself should be King, he should resign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, *King Henry* takes his Oath; and for him the Legat *Guallo* and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects of all their Rights and Privileges, for which the discord began between the late King and his People. After this, *Prince Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*, above two years after his first arrival.

And now the Kingdom is come to unity within it self, one King and one people; and for a year or two there was little to be done, only some few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendred, and who being born in a storm, could not live in a calm: of whom the principal were the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipont*, *Fowke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, and *Hugh de Baliol*; who bustling about, got possession of Castles: with what intention all men knew; but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handful of men to the Body of the Realm, they were easily suppressed: and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or else punished for not acknowledging them. It was now the fourth year of *King Henry's* Reign, at which time *William Earl of Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*: in whose place came the Bishop of *Winchester*; and now was the King the second time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament, for Henage, two Marks of Silver, for the affairs of the Kingdom, and recovery of his Transmarine Dominions, which is now designed: and *Mallem de Saveroy*, the Poitovin, with *William Long-Sword*, Earl of *Salisbury*, sent over to try the affections of that people, whom they find for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown: but the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them; made answer, that having gotten them by the sword, by the sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to some years of understanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in mind by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom, which though oppugned by some (and especially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chief Justiciar) as having been an Act of constraint: yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights of every Legat men of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfathers; and that they should return them by a certain day: and here the King by Parliament resumeth into his hands such Alienations as had been made by his Ancestors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at *Westminster*,

The chief men  
that adhered  
to *Prince  
Lewis* are ta-  
ken prisoners.

*Lewis Fair*.

1217.

*Prince Lewis*  
supplies de-  
feated at sea.  
*Prince Lewis*  
is compounded  
with to depart  
the Realm.

*Prince Lewis*  
departs.

Some Lords  
stand out still.

An. Reg. 4.  
1220.

The Protector  
died.  
In his place  
the Bishop of  
*Winchester* is  
chosen.  
*King Henry* is  
the second  
time Crowned.

*K. Henry* con-  
firms the Li-  
berties of the  
Kingdom.

He resumeth  
Crown Land.  
Anno Reg. 9.  
1225.

He confirms the two Charters granted by King John, Magna Charta, and Charta Forestae.

An. Reg. 10.  
1146.

He takes the Government upon himself.

He annuls the Charters which he had granted before.

He makes a new Seal.

The Lords confederate against K. Henry, and why.

K. Henry makes a journey into France, but without success.

He displaces many of his great Officers.

Poitevins placed in their rooms.

An. Reg. 19.  
1155.

minster, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of those parts in France, with-held from the Crown by Lewis now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in England at his departure; which, though it concerned the honour and dignity of the Kingdom, and the estates of most of the Nobility; yet would it be yielded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the same words and form as King John had granted them in the two Charters before: and twelve Knights are chosen in every Shire, to dispart the old Forrefts from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

### Of his A&ts after he came to be of age.

IT was now the tenth year of King Henry's reign, and being about nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector; and now will presently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counsel, and a Prince that will do all of himself, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector, all passed, as it were in a calm, without noise or clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the government himself, there grew presently storms and tumults; no quietness either to the subject or to himself: nothing but grievances all the long time of his reign. For at the Parliament now holden at Oxford, as soon as he was Crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new; and causeth Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal, should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many: and this was the first grievance.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamsted Castle*, to one *Walleran a Dutchman*, which Cattle belonged to his brother *Richard of Cornwall*: but when *Earl Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the Kings chief Counsellour, to commit him to prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William Earl Marshal* his vowed friend, with whom he halts to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester, Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrers, Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, that unless he restore the Cattle to his brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would seek to recover them by the sword. Hereupon King Henry to pacifie his brother, not only renders the Cattle to him, but gives him besides all that his mother had in Dower; and also great possessions which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Boleyn* lately deceased, had in England; but to the Petition of the Lords he makes a satisfactory answer: and this was another grievance.

Not long after King Henry is periwaded by *Hugh le Brun Earl of March*, who had married his mother, to make a journey into France, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl persuaded it for ends of his own; which to have discovered, had been no way to compals them: he must therefore lay some colours upon his work; and it was colour enough that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King Henry, and their great averfeness from King Lewis. Upon these colours King Henry undertaking the action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the Londoners, for redemption of their Liberties; and takes the third part of all the goods of the Jews: but when he returned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his treasure and his time; and that which was more worth then both these, the lives of many Noble men and others; this was another grievance.

And now King Henry bringing many Poitevins over with him, who had served him in his wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Brette* Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his Office: Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh* chief Justiciar, and his chief Counsellour, called to account for such treasure as passed his Office, who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary; from whence, when the King commanded him to be drawn out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the Kings mercy: all his goods, which were very great, confiscated. Also *Walter Bishop of Carlisle* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, from his place of Marshal of the Kings house, and all the chief Counsellours, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed, as distrustful; and only strangers preferred to their rooms: of which course, *Peter de Rupibus*, a Poitevin, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the Kings special Favourite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

Nine years had thus passed, with divers grievances in his government; and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old; a Consultation was had for a fit wife for him. There was propounded a Sister of *Alexander King of Scots*, but it was not thought fit the King should marry

A marry the younger sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond Earl of Provence*; by which match he neither had portion by his wife, nor strength of Alliance by friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance: only he had by her a number of poor kindred, who to his great cost lay hanging upon him; yet was the marriage solemnized with as great charges as if he had been to have Mountains with her: and this was another grievance.

And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid: for the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves sleighted, and only strangers advanced; as *Forik de Brent*, who held the Earldoms of *Nottingham, Oxford, Bedford, and Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruine; for which no remedy could be, but only the Kings confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went: It seems the King thought, that to confirm that Charter, were to make himself to be less then a King, and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better then slaves: and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their own but by motion: and seeing their strength must be in their number, by commotion; hereupon they confederate together, and of this confederacie, *Richard* now Earl Marshal, upon the death of his Brother *William*, is chief: who repair to the King, and boldly shew him his error, and require satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently over for whole Legions of Poitevins, and withal summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come: after this a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither likewise they refuse to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Poitevins from the Court; and more then this, they send him word, that unless he did this, they would expel both himself and his evil Counsellours out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this threatening, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing their Allegiance, and Writs are sent out to all who held by Knights-service to repair to the King at *Glocester* by a certain day; which the Earl Marshal and his associates refusing, the King without the judgment of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be proclaimed Out-laws, seisth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his Poitevins; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoever in the Kingdom. But now of these confederate Lords, the Bishop of *Winchester* won the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand Marks; and the King had so pleased his Brother the Earl of *Cornwall*, that he likewise left them: whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of Prison, and joyns with them; taking intermutual Oaths that no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himself in Person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Glocester*, implores new forces of strangers, but all without success. At last a Fryer is employed to perwade the Earl Marshal to submit himself to the King, but all in vain: till at length a train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his state there, being seisth upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he lost his life: *Militia slos temporum modernorum*, saith *Matthew Paris*. Yet the King disavows the sending of any such Commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof; and layes the fault upon his Officers: an ealie way for Princes, never to be found in any fault.

After two years affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his Fathers example, to be at unity with his people, and to remove from him strangers, and to govern the Kingdom by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiastical censure, both against his Counsellours and himself. The King seeing no way to subliit but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*; restores them to their places and possessions; removes all strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave* take Sanctuary; but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two years greatness. After this a Parliament is again called, which the King would have to be kept in the Tower, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their places, upon complaint of corruption: and here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellour, the great Seal, which he refused to deliver, as having received it by the Common-Council of the Kingdom; and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received again into grace: by which may appear the vicifitude of fortune in Princes favours. After this, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly opposed, the King promifeth by oath, never more to injure the Nobility, so they would but relieve him at that present: After four dayes consultation, the King promising to use only the Counsel of his natural Subjects, and protesting against the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, a Subsidy is granted him; but so, that four Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the same, either to some Abbey or Castle, where it may be safely kept; that if the King fail in performance of his Grants, it may be restored to the Countrey from whence it was collected: and now the King to make a shew of true reconciliation for his part, suddenly causes the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with

K. Henry marries to more charge then benefit.

The Lords confederate against their Charters.

The Lords summoned to a Parliament refuse to come. They threaten to chuse a new King.

The Lords proclaimed Out-laws, and their estates seisth.

Richard Earl Marshal, by a train drawn into Ireland, is there by treachery slain.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King.

The King calls home the Lords and removes strangers.

The Chancellour refuseth to deliver the Seal.

An. Dom. 1237.

An. Reg. 21.

The King grants their Liberties, and thereupon hath a Subsidie granted, but with conditions.

But the conditions not performed.

The Lords thereupon confederate again.

They come armed to the Parliament.

An. Reg. 22. 1238.

The King oppresses the Lords.

The Pope sends over 300 Romans to have the first Benefices vacant.

The King once again makes a journey into France.

He comes to the Parliament to demand a Subsidie, but is denied.

He returns out of France without success.

The King again in person demands a Subsidie, but is denied, without granting the Lords demands.

John Fitz-Geoffrey to be sworn his Counsellours: yet was neither of the points either for removing of strangers, or for disposing the money observed afterward by the King: for the money he made bold to take at his pleasure; and for strangers, they were so far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him: for now William Valentine, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the most inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counsel; also the Earl of Provence, the young Queens Father, a poor Prince, hath a good share of the money that was collected: and Simon de Mountford, a French man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred secretly in marriage to Eleanor the Kings Sister, Widow of William Earl of Pembroke, the great Marshal, and is made Earl of Leicester, by right of his Mother Avice, daughter of Blanchman, Earl of Leicester: which courses to incense the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion; and Richard the Kings Brother becomes one of the party, whom the other Lords make their spokesman to the King, to aggravate his breach of promise, and to acquaint him with all the disorders of the Kingdom; with whose remonstrance the King is so moved, that after he had tried the Londoners, and found them also to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at London, whither the Lords come armed for their own safety: where after long debating, the King taking his Oath to refer the matter to certain grave men of the Kingdom; Articles are drawn, sealed, and publicly set up to the view of all, with the seals of the Legate, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earl of Cornwall, by the working of Simon Mountford, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords seeing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this time, a certain fanatic fellow, had got into the Kings chamber in the night, having a naked knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to kill him: but finding him not there, (for the King lay that night with the Queen) he then went looking about to find him out: but being taken and confelling, who were his complices, he was afterward drawn in peices with wild Horses. So provident a care hath God to protect his Anointed.

And now is the Kings turn to play his part in using his authority, which he fails not to do to the uttermost: for upon a small occasion he causeth the gates of Gilberts now Earl of Pembroke (the third son of William the great Marshal) to be shut against him at Winchester, whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also Simon Norman, Master of the Kings Seal, and his greatest Favorite, is thrown out with disgrace, and his brother Geoffrey a Knight Templar, is put out of the Council; both of them for not yielding to pass a Grant from the King made unto Thomas Earl of Flanders, the Queens Uncle, of four pence upon every sack of Wool. And now that load enough is laid upon those of the Laity, comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy; for the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the power he had in the King, sends over three hundred Romans, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, bestowed upon them: which seemed so unreasonable a request, and to the Clergy of England so damnable, that it made Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of Pontinnac in France; yet to shew his respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great sums are also required of them for maintenance of the Popes warre against the Emperour: which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their opposition both to the King and the Legat, yet by promises or threatenings, they were won or forced to yield unto it. And now comes the Earl of March, and once again solicits the King to make another journey into France, which being yielded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, an aid presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not only opposed, but all the Kings Taxations and aids before granted, were now repeated; and thereupon an absolute denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in person; earnestly, and indeed, humbly craving their aid for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary: and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men; of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better success than the former, for after a whole years stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of France, and return home. At his return he put the Jews to another redemption, and the Londoners to another exaction; and to help on his charge, his wives mother, the Countess of Provence comes now to visit him, who bringing her daughter Zanchia with her, a marriage is solemnized between her and Richard Earl of Cornwall, whose wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy wars. The old Countess at her return, is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an annual pension of four thousand Marks out of England, for five years past, in consideration of a pact made, that King Henry after her decease should have the Earldom of Provence: but shortly after her return, she disappoints him of that, and bestows it upon her youngest Daughter Beatrix, married to Charles the French Kings brother; who was after King of Naples and Sicilie: so as this Countess lived to see all her four daughters Queens: Richard Earl of Cornwall, coming after to be elected King of the Romans. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at Westminster, whither the King comes again himself in Person, urging his necessities, yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, that four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the Kings Counsel, both to see Justice administered, and the treasure issued, and

A and these or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the general voyces of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those four. Besides they propound, that there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the Jews; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one Martin, a new Legat from the Pope, with a larger Commission then ever any before, to exhort upon the State; but at the same time, Letters coming from the Emperour Frederick, to entreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of England; the Popes Mandate is rejected, and his Agent Martin disgracefully sent home. This business took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament; but only an aid granted to the King for the marriage of his Daughter to Alexander King of Scots; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee; and that with much ado, and repetition of his former aids.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an aid upon a design he had upon Wales, and to pay his debts, which were urged to be so great that he could not appear out of his chamber for the infinite clamour of such, to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessities of house; but they all to his face, refused to grant him anything: whereupon other violent courses are taken, an ancient quarrel is found out against the City of London, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks, and Passlewe the Clerk is employed, with others, in a most peremptory Commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested, and either to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleasure, or else to take it from them and sell the same to others; wherein such rigour was used, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to shew the King the estate of his Kingdom, and the oppression of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the Romans and Italians had in England: which were found to be annually fixty thousand Marks; being more then the yearly Revenues of the Crown: which so moved the King, that he caused the same to be notified, with all other Exactions, to the General Council now assembled at Lyons: and this (with the ill usage of his Agent Martin) vexed the Pope, that he is said to have uttered these words: It is time to make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased, or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down. But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of England, and despising the Kings message (who he said began to Frederize) it was absolutely here Ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution of money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of England: and the King for a time assents unto it, but being of an irresolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he soon gave over what he undertook, so as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promised never to send any more Legates into England, yet sent he other Ministers under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legates, and effected as much.

And now, for the other part of the State, new occasions also of complaint were offered: Peter of Savoy Earl of Richmond, comes into England, bringing with him certain maids to be married to young Noble men of this Countrey, the Kings Wards, of whom Edmund Earl of Lincoln hath one, and Richard de Burgh another: and the same year three of the Kings Brothers by his mother, Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, and Avelin a Clerk, are sent over to be provided of Estates in England: also Thomas of Savoy (sometimes Earl of Flanders by right of his Wife) comes with his sister Beatrix, Countess of Provence the Queens mother; who are again Feasted and Gifted; for which the King is taxed the next Parliament in Candlemas term, and besides sharply reprehended for his breach of promise, having Vowed & Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kind; also for his violent taking up of provision of Wax, Silk, Robes, and especially of Wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, and many other grievances they complain of; all which the King patiently hears, in hope to obtain his desire, but yet nothing is effected, and the Parliament being prorogued till Midsummer following, and the King growing more obdurate then before, it afterward brake up in discontent. But the Parliament not supplying him, he is advised to furnish his wants with sale of his Place, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were sold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great loss received money for them, he asks who had bought them: Answer is made, the City of London. That City (said he) is an inexhaustible Gulph, If Orlivins Treasure were to be sold, they surely would buy it. In his two and fortieth year, a Parliament was held, which by some was called Infamum Parliamentum, the mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament (to which the Lords came with great retinues of armed men) many things were Enacted contrary to the Kings pleasure, and his Royal Prerogative.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at Westminster, forbidding under great penalty, all exercise of Merchandize within London, for fifteen days, and all other Fairs in England, and namely that of Ely; but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulness of the weather, brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders. That Christmas also he requires New-years Gifts of the Londoners, and shortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiously deprecatory to aid him with money, and thereby gets of them twenty thousand pounds, for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his house, yet he lessens his house-keeping in no honourable manner. And then seeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman apart, declaring his poverty; and how he

That the chief Justice and Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the Parliament.

The Popes Legate for money rejected.

Aid to marry the Kings daughter granted.

The King sheweth his necessity and requires relief; but is denied. Hereupon he raiseth money by violent courses.

The King assents that no more contribution be given to the Pope. But soon revokes.

The King furnishes his wants with sale of his Place and Jewels.

He tries to get money of particular men.

was

was bound by Charter in a debt of thirty thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*, and his *Gascyons* (who otherwise would not have suffered him to depart home) at his last being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addresseth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds as little relief; by much importunity and his own presence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramsay* a hundred pound, but the Abbot of *Burrough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, it was more Alms to give money to him, then to a Beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of *Saint Albans* yet was more kind, and gave him threescore Marks. To such lowliness did the necessity of this indigent King (through his profusion) bring him. The *Jews* ever exposed to his will, feel the weight of these his wants: *One Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred Marks, and *Aaron* another *Jew* protests, the King had since his last being in *France* taken from him at times, thirty thousand Marks of silver, besides two hundred Marks of gold given to the Queen.

But now the Lords assemble again at *London*, and press him with his promise made unto them, that the Chief Justiciar, Chancellor and Treasurer should be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom, but by the absence of *Richard Earl of Cornwall*, (which was thought to be done of purpose) they return frustrate of their desire. And now the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, the King sends presently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother *Athelmar*: and because he would not be denied, he goes thither himself in person, and there enters the Chapter house as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon useth these words: To me and other Kings who are to govern the People, belongs the rigour of Judgment and Justice; to you who are men of quiet and Religion, peace and tranquility; and this day I hear you have (for your own good) been favourable to my request, with many such like words: whereby the Monks finding the earnestness of his desire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected: but with this reservation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Case of *Sir Henry de Batho*, a Justiciar of the Kingdom, and a special Counsellour to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Estate, and is said, in one Circuit to, have gotten two hundred pound land *per annum*; He is accused by *Sir Philip Darcie* of falsehood in the Kings Courts; and the King is so incensed against him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, that whosoever had any Action or Complaint against *Henry de Batho* should come and be heard. One of his fellow Justiciars accused him of acquiring a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing *Henry de Batho*'s friends to be many and strong, breaks out into rage, protesting, that whosoever would kill *Henry de Batho* should be acquitted for the deed. But afterward by intercession of the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Bishop of *London*, the King becomes pacified, and *Sir Henry* is released, paying two thousand Marks; and after is restored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his Christmas at *York*, the marriage is solemnized between *Alexander King of Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; to the Feast of which solemnity it is said the Archbishop gave six hundred fat Oxen, which were all spent at one meal: and besides, the Feast cost him four thousand Marks.

About this time the Pope solicits King *Henry* to undertake the Cross, and so doth *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, offering to accompany him in Person, to rescue the King of *France*, who was now held Prisoner by the *Souldan*, and because a ranfome collected for him in *France* was by tempest cast away at Sea, the Captive King offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, if he would come to his rescue. Upon this solicitation of the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three years to come; the King undertakes the Cross, rather, it seems, to get the money, then with any purpose to perform the Journey: which had it been collected (saith *Paris*) would have amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdom. And now the King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there causeth the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester* to declare his intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the Cross and attend him: but few are moved by their persuasions, only three Knights of small note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbraceth, kisseth, and calls his Brethren, checking the *Londoners*, as ignoble Mercenaries, and there himself takes his Oath for performing it, and to set forth upon *Midsummer* day next. In taking his Oath, he lays his right hand on his Breast, according to the manner of a Priest; and after on the Book, and kist it as a Layman. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Bishops are first dealt withal, (as being a work of piety) and they absolutely refuse it; then the Temporal Lords are set upon, and they answer as the Bishops, which put the King into so great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber as if he had been mad. Then he falls to persuade them a part, sending first for the Bishop of *Ely*, and deals with him in all kind manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Bishop replies, disuading him from the Journey by Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpose useth many good reasons; which the King hearing, in great passion commanded his servants to thrust him out of door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest, and thereupon falls upon his former violent courses; and first the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a thousand Marks: and the *Gascyons* being upon revolt, unless speedy succour be sent them, general Musters are made, and commandement given, that whosoever could dispend thirteen pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a Horseman. This occasions another Parliament, wherein it seems, the State began wisely to consider that all their oppositions

did

A did no good, the Kings turn must be served one way or other; therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, then force him to those extravagant courses which he took; but yet so, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be solemnly confirmed. And after fifteen daies consultation, to satisfy the Kings desire for his holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knights Fee by the Laity; and thereupon those often confirmed Charters are again ratified, and that in the most solemn and Ceremonial manner, that State and Religion could possibly devise. The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Bishops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, assemble to hear the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And at the lightning of those Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the Prelate that stood by, saying; It becomes not me, being no Priest, to hold this Candle, my heart shall be a greater Testimony; and withall laid his hand spread upon his Breast all the time the Sentence was read; which was thus pronounced, *Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he causeth the Charter of King *John* his Father, granted by his free consent, to be openly read. In the end, having thrown away their Candles, which lay smoking on the ground, they cried out, So let them who incur this sentence, be extinct, and have no better favour then these snuffs; and the King with a loud voyce said, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King Crowned and anointed, inviolably observe all these things: and therewithall the Bells rung out, and the people shouted for joy.

C Yet was not all so quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances still, whereof the first falls upon his Brother *Richard Earl of Cornwall*: for the King having seven and twenty years before given him the Province of *Gascogne*, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him, but he escaping out of *Burdeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King, to win the Nobility of *Gascogne* to turn him, promiseth them thirty thousand Marks, which they accept so as he bindeth himself by his Oath and Charter to perform it. This distress of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon sends *Simon Mountford Earl of Leicester*, a stern man, to be their Governour, who with his insolent Government, so discontents them, that after three years suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great men, to complain of his Infolencies; whereupon *Mountford* is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the *Gascyons*; which *Mountford* took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise: to whom the King in great rage replied, that no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traytor: at which word *Mountford* riseth up, protesting that he lied; and were he not protected by his Royal Dignity, he would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is *Mountford* sent over again into *Gascogne* though with a more limited Authority, and shortly after the King with a Fleet of three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon compoeth all differences in the Countrey.

But now the King of *Spain* pretends a title to *Aquitane*, and to take him off, King *Henry* sends to treat of a marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*, which being accepted by the King of *Spain*, the Marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince, and quits his claim to *Aquitane* for him and his Successors for ever: and King *Henry* invests the Prince and wife in it, and gives unto him besides *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*: and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldest Son was immediately upon his birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheser*. After this King *Henry* prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the sum of seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds; More then all the Lands if they had been sold, were worth: which when the King was told, he is desired there might be no words made of it for his credit. And now being to return, he is desirous, with the King of *France* leave to pass thorow *France*; and coming to *Paris* with a thousand Horse, where he stayed eight daies, is there most Royally feasted by the King of *France*; and he as royally feasts the King of *France* again. But it is the *Lords* and the *Jews* that are like to pay for all. For coming home about Christmas, when the *Londoners* presented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate; it was so slighted, and so ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their coat, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them three thousand Marks: Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to Farm, to his Brother *Richard*, for a great sum of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own means, by the allowance of fifteen thousand Marks *per annum* to his son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charters, and renewing their claim, to have the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer, to be chosen by themselves: so nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was using means to wind himself out of debt, there

But upon condition to confirm their Charters. Which are confirmed with the greatest solemnity that could be devised.

*Mountford* giveth *K. Henry* the lie to his face. Yet soon reconciled.

King *Henry*'s eldest son *Edward* marries *Eleanor* the K. of *Spain*'s sister.

The Kings eldest son immediately Prince of *Wales* from this time.

*K. Henry* spent seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds in his Journey to *France*.

The King lets the *Jews* out to Farm.

The Parliament requires to have the choosing of the chief Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer.

there happened occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queens Brother being at war with the City of *Thurny*, must be supplied with Money towards it, by the King of *England*. Now the Elect, Bishop of *Toledo*, the King of *Spain's* Brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him: Now *Eleanor* the Princes wife, arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no small presents given them at their departure: Now comes *Rufandus* from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes use and the Kings, and to absolve him from his oath of the holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in *Tork*: but the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loseth credit and all; for the Clergie slight him, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwall* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not disreign. But King *Henry's* greatest charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund*, in the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, which he pretends to be at his disposing; and King *Henry* takes it in so good earnest, that after this he calls his son *Edmund* by no other name then King of *Sicilie*. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King *Henry's* money, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks; for to draw the King on, it was given out that the Pope had defeated all *Manfred's* Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom, when the truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Popes Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

The year 1257, the King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where new grievances arise. The Merchants of *Gascogne*, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers without satisfaction; complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his father, and his father having been informed before-hand by his Officers, that their clamour was unjust, as relying upon the Princes favour; he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words: See! now my Blood, and my own Bowels impugn me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the injuries should be redressed. And now the Princes followers themselves come to be a grievance, who relying upon their Master, commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free; of whom it is said, that meeting a young man travelling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out: and many such pranks plaid by him and his followers in *Wales*, made the *Welsh* break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes into the Chequer himself, and there laies penalties upon Sheriffs, that return not their moneys in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but *London* is his best Chequer, and every year commonly, he hath one quarrel or other to the *Londoners*, and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the Kingdom. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* the Kings brother is elected King of the *Romans*; for although *Alphonso* King of *Spain*, the great Mathematician was his Competitor, yet Earl *Richards* money wrought more then his learning, and the Arch-bishop of *Colen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at *Aquisgrame*. This Earl of *Cornwall* is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a day, for ten years, besides his Revenues in *England*. But now as a man that paises dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: so Earl *Richard* having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into *England*, a poorer King then he went out an Earl.

### Acts done in the contention between the King and his Barons.

Now King *Henry* very proud to have his younger son a King as well as his brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his son *Edmund* clad in *Sicilie* habit, and tells the Parliament, that for advancing this son of his to the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, he had bound himself under covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks, and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for to great an advancement: but the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the Kings pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope; the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withall repeat their own grievances, his breach of promise, the insolency of his brothers, and specially *William de Valence*, who had given the lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things: which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill counsell been seduced; but promitteth by his Oath which he took

The Earl of Cornwall likes not to lend the Pope money; and why. The Pope promitteth to make the Kings younger son King of Sicilie.

Anno Dom. 1257.

Disorders committed by the Prince and his followers.

The Earl of Cornwall is chosen King of the Romans. The Earl of Cornwall's great estate.

He returns into England in a poor estate.

King Henry can get no money of the Parliament to make his son Edmund a King.

A on the Tomb of *S. Edward*, to reform all those errors. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided between a desire to satisfy the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the variableness of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to *S. Barnabys* day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In which meantime the Earls, *Glocester*, *Leicester* Hereford, the Earl Marshal, *Bigod*, *Spencer*, and other great men confederate, and provide by arms to effect their desire; and here is the foundation laid of those bloody wars that ensued between King *Henry*, and his Barons.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of *Westminster* to put his Seal, and that of his Covent to a Deed Obligatory, as a Surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example, others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant *Simon Passeleve*, being employed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons, to persuade them, that the King was Lord of all they had; they only answered, they acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same, and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less want then his father, is driven to mortgage his Town of *Stamford*, *Braban*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, a *Poitouin*, whereby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, which the Lords come attended with large trains, and here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer may be ordained by public choice, and that the twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King: some write there were but twelve in all, and were called, The *Douze Peers*, the twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their pleasure without controulment. The King, seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, swears solemnly again to the confirmation of them, and cauteh the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the Kings Brethren, the *Poitouins*, and other strangers must presently be removed: and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the Kings brethren and their followers are despoiled of all their fortunes, and exiled by prescription under the Kings own hand, directed to the Earls of *Hereford*, and *Surrey*. But now sickness and mortality happening to many great ones; it is imputed to poysons, supposed to have been prepared by those strangers prescribed; the Earl of *Glocester* in a sickness suddenly lost his hair, his teeth, his nails; and his Brother hardly escaped death: which made many to suspect their nearest servants, and their Cooks: *Walter Secoyne* the Earls Steward, is strictly examined, committed to Prison, and afterward without confession, is upon presumptions, only executed at *Winchester*: *Elias* a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, that in his house the poysen was concocted; but it was when he was a Jew, and not a Christian. Every man that had received any wrong by those strangers, now put up their complaints, and are heard. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poitouin*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his Goods confiscate. *William Bussy*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and most reproachfully used. *Richard Grey*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Castle, is sent to intercept whatsoever the *Poitouins* conveyed that way out of *England*: and much treasure of theirs, and of the Elect of *Winchester* is by him taken, besides great sums committed to the new Temple are found out, and seized for the King.

And now the chief Justiciar *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earl Marshal (chosen this last Parliament by public voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire should enquire of the oppressions of the poor, done by great men; and certifye the same, that redress might be made. Also order was taken against corrupting of Justice; when yet notwithstanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themselves but as *totidem tyranni*, enforcing the services of the Kings Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their cause the more popular, it was rumoured that the King stood upon it, that his necessity might be supplied out of the Estates of his people, whether they would or no: which the King hearing, sends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malicious persons had falsely and seditiously reported, that he meant unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom; and by these false suggestions averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore desires them not to give credit to such perturburs: for that he was ready to defend all Right, and Customs due unto them: and that they might rest of this secured, he caused his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Montford*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer*, inforce the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where they get the authority of the twenty four to be estate wholly upon themselves, and they alone to dispose of the custody of the Castles, and other businesses of the Kingdom: and here they bind the King to owe to them their Legal obedience whensoever he infringed this Charter.

At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard* King of the *Romans* had a purpose to come into *England*, and the Lords suspecting he would come with power to aid the King his Brother, take order for guarding the Ports, with intent to hinder his landing: but finding his train to be but small, accompanied only with his Queen, two German Earls and eight Knights, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land, but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himself to enter into *Dover* Castle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earl of *Glocester* standing forth in the

The Lords confederate against him.

K. Henry useth shifts to get money.

The Liberty of the Subject.

The Lords require that the chief Justice, the Chancellor and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The King and Prince swear unto it. The *Poitouins* are removed.

The Lords themselves tyrannize.

The Liberty of the Subject.

Four and twenty chosen to be Governors of the Kingdom; but *Montford* and *Glocester* get all the authority to themselves.

*Richard* King of the *Romans* returning, swears to assist the Lords.

R. Henry sends to Rome to be absolved of his oath.

He resigns his Right in Normandy for a sum of money.

The King of France is made Arbitrator of the difference between the King and his Barons.

The Earl of Leicester takes many Castles. The King concludes a Peace with his Barons.

Many Lords return to the King for peace but are denied.

The Earl of Leicester's Stratagem.

The Earl of Leicester takes the King, the Prince, and divers other Lords prisoners.

Variance between the Earls of Leicester, and Gloucester. Gloucester joins with the Prince.

the midit, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but *Richard Earl of Cornwall*; who in reverent manner coming forth, taketh his Oath in these words. *Hear all men, that I Richard, Earl of Cornwall, do here swear upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdoms of England, and be an effectual Coadjutor to expell all Rebels and disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inviolably observe, under pain of losing all the Land I have in England: So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor, yet upon his return the King takes heart, and seeks all means to vindicate his power, and first sends messengers secretly to Rome, to be absolved from his enforced Oath; and to have the more assurance from the King of France, he makes an absolute resignation of all his Right to the Dutchie of Normandy, and the Earldoms of Anjou, Poitou, Touraine and Maine; in regard whereof the King of France gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crowns) of Anjou money; and grants him to enjoy all Guyen, beyond the River Garonne, all the Countrey of Xaintonge to the River of Charente, the Countrey of Limousin and Quercie, for him and his successors, doing their homage to the Crown of France, as Duke of Aquitain.

And now was the King of France made arbitrator of the difference between King Henry and his Barons, who gives sentence against the Barons concerning the Provisions at Oxford; but of their side concerning King John's Charter: by which nice distinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for those Provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his sentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongst whom was Henry son to the Earl of Cornwall, Roger Clifford, Roger de Leisbourn, Haimo, L'estranger, and many others. But the Earl of Leicester, notwithstanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Castle of Gloucester, constrains the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an Army to Worcester, possesseth him of the Castle, thence to Shrewsbury, and comes about to the Isle of Ely, subdues the same, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his approach to London, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon these conditions: that all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Provisions of Oxford should inviolably be kept; all strangers by a certain time should avoid the Kingdom, except only such as were licensed to stay. The Prince had fortified Windsor Castle; but Leicester coming to besiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which is refused, and the Castle is rendered to him.

The King at this time, to win time convokes another Parliament at London, wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince Richard his Brother, Henry his son, William Valence, with the rest of his Brothers lately returned, and with them the King marcheth to Oxford, whither divers Lords of Scotland repair to him, as John Commin, John Baliol, Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce, and others: also many Barons of the North; Clifford, Piercy, Basset, and others. From Oxford he goes to Northampton, where he took Prisoners, Simon Montfort the younger, with fourteen other principal men; thence to Nottingham, making spoils of such possessions as pertained to the Barons in those parts. And now the Kings side grows strong, which the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester seeing they write to the King, protesting their Loyalty, and how they opposed only such as were enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had belyed them. The King returns answer that themselves were the perturbors of him and his State, and sought his and the Kingdoms destruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewise, and the Earl of Cornwall send Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and send the Bishops of London and Worcester, with offer of thirty thousand Marks to the King, for the damages done in these wars, so as the Statutes of Oxford may be observed; but this offer is not accepted. The Earl seeing no remedy, but it must be put to a day, takes his time to be early ready then was expected, and supplies his want of strength with policy, placing on the one side of a hill near Lewes, where the battle was fought, certain Ensigns without men, in such sort, as they might seem afar off to be squadrons of succours to second those he brought to the encounter, whom he caused all to wear white Crosses, both for their own notice, and the signification of his cause, which he would have to be thought for Justice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earl of Cornwall, and his son Henry, the Earls of Arundell and Hereford, with all the Scottish Lords, are taken prisoners, and of the English, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: only the Earl Warren, William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, the Kings brother, with Hugh Bigod Earl Marshal, save themselves by flight: five thousand (some say twenty thousand) are slain in the battle. A year and half is Simon Montfort in possession of his prisoner, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles in the Kingdom.

And now comes Erinyes and sets debate between the two great Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, about their Dividend: Leicester is taxed to do more for his own particular than the common good; his sons also presuming upon his greatness, grew insolent, whereupon Gloucester discontented forsakes that side, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of Hereford, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another battle. The revolt of this Earl being great in itself, was greater by its example: for now many others revolted likewise; and the Earl of Leicester, seeing the improvement of the Princes Forces, who was now with his Army about Worcester, though he saw his own disadvantage, yet imbatells in a Plain near Evesham to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, said to those about him; These men come bravely on, they learn it not of themselves, but of

me, and seeing himself likely to be beset, and overlaid with multitude, he advised his friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, and others to shift for themselves; which when they refused to do, then (saith he) let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs: and so undertaking the main weight of the battle, perished under it, and with him are slain his son Henry, eleven Barons, with many thousands of common Soldiers. And thus ended Montfort the great Earl of Leicester, highly honoured in his life, and more highly should have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talk of miracles enough to make him a Saint.

And now is King Henry by this victory of his son, at liberty; who together repair to Winchester, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to the Earl of Montfort, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure; the Londoners also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of Montfort gave a great wound to the party of the Barons, yet it was not mortal, at least not mortal presently, for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. Simon and Guy de Montfort sons of the Earl of Leicester, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Isle of Ely: the Castle of Killingworth held out half a year, till their victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods saved, and many others there were, resolute and desperate persons, strongly knit and fastned together, though now shortly upon dissolving. For after the Parliament at Westminster, the King with an Army going against them, and being at Northampton, Simon and Guy de Montfort submit themselves to him: but when the Earl of Gloucester opposed the restoring them to their estates, they were fain to flee the Kingdom, and make their fortunes in other Countreys, as indeed they did: the younger in Italy, the elder in France, where they were propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was banished shortly after the battle of Evesham, a Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Sister of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adversity, or rather for her making a benefit of adversity; for by this means she betook her self to the veil of Piety, and died a Nun at Montargis in France. About this time a great slaughter was made of Jews in London: and the quarrel was, because a Jew would have forced a Christian to give him more than two pence a week for the use of twenty shillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Three years after this, the disinherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of render are propounded; but here the Council are divided in opinion: Mortimer and others stated in the possessions of the disinherited, are against restoration, alledging it were injustice to take from them the rewards of their service. Gloucester and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earnest for restoration; alledging, it were hard measure to grant them their lives, and not their livelihoods: but not prevailing, in great discontentment Gloucester retires from Court, sends Messengers to warn the King to remove strangers from his counsell, and observes the Provisions at Oxford, as he promised at Evesham: otherwise that he should not marvel if himself did what he thought fit. Hereupon John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, and William de Valencia, are sent to the Earl of Gloucester: who though they could not persuade him to submit to the King; yet thus much they got of him under his hand and Seal, that he would never bear arms against the King, or his son Edward, but only defend himself and pursue Roger Mortimer, and his other enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at Bury, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy; but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat employs Solicitors to persuade the disinherited Lords which held the Isle of Ely, to return to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the form propounded at Coventry: to which the Lords make answer, that they never opposed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Church-men that were put in authority; and that they never opposed the King, but for the good of the Kingdom: and then required, that the Provisions at Oxford might be observed, and pledges be given them for their security. Hereupon the year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince Edward with Bridges entering the Isle of Ely, shuts them up so, that he constrains them at last to yield; also the Earl of Gloucester coming to London with an Army, is by the Legat once again persuaded to render himself to the King, and upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Marks, if ever he should raise any commotion again, is reconciled. Now remains Lewellin and the Welsh to be chastened for aiding of Simon Montfort; but the King going against them with an Army, they give him two and thirty pounds sterling, and so make their peace, and here was an end of the first wars between the Kings of England, and their Barons.

The next year after the Popes Legat Ottobon signs with the Croysado both the Kings sons, Edward, and Edmund, the Earl of Gloucester, and divers Noble men induced to undertake the Holy war by the sollicitation of him and the King of France; who notwithstanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it; and because Prince Edward wanted means to furnish himself out, the King of France lends him thirty thousand Marks upon a mortgage of Gascon. And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King Henry labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdom, and to reform the excesses which the war had bred; and the same year assembles his last Parliament at Marleborough, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two years it seems to have been after the underraking the Crois before Prince Edward set forth, but then taking his wife Eleanor with him, though young with child, he set forward, and in the voyage, when many of his people seemed desirous to leave him, and return home, he is said to have stricken his breast, and sworn; that if all his followers forsook him,

Montfort the great Earl of Leicester slain.

Miracles reported of him being dead.

Montforts sons flee the Kingdom.

The Kings sons, Edward and Edmund, undertake the Holy War.

The Statutes of Marleborough. Prince Edwards resolution to the Holy War.

him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*; though but only with his horse-keeper *Fovin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the year following King *Henry*.

### Of his Taxations and waies for raising of money.

**N**Ever son was more like a Father in any thing, then King *Henry* was like his father King *John*, in this point, for raising of Money; for he trod directly in all his steps, if he added not something of his own. King *John* had great Subsidies granted him by Parliament, for any great action he undertook, so had King *Henry*. King *John* resumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancy of Bishopricks, and Abbeyes, so did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but only supposed, so did King *Henry*. And *John* made benefit of a new Seal, so did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great sums from the *Jews*, so did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his father had not, and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*. It was more Aims to give money to him, then to the Begger that went from door to door. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Reign may be reckoned amongst his annual Revenues, for scarce any year passed without a Parliament, and seldom any Parliament without a Tax: or if any former was without, it was then cause of the greater Taxation some other way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons twenty thousand Marks.

K. Henry gets money by begging.

### Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

**I**N this Kings Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta*: also in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford*, and of *Marleborough*. Also stealing of cattel, which before was but pecuniary, he made capital: and the first that suffered for the same, was one of *Dunstable*, who having stoln twelve Oxen from thiee Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburn*, was by a Bayliff of *Saint Albons*, according to the Kings Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may seem strange, that in these times so much blood should be shed in the field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty sixth year of this King, that one *William Maraisse*, the son of *Geoffrey Maraisse*, a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracy and Treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered; there is no example of that kind of punishment to be found in our Histories. Particularly in this Kings Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the Heirs of Barons within age is given to the King. Also in this Kings Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the Tower of *London*. All Wears in the *Thames* are in this Kings time ordained to be plucked up and destroyed. Also the Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to pass Toll-free through all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*: also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of *London* should continue in his Office longer then one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of *London*, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this Kings time allowed to the City of *London* to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: which before was to be presented to the King, wheresoever he were. In his time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Also in this Kings time, *William Bishop* of *Salisbury*, first caused that custom to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their suit to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32 year of this Kings Reign, the Wharf of *London* called *Queen Hithes*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this Kings time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen pound in Land, should receive the Order of Knight-hood; and those that would not, or could not, should pay their Fines.

Wardships of Barons given to King Henry.

Aldermen of London when first ordained.

Suit of Court when first brought up.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

**A**ffairs of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet then in this Kings Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the time, especially the *Albigenses* were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of *France*, not without the vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make war upon him in tenderness to this service; but for matter of manners they were never more turbulent: for now Abbeyes were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselves not spared; and all for greediness of money, or for revenge.

*Ottobone*, the Popes Legat here in *England*, lying at the Abbey at *Ostney*, there happened a difference between his servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*; in which contention a brother of his was slain, and the Legat himself fain to flee into the Steeple for the safeguard of his life: whereupon

*Ottobone* the Popes Legat in fear at *Oxford*.

**A** whereupon afterward being gotten from thence by the Kings safe conduct, he thundered out curses against the Scholars, and interdicted the University, so as the Colledges grew desolate, and the Students were dispersed abroad into other places, for the space of half a year: till the Monk of *Ostney*, and the Regent Masters of *Oxford* were fain to go bare-foot and bare-head through *London*, as far as *Durham* house, where the Legate lay, and there upon their humble submission, and great mens intercession, they were absolved, and the University restored to its former estate. But of this *Ottobone*, it may not be impertinent to relate a little further; that going afterward out of *England*, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himself, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and dyed within fifty days after his election. Amongst the affairs of the Church, may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church: such an one as in this Kings time broke out most loathsome; for one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in resemblance to five wounds in Christs body, took upon him to be Christ, and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*; who continuing obstinate in their madness, were adjudged to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthiness should spread no further. In this Kings time a little novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals should wear red Hats: something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this Kings time, the *Grecians* forsook their obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and the Archbishop of *Antioch* claims to have precedence and authority above the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Apostle *Peter* had first governed the Church of *Antioch* seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friars Minors (as some write) came first into *England*, but it is not like they came so soon, for they were Gray Friars of the order of *St. Francis*: and *St. Francis* had no grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of *St. Francis*, that fifteen days before his death appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Crofs, and that as soon as he was dead, there remained not so much as any marks of the said wounds upon him.

He interdicted the University and how pacified.

One takes upon him to be Christ.

Cardinals red Hats when first ordained.

### Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

**T**his King caused a chest of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessor, in the Church of *Westminster*. He builded a Church for converted *Jews* in *London*: also an Hospital at *Oxford*, for Passengers, and diseased persons: also the new Conventual Church and the Chappel of our Lady at *Westminster*, whereof he laid himself the first stone: also the house of *Black Friars* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Elo Countess* of *Salisbury* founded the Abbey of *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*: *Richard Earl* of *Cornwall*, founded *Hails*, a Monastery of Cistercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Gloucestershire*: *Reginald de Moun*, Earl of *Somerset*, and Lord of *Dunster*, founded the Abbey of *Newham* in *Devonshire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and Lord of little *Britain*, builded the Castles of *Charley*, *Bestones*, and the Abbey of *De la Crofs*: Sir *John Mansel* the Kings Chaplain, founded a house of Regular Canons near to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albino* Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimoucheam*: *William Brunc*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Rosa* his wife, founded the Hospital of our Lady without *Bishopsgate* in *London*: And *Isabel Countess* of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Marram*, near to *Linne*, Friars Minors first arrived at *Dover*, nine in number, whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Convent of Friars Minors, that ever was in *England*: the other four came to *London*, who encreasing in number, had a place assigned them in *Saint Nicholas Shambles*; which *John Iwyn*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the use of the said Friars, and became himself a Lay brother. Also in this Kings time the new work of *Saint Pauls* Church in *London* was begun. If it were piety in the *Jews*, who falling into a Privy upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that day, because it was the *Jews* Sabbath: it was as much piety in the Earl of *Gloucester*, that would not suffer him to be taken out the next day, because it was the Christian Sabbath; and when the third day was come, he was taken out dead; whose piety was the greater? A strange accident upon an act of piety, is related in this Kings time; which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read: that in a time of dearth, one man in a certain Parish, who allowed poor people to relieve themselves with taking corn upon his ground, had at Harvest a plentiful crop; where others that denied them had their corn all blasted, and nothing worth. In this Kings time also, *Hugh Balsamus* Bishop of *Ely* founded *Saint Peters* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Westminster*, which afterward the Archbishop of *York* bought, and made it his Inne; since commonly called *York-place*, now *White-Hall*.

Friars Minors when first in England.

A few falling into a Privy would not be taken out on the Sabbath day.

Charity rewarded from heaven. S. Peter's Colledge in Cambridge by whom founded.

White-Hall to whom it anciently belonged.

### Casualties happening in his time.

**A**T one time there fell no Rain in *England*, from the first of *March* to the Assumption of our Lady; and at another time there fell so much Rain, that *Holland* and

The first Elephants now brought into England.

and *Holdernes* in *Lincolnshire* were overflowed and drowned. In the 17. year of his reign, were seen, A 5 Suns at one time together; after which followed so great a dearth, that people were constrained to eat Horle-flesh, and barks of Trees: and in *London* twenty thousand were starved for want of food. Also in his time the Church of *Saint Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great part of the City was burnt. Also the Town of *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may seem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it must be told; that in this Kings time there was sent by the King of *France*, the first Elephant that ever was seen in *England*. In this Kings time, *Matthew Paris* relates of a maid in *Leicestershire*, that being exactly watched, was found in seven years together, neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays she received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking: which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Resurrection, our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Also in this Kings time, there B was found a plentiful Mine of Tinne in *Germany*, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in *Cornwall*; which much abated the price of Tinne in *England*. In his time also the Sea by the space of four or five days, flowed not up to her usual height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Also in his time a child was born in *Kent*, that at two years old cured all diseases. Also in his 56. year a Lamb was yeared at *Greenwich* beside *London*, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Also in his time a child was born in the Isle of *Wight*, who at 18 years old, was scarce grown to be three foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen, she carried him about with her as a Monster of Nature.

### Of his Wife and Children.

Edmund Chyouchback the first ancestor of the house of Lancaster.

HE married *Eleanor*, the second of the five daughters of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who lived his wife thirty seven years, his widow nineteen, dyed a Nun at *Ambury*, and was buried in her Monastery. By her he had six sons and three daughters; of his sons, the four youngest dyed young, and were buried, three of them at *Westminster*, and the fourth in the New Temple by *Fleetstreet*. His eldest son *Edward*, surnamed *Longshanks*, of his tall and slender body, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second son *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouchback*, of bowing in his back, (as some say) but more likely of wearing the sign of the Crofs, (anciently called a *Crouch*) upon his back, which was usually worn of such as had vowed voyages to *Hierusalem*, as he had done. He was invested titular King of *Sicilie* and *Apulia*, and created Earl of *Lancaster*; on whose person originally the great contention of *Lancaster* and *York* was founded. He had two wives, the first was *Avelin* daughter and heir of *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no issue. The second was *Queen Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, (brother of *St. Louis* King of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champagne* King of *Nauarre*: by her he had issue three sons and one daughter. His eldest son *Thomas*, who after his father was Earl of *Lancaster*, and having married *Alice* daughter and heir of *Henry* Lacie Earl of *Lincoln*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without issue. His second son *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earl of *Lancaster* and father of *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*; his third son *John*, who dyed unmarried. His daughter *Mary* married to *Henry* Lord *Piercie*, mother of *Henry* the first Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* dyed at *Bayn* in *Gascoin*, in the year 1296. when he had lived fifty years, whose body half a year after his death, was brought over into *England*, and entombed at *Westminster*. Of King *Henries* three daughters, the eldest *Margaret* was married to *Alexander* the 3. King of *Scotland*, by whom she had issue, two sons, *Alexander* and *David*, who dyed both before their father, without issue; and one daughter *Margaret* Queen of *Norway*, wife of King *Erick*, and mother of *Margaret* the heir of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that died unmarried; The second daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, born at *Burdeaux*, married to *John* the first Duke of *Britain*, and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, *John* Earl of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip* son of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*; *Eleanor* a Nun at *Ambury*, and *Mary* married to *Guy*, Earl of *S. Paul*, she deceased in *Britain*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the Gray-Friers within *Newgate*. The third daughter of King *Henry*, named *Katherine*, dyed young, and lies buried at *Westminster*, in the space between the Chappels of King *Edward* and *Saint Bonet*.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature but mean, yet of a well compacted body, and very strong: one of his eyelids hanging down, and almost covering the black of his eye: For his inward indowments, it may be said, he was wiser for a man, then for a Prince: for he knew better how to govern his life then his Subjects. He was rather Pious then Devout, as taking more pleasure in hearing Masses then Sermons, as he said to the King of *France*, He had rather see his friend once, then hear from him often. His mind seem'd not to stand firm upon its Basis, for every sudden accident put him into passion. He was neither constant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had so great a favourite

A a Favourite whom he cast not into disgrace, nor so great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was seen in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time the greatest Favourite, yet cast out afterward in miserable disgrace, and then no man held in greater hatred, yet received afterward into grace again. And it is memorable to hear with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his arraignment, and specially one: That to disswade a great Lady from marriage with the King; he had said, the King was a squint-eyed Fool, and a kind of Leper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted then a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himself was present; he was adjudged to have his Lands confiscate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this was reitord to his estate again, and suffered to live in quiet. He was more delirous of money then of honour, for else he would never have sold his Right to the two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France* for a sum of money. Yet he was more desirous of honour, then of quietness, for else he would never have contended so long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His most eminent vertue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continency; for there is nothing read, either of any base children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

A strange affront to a King.

### Of his Death and Burial.

THOUGH he had lived a troublesome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had settled Peace in his Kingdom, and in his conscience, for being at *Saint Edmundsbury*, and finding himself not well at ease, he made the more hast to *London*; where calling before him his Lords, and specially *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloucester*; he exhorted them to be true and faithful to his son Prince *Edward*, who was at that time far from home, and therefore had the more need of their care, which consisted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his sickness increasing, he yielded up his soul to God, on the sixteenth day of *November*, in the year 1272. D when he had lived threecore and five years, reigned six and fifty; and was buried at *Westminster*, which he had newly builded.

1272.

### Of men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three specially who obscured the rest: the first was *William Marshall*, Earl of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that *Destinie* had of his posterity; for leaving his five Sons behind him, they all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without issue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the *Marshalls* came wholly to be extinct in that Generation: and this happened (if we may believe *Matthew Paris*) by reason of a curse of an Irish Bishop, from whom he had taken two Mannors belonging to his Bishoprick, and neither he, nor all his sons, upon any intreaties would be gotten to restore them. The second was *Richard de Clare* Earl of *Gloucester*, who in a Battel against *Baldwyn de Giffnes*, a valiant Fleming, employed by King *Henry*, himself alone encountered twelve of his enemies, and having his horse slain under him, he pitcht one of them by the leg out of the saddle, and leapt into it himself, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to rescue him. An Act, that may seem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, then in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of so audacious a Spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lie to his face, and that in presence of all his Lords, and of whom it seems, the King stood in no small fear: for passing one time upon the *Thames*, and suddenly taken with a terrible storm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be set on shore at the next stairs, which happened to be at *Durham House*, where *Montford* then lay, who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him somewhat frightened with the Thunder, said unto him, Your Majesty need not fear the Thunder, the danger is now past: No *Montford* (said the King) I fear not the Thunder so much as I do thee. Of men famous for sanctity of life, there were likewise many in his time, but three more eminent then the rest, *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Thomas* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*, all three either Canonized, or at least thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To these may be added *Robert Grosbead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who translated the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greek into Latine; which through envie of the Jews, never came to the knowledge of *Saint Hierome*, wherein are many Prophecies of our Saviour Christ. Of men famous for Learning, there were likewise many in his time; of whom some left Works behind them for Testimonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as *Alexander Hales*, a Frier minor, who wrote many Treatises in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeshall*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Nigir*, Randolph

The numerous Family of the Marshalls suddenly extinct.

The notable valour and activity of Richard de Glouc. Earl of Gloucester.

The audacious Spirit of Simon Montford.

Bracton wrote  
a book of the  
Law.

Randolph Glanville, the Earl of Chester, the third and last of that name, who compiled a book of the Lawes of England, Henry Bracton, who wrote the book commonly called by his name, *de consuetudinibus Angliæ*; and besides these, Hugh Kirk Pead, Richard of Ely, Peter Henham, John Gyles, and Nicholas Fernham, excellent Physicians; Richard furnamed Theologus, and Robert Bacon, two notable Divines; Stephen Langthorn, Richard Fisker, Simon Stokes, John of Kent, William Shirwood, Michael Blainpain, John Godard, Vincent of Coventry, Alberick Veer, Richard Wich, John Basing, Roger Waltham, William Seningham, and others.

### The Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
William Hardel was Maior.  
John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Robert Serl was Maior.  
Thomas Bokereil, Ralph Holyland, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Robert Serl continued Maior.  
Benet Senturer, William Blundivers, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Robert Serl continued Maior.  
John Wall, or Veil, Jofue le Spicer, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Robert Serl continued Maior.  
Richard Wimbledon, John Wall or Veil, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Robert Serl continued Maior.  
Richard Renger, John Veil, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Robert Serl continued Maior.  
Richard Joyner, Thomas Lambert, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Richard Renger was Maior.  
William Joyner, Thomas Lambert, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Richard Renger continued Maior.  
John Travers, Andrew Bokereil, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
Richard Renger continued Maior.  
John Travers, Andrew Bokereil, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
Richard Renger continued Maior.  
Roger Duke, Martin Fitz-Williams, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
Roger Duke was Maior.  
Stephen Bokereil, Henry Cocham, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
Roger Duke continued Maior.  
Stephen Bokereil, Henry Cocham, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Roger Duke continued Maior.  
William Winchester, Robert-Fitz-John, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Roger Duke continued Maior.  
Richard Walter, John de Wobern, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Andrew Bokereil was Maior.  
Michael of S. Helen, Walter de Enfield, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Andrew Bokereil continued Maior.  
Henry de Edmonton, Gerard Bat, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Andrew Bokereil continued Maior.  
Simon Fitz-Mary, Roger Blunt, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Andrew Bokereil continued Maior.  
Ralph Ashwy, John Northman Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Andrew Bokereil continued Maior.  
Gerard Bat, Richard or Robert Hardel, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,  
Andrew Bokereil continued Maior.  
Henry Cocham, Jordan Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,  
Andrew Bokereil continued Maior.  
John Tolafon, Gervais the Cordwainer, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,  
Richard Renger was Maior.  
John Codras, John Whillhall, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,  
William Joyner was Maior.  
Reymond Bongy, Ralph Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,  
Gerard Bat was Maior.  
John Gifors, Michael Tony, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,  
Reymond Bongy was Maior.  
Thomas Duresm, John Vohl, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,  
Reymond Bongy continued Maior.  
John Fitz-John, Ralph Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,  
Ralph Ashwy was Maior.  
Hugh Blunt, Adam Basing, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,  
Michael Tony was Maior.  
Ralph Pesser, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
John Gifors was Maior.  
Robert Cornhill, Adam of Bewley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,  
John Gifors continued Maior.  
Simon Fitz-Mary, Lawrence Frowick, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,  
Peter Fitz-Adam was Maior.  
John Vohl, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,  
Michael Tony was Maior.  
Nicholas Fitz-Jofue, Geoffrey Winchester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,  
Roger Fitz-Roger was Maior.  
Richard Hardel, John Tolafon, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,  
John Gifors was Maior.  
Humfrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,  
Adam Basing was Maior.  
Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,  
John Tolafon, was Maior.  
William Durham, Thomas Wimborn, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,  
Richard Hardel, was Maior.  
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,  
Richard Hardel continued Maior.  
Ralph Ashwy, Robert of Limon, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,  
Richard Hardel continued Maior.  
Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,  
Richard Hardel continued Maior.  
Michael Bokereil, John the Minor, Sheriffs.

In his Forty second year,  
Richard Hardel continued Maior.  
Richard Orwel, William Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,  
Richard Hardel continued Maior.  
Robert Cornhill, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,  
John Gifors was Maior.  
John Adrian, Robert Cornhill, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,  
William Fitz-Richard was Maior.  
Adam Browning, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,  
William Fitz-Richard continued Maior.  
John Northampton, Richard Pichard Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,  
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Maior.  
John Tailor, Richard Walbroke Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,  
Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Maior.  
Robert de Mountpiter, Osbert de Suffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet Fabian saith, that from this 48. year, to the end of his Reign, there were no Maiors of London, but only Guardians of the City.

In his forty ninth year,  
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard, was Maior.  
Gregory Rochesley, Thomas de Desford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,  
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard, continued Maior.  
Edward Blunt, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his fifty first year,  
William Richards was Maior.  
John Hind, John Walraven, Sheriffs.

In his fifty second year,  
Alan de la Souch, was Maior,  
John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt, Sheriffs.

In his fifty third year,  
T. Wimborn; Custos, Sir Stephen Edward,  
Walter Harvey, William Duresm, Sheriffs.

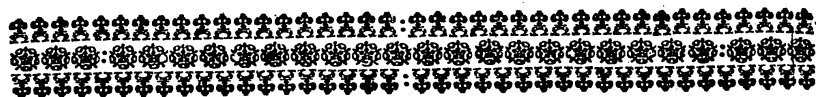
In his fifty fourth year,  
Hugh Fitz-Ottonis, Custos of London, and Constable of the Tower.  
Thomas Basing, Robert Cornhill, Sheriffs.

To this time the Maior and Sheriffs had been chosen, but now the King grants the choise of them to the City it self.

In his fifty fifth year,  
John Adrian was Maior.  
Walter Potter, Philip Tailor, Sheriffs.

In his fifty sixth year,  
John Adrian continued Maior.  
Gregory Rochesley, Henry Wallis, Sheriffs.

In his fifty seventh year,  
Sir Walter Harvey was Maior.  
Richard Harris, John de Wadeley, Sheriffs.



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST, Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

## Of his coming to the Crown.



As soon as King Henry was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Son Prince Edward to be proclaimed King: and assembling at the New Temple in London, they there took order for the quiet governing of the Kingdom till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land; and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his return; for at his first coming thither he rescued the Great City of Acon from being surrendered to the Souldan; after which out of Envy to his Valour, one Anzazim, a desperate Saracen, who had often been employed to him from their General, being one time, upon pretence of some secret message admitted alone into the chamber, with a poisoned knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm, and one near the armpit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unspeakable love the Lady Eleanor his wife had not sucked out the poison of his wounds with her mouth, and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwise had been incurable: It is no wonder, that love should do wonders, which is itself a wonder. And now being disappointed of aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving garrisons in fit places for defence of the Countrey, he with his wife Eleanor takes his journey homewards, and first passing by Sicilie, was there most kindly received by Charles, King of that Island, where he first heard of his father's death; which he took more heavily far, then he had taken the death of his young son Henry, whereof he had heard a little before; at which when King Charles marvelled, he answered that other sons might be had, but another father could never be had. From hence he passeth through Italie, where much honour is done him both by the Pope, and other Princes, and then descends into Burgogne, where by the Earl of Chalonn, a stout man at arms, he is challenged at a Turnement, with a pretence to solemnize his presence, but with a purpose indeed to disgrace his person; and though Prince Edward in many respects might justly have refused it, yet the nobleness of his mind would not suffer him to pass by any occasion of shewing his valour; and in this encounter he so foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no liar in the Report it had made of him. And here a great part of his English Nobility met him, from whence he passed into France, where the King Philip his near Cousin (as being sisters sons) entertains him with great solemnity, and graceth his solemnity with so much courtesie, that it won Prince Edward voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in France; and this voluntariness in Prince Edward won the King of France again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in France that belonged to him, and so these two great Kings by reciprocal courtesie, effected that, which their Predecessours by force could

Prince Edward poisoned in the Holy Land.

The poison sucked out of his wounds by his wife.

He takes the death of his father more heavily then of his son. Prince Edward his valour.

Reciprocal courtesies between K. Edward and the K. of France.

A could never effect. From hence he passeth through Aquitain, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and set all things in order, he set sail and arrived in England, above a year after the death of his father: a long time for plotting of mischief, and a strong temptation to plotters of mischief, if all causes of quietness had not concurred: but such was the worthiness of Prince Edward's person, and such the undoubtedness of his Title, that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no oppugner. And indeed the divine Providence had shewed a special care over him from his Childhood: whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Chess with a friend, in the midst of his game, without any apparent occasion, he removed himself from the place where he sat, when suddenly there fell from the roof of the house a great stone, which if he had stayed in the place but never so little had beaten out his brains. Another example of the divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of ships for a journey into Flanders, and being at Winchelsea, where the ships were to meet; it happened, that riding about the Harbour, his Horse frightened with the noise of a Wind-mill, which the wind drove violently about, s-rambled up and leapt over the Mud-wall of the Town, so as neither the King nor the Horse was to be seen, but every one judged the King could not choose but be thrown and killed: yet such was the divine Providence over him, that the Horse lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this divine Providence, he had now passed all the dangers of his tedious journey; and being safely come to London, was on the fifteenth day of August in the year 1274. Crowned at Westminster, together with his wife Queen Eleanor, by Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury; where five hundred great Horses were let loose, for any that could take them; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great then the inward joy was universal, every man rejoicing, not only at a change, which of it self is pleasing, but at a change so much for the better, as this was like to be.

K. Edward protected by the Divine hand from his childhood.

He is Crowned.

1274.

## Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords; His Acts with his Clergy, Then with Wales; Then his Acts with Scotland; And lastly with France. And first, concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties, and granting them easier Laws, for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of Westminster the first; so as he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his father's reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings, at least to keep them farther from growing; which he did by these means: First, in the 6. year of his reign, he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his father, King Henry the third. The next year after he got to be enacted the Statute of Mortmain, to hinder the increase of their Temporal possessions. In the second Statute of Westminster, he defaulted the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at Salisbury, without admission of any Church-men in it: And it is worth the noting, that Marchion his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious houses there was much treasure to be had, if it might be taken; he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of Mortmain, that had been made so much to their hindrance; He answered, that this was a statute made by the whole body of the Realm, and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done; and perhaps whatsoever they should have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

He gives contentment to his Lords.

He abates the power of the Clergy.

The Statute of Mortmain enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergy men admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute.

Prince Leolin delays to do his homage.

In the next place are the Welsh, who had themselves begun with the King: For their Prince Leolin being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more leisure, being required to come and do his homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubt to be used, as his father Gryffin had been, who upon hard usage in the Tower, seeking to make escape, fell from the walls and brake his neck. But indeed it was always a custom with this Nation, at every change of Princes in England, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other to have a day of it, and to change their yoke of bondage into liberty; for which they were never better provided then now; (especially which is the greatest matter in war) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at this time: For the Lady Eleanor, a Daughter of the late Earl Simon Montfort, whom Prince Leolin extremely loved, passing out of France into Wales, was by the way upon the Sea taken by English Ships, and brought to King Edward, and for the love of her, Prince Leolin was content to submit himself to any conditions; which besides subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, & a thousand pounds per annum during his life; and upon these condi-

For the love of his Lady he submits himself.

She dead, he  
discovers in rebel-  
lion.

An impossor  
discovered by  
the King.

1283.

Prince Leolin  
deceives by a  
Prophecie,  
stands out, and  
is slain.

The last of the  
Welsh Princes.  
His brother  
David's igno-  
minious death.

Wales united to  
the Crown of  
England.

The Competi-  
tors for the  
Crown of  
Scotland.

K. Edward ar-  
bitrator in whom  
is the Right.

conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in Eng-  
land, whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years Leolin continued loy-  
al, and within the bounds of obedience, in which time David, one of his brothers, staying here  
in England, and found by the King to be of a stirring spirit, was much honoured by him; Knight-  
ed and matched to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of Derby, and had given him by the King  
besides, the Castle of Denligh, with a thousand pounds per annum: though, (as it was after-  
ward found) he lived here but in the nature of a spie: For when Prince Leolin's Lady was after-  
ward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into rebellion,  
then goes his brother David to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King: and they to-  
gether enter the English Borders, surprize the Castles of Flint and Rutland, with the person of  
the Lord Clifford, sent Jutliciar into those parts: and in a great Battell overthrew the Earls of  
Northumberland and Surrey, with the slaughter of Sir William Lindsey, Sir Richard Tanny, and  
many others. King Edward advertised of this Revolt and overthrow, being then at the Wyche  
in Wiltshire, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his  
mother Queen Eleanor, lying at the Nunnery of Ainsbury, with whom whilst he conferred,  
there was one brought into the chamber, who laigned himself (being blind) to have received  
his sight at the Tomb of K. Henry the third: As soon as the King saw the man, he remembered he  
had seen him before, & knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his mother in  
no case to believe him: but his mother, who much rejoiced to hear of this Miracle, for the glory  
of her husband, finding her son unwilling that his father should be a Saint, grew suddenly into such  
a rage against him, that he commanded him to avoid her chamber: which the King obeys; and  
going forth, meets with a Clergy-man, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily  
said: He knew the justice of his Father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being  
whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight. In this mean time the Arch-  
bishop of Canterbury had gone of himself to Prince Leolin, and had laboured to bring him and his  
brother David to a re-submission, but could effect nothing; for besides other reasons that swayed  
Prince Leolin, the conceit of a Prophecie of Merlin, that he should shortly be Crowned with  
the Diadem of Bruce, so overweighed him, that he had no ear for peace, and shortly after no  
head: for after the Earl of Pembroke had taken Bere Castle, which was the seat of Prince Leolin,  
he was himself slain in battell; and his head cut off by a common souldier, was sent to King Edward,  
who caused the same to be crowned with Ivie, and to be set upon the Tower of London; And  
this was the end of Leolin, the last of the Welsh Princes, betrayed (as some write) by the men of  
Bnelth. Not long after his Brother David also is taken in Wales, and judged in England to an  
ignominious death: first drawn at a Horse rail about the City of Shrewsbury, then beheaded, the  
trunk of his body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany his Brothers on  
the Tower of London, his four quarters to four Cities, Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester.  
A manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kind to this Kingdom, in the person of the  
son of a Prince, or any other Noble-man that we read of in our History. It is perhaps something  
which some here observe, that at the sealing of this conquest, King Edward lost his eldest Son  
Alphonso, of the age of 12 years, (a Prince of great hope) and had only left to succeed him;  
his son Edm. rd lately born at Carnarvon, and the first of the English, intituled Prince of Wales,  
but no Prince worthy of either Wales or England. And thus came Wales to be united to the  
Crown of England, in the eleventh year of this King Edward's reign; who thereupon established  
the government thereof, according to the Laws of England, as may be seen by the Statute of Rut-  
land, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

The work of Wales being settled, King Edward passeth over into France, upon notice of the  
death of Philip the Hardie, to renew and confirm such conditions as his state in those parts re-  
quired, with the new King Philip the fourth, intituled the Fair; to whom he doth homage for  
Aquitain, having before quitted his claim to Normandie for ever. After three years and a half,  
being away in France, he returns into England, and now in the next place comes the business  
with Scotland, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his son after him. Alex-  
ander the third, King of Scots, as he was running his Horse, fell Horse and Man to the ground, and  
brake his neck, and dyed immediately; by reason whereof (he leaving no issue, but only a daugh-  
ter of his daughter Margaret, who died also soon after, there fell out presently great contenti-  
on about succession. Ten Competitors pretend title, namely, Erick King of Norway, Florence  
Earl of Holland, Robert Bruce Earl of Anandale, John de Baliol Lord of Galloway, John de Hast-  
ings Lord of Abergavenny, John Commin Lord of Badenaw, Patrick de Dunbarre Earl of March,  
John de Vesele, Nicholas de Suies, VVilliam de Ruf; all or most of them descending from David  
Earl of Huntingdon, younger Brother to VVilliam King of Scots, and great Uncle to the late  
King Alexander. This title King Edward takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Su-  
periority from his Ancestors, over that Kingdom: and proving it by authority of old Chronicles,  
as Marianns Scottus, VVilliam of Malmisbury, Roger de Hoveden, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de  
Diceto, and others; which though the Scottish Lords who swayed the Inter-regnum opposed, yet  
are they constrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbitrator thereof, and  
the ten Competitors bound to stand to his award. Two are especially found, between whom  
the right lay, John de Baliol Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce, the one descended from an el-  
der daughter, the other from a son of a younger daughter of Alan, who had married the el-  
dest daughter of this David brother to King VVilliam: The controversie held long; twelve of ei-  
ther

1291.

King Edward's  
Queen Eleanor  
died.

King Edward  
arbitrator the  
Crown to  
Baliol.

Baliol is incen-  
died against K.  
Edward; and  
why.

The fatal  
Chair of Scot-  
land brought  
into England.

Baliol sues for  
peace, and sub-  
mits himself.

Baliol is sent  
prisoner into  
England.

William Wallace  
opposeth King  
Edward.

The Exche-  
quer and  
Couns of Ju-  
rice removed  
to York.

ther Kingdom learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the same at Bernick; all the best  
Civilians in the Universities of France are solicited to give their opinions; all which brought  
forth rather doubts then resolutions: whereupon King Edward the better to sway this business  
by his presence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as far as Lincolnshire, he lost  
his beloved wife Queen Eleanor, and thereupon going back to see her Funeral performed at  
Westminster: that done he returns presently to his Scottish business. And now six years were  
passed since the death of King Alexander, and yet nothing concluded in this controversie; where-  
upon King Edward deals privately with Bruce, (who had the weaker title, but the more friends)  
and promifeth him if he would swear fealty and homage to the Crown of England, he would  
invest him in that of Scotland. But Bruce answers, he was not so desirous to rule, as thereby to  
infringe the liberties of his Countrey. Whereupon with the like offer he sets upon Baliol, who  
having better right, but less love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdom then honour,  
accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at Scone, hath fealty done him by all the  
chief Nobility, except Bruce: comes to New-Castle upon Tyne, where King Edward then lay;  
and there with many of his Nobles, swears fealty, and doth homage to him as his Sovereign  
Lord, which act done to secure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby  
he became less so stood for Bruce, and others of the Nobility (tender of the preservation of  
their Countreys liberty) took stomach against him; and not only for this, but shortly after for  
his injustice in the case of the Earl of Fife, one of the six Governors in the time of the Inter-reg-  
num, who had been slain by the Family of Alberneth; the brother of which Earl prosecuting Law  
before King Baliol, in his high Court of Parliament, and having no right done him (King Baliol  
giving judgement of the side of the Alberneths) he appeals to the Court of the King of England:  
whereupon Baliol is summoned, appears, sits with King Edward in his Parliament, till his cause  
was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and to stand in the place appointed for  
pleading; then he craves to answer by a Procurator, but is denied, and thereupon defends to  
the ordinary place, and defends his cause himself: which indignity (as he took it) so incenseth  
him, that he returns home with a breast full charged with indignation, meditates revenge, renues  
the ancient league with France, confirms it with marriage of his son Edward to a daughter of  
Charles brother to King Philip, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of England,  
to embrace the same; which done, Baliol defies King Edward, renounceth his Allegiance, as  
unlawfully done, being not in his power, without consent of the State to do any such act. Here-  
upon brake out the mortal dissention between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian  
blood, and continued longer then ever quarrel we read of did, between any two people in the  
world. For he that began it, could not end it, but it lasted almost three hundred years; and was  
never thoroughly abolished, till the late blessed union wrought by him, in whom Wildom and  
Vertue, Right and Power concurred all to make it firm. And now the fatal Chair in which the  
Kings of Scotland used to be Inaugurated, seems to recover its secret operation according to an-  
cient Prophecie: that whithersoever that Chair should be removed the Kingdom should be re-  
moved with it; and this Chair King Edward caused to be brought out of Scotland to Westminster,  
and to be placed there amongst the Monuments, where it still continues. But now King Baliol  
being summoned to appear at New-Castle, and refusing to come; King Edward enters Scotland  
with an Army consisting of four thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, besides five hundred  
Horse and one thousand Foot of the Bishop of Durham. Bernick is first won, with the slaugh-  
ter of fifteen thousand Scots; (our Writers say more) and after that, the Castles of Dunbar,  
Roxborough, Edenburgh, Sterling, and Saint Johns Town: and King Baliol sues for Peace, submits  
himself, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King Edward, as his Sovereign Lord: which done, a  
Parliament for Scotland is held at Bernick, where the Nobility likewise did homage to him,  
confirming the same by their Charter, under their hand and seals; only William Douglas re-  
fuseth, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, then yield to the subjection of the King  
of England. But King Baliol, notwithstanding his submission, is sent Prisoner into England after  
his four years Reign in Scotland; and King Edward returns home, leaving John Warren Earl of  
Suffex & Surrey, Warden of all Scotland; Hugh Cressingham Treasurer, and Ormestey Chief Justice,  
with Commission to take in his name, the Homages and Fealties of all such as held lands of that  
Crown. But this continued not long, for King Edward being absent in France, the Scots fell upon  
the Officers he had left; slew Sir Hugh Cressingham with six thousand English, recovered many  
Castles, and regained the Town of Bernick, and all by the animation and conduct of one Wil-  
liam Wallace, a poor private Gentleman, (though Nobly descended) who seeing his Countrey  
without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men, either in captivity, or subjec-  
tion) assemblies certain of as poor and desperate estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon  
whatsoever advantages they could find to annoy the English: and having therein good success  
it so increased both his courage, and company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian  
of the whole Kingdom; and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Countrey  
from the subjection of the English, if the speedy coming of King Edward had not prevented him.  
For now King Edward, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of  
Justice to York, where they continued above six years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring  
all his subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at Roxborough by a peremptory  
day: where there assembled three thousand men at Arms on barded horses, and four thousand  
other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army of Foot answerable, consisting most of  
Welsh

1298.

The battle of  
Fonkirk.The Scots  
swear Fealty  
to K. Edward.Robert Bruce  
attempts for  
the Crown.The Order of  
Knighthood  
imposed upon  
men of means.King Edward  
makes a jour-  
ney into Scot-  
land to revenge  
the death of  
Cummin.

1306.

He defeats the  
Scottish Army.The Countess  
of Boughan's  
ignominious  
punishment.King Edward  
enters Scotland;  
and there  
dies.

Welsh and Irish, besides five hundred men at Arms out of Gascon; and with his power he makes his second expedition into Scotland: the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, with the Earl of Lincoln, led his Vauit-guard at the famous battle of Fonkirk, where the shouts of the Scots were so great, that King Edwards horse frightened withall, cast him off, and brake two of his ribs; which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory; wherein are reported to be slain two hundred Knights, and forty thousand foot of the Scots: but William Wallace, with some few, escaped to make more work. And here again that Kingdom might seem as if quite overthrow. Most of the estates of the Earls and Barons of Scotland (with their titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the English; and a Parliament is called at Saint Andrews, where all the great men of that Kingdom, except only Wallace, once again swear Fealty to the King of England. It seems swearing of Fealty was with the Scots but a ceremony without substance, as good as nothing: for this is now the third time they swore Fealty to King Edward; yet all did not serve to make them loyal: for not long after, comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in Scotland, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, son to that Bruce who was competitor with Baliol, escaping out of England, becomes Head to the confused Body of that Kingdom: and perceiving John Cummin (who had a title himself) to go about to bewray his intentions to King Edward; he finding him at Dunfrays, sets upon him and murders him in the Church. Whereof as soon as King Edward heard, he sends Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, and the Lords Clifford and Percy, with a strong power to revenge the death of Cummin, and to relieve his Wardens of Scotland; who upon Bruces revolt, were all retired to Berwick, whilst himself prepares an Army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever ought by their Paternal succession, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to Westminster, at the feast of Pentecost, to receive the Order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs, wrought with gold or silver, according to every mans estate: For which train (because the Kings house was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Apple trees cut down at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and gave him the Dutchy of Aquitaine) kept his Vigile with his Train at Westminster, and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of Cummin upon Bruce, and the perjured Scots: Adjuring his son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in this journey, they should carry his corpse with them about Scotland, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely brought the Countrey to subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their faith, to employ their utmost power to perform his Vow: and herewithall he sets forth with a potent Army, presently after Whitson-tide, and makes his last expedition into Scotland, in the four and thirtieth year of his reign; at which time he made above two hundred Knights.

The Earl of Pembroke, with that power sent before, and aid of the Scottish party, had before the King arrived in Scotland, defeated in a battle near S. John's Town, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his Person, but he escaping in disguise, and thrusting himself in obscure places, was reserved for greater battles, his brothers Nigel, Bruce, and shortly after, Thomas, and Alexander a Priett, were taken and Executed after the manner of Traytors at Berwick. And now King Edward had done for fighting, all was now for Executions; and indeed his desire of revenge made him inexorable, and vow to spare none of what degree soever. The Earl of Athol, (though of Royal blood, and allied unto him) was sent to London, where all his preferment was, to have a higher pair of Gallows then the rest. The wife of Robert Bruce, taken by the Lord Rosse, is sent prisoner to London and his daughter to a Monastery in Lindsey. The Countess of Boughan, who had been aiding at Bruces Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the wall of Barnwick for people to gaze on. But though Bruces party was thus defeated, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place in a distressed manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of Lennox and Gilbert Hay) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of Pembroke at unawares, gives him a great defeat, and within three daies after chaseth the Earl of Gloucester, into the Castle of Aire, where he belieged him, till by the Kings forces he was driven again to his former retire. Whereupon King Edward, who had spent his Winter at Carlisle, in July following, with a fresh Army enters Scotland himself, but falling into a Dysentery or Bloudy flux at Borough upon the Sands he ended his life: and thus ended King Edwards troubles with Scotland, but not Englands troubles, which are more to come then yet are past.

But though this business of Scotland never left King Edward till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an ague, sometime putting him into violent heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with such a vicissitude, that when he had quietness with Scotland, he had troubles with France, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known that Philip King of France, father of the present King, and Edward King of England were near Cousins, the sons of two sisters, and it hath been shewed before at King Edwards returning from the Holy Land, and passing through France, what extraordinary kindness and mutual courtesie, passed between them; that

A that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out; and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes; For private men may easily continue friends, as having none to consider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes, there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of Englands Subjects had upon the Coast of Normandy, done spoil to some Subjects of the King of France: and this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of France summons King Edward, as owing homage to that Crown, to appear and answer it in his Court; And King Edward, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtesie, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusal, all his Territories in France are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seize upon the same, led by Charles de Valois, and Arnold de Neel, Constable of France. Burdeaux; with divers other Pieces of importance, are taken from him. And now King Edward well knowing what danger it was to have so powerful an adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, seeks to match his son Edward with a daughter of Guy Earl of Flanders; Marries one of his daughters to the Duke of Barre, who pretended title to Champagne; another to John Duke of Brabant: sends fifteen thousand pound sterling to Adolph de Nassau the Emperour, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in France; and withall these and many other confining Princes, he sets upon the King of France, and then sends over his brother Edmund Earl of Lancaster, the Earls of Lincoln, and Richmond, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Arms, and a Navie of three hundred and sixty sail. In the mean time the King of France having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King Edward, and Guy Earl of Flanders, sends for the said Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his wife and daughter, to make merry with him at Paris: where instead of feasting him, he makes him Prisoner, and takes from him his daughter, in regard he sought (being his Vassal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuseth it the best he could; and by much mediation is released himself, but not his daughter; whereupon the Earl, presuming upon aid from King Edward, takes Arms and defies the King of France; who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him: which caused King Edward with all speed possibly to relieve this distressed Earl, and so leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his absence, to the Bishop of London, the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Raynold Gray, and Clifford; with five hundred sail, and eighteenthousand men at Arms he passeth over into France, but finding the Countrey distracted into many popular factions, and the King of France daily getting upon them, (having already won Lille, Douay, Courtray, Barges, and Dam) and the Emperour Adolph failing to send him aid as he had promised, he fell into great perplexity; and having stayed the whole Winter at Gaunt, where by reason of many outrages committed by his souldiers, he was so affronted by the Gauntes, that his own person was not without some danger; he thereupon in the Spring of the year, concludes a Truce with the King of France for two years, takes his sister Margaret to Wife, and affianceth the daughter of the same King to his son Prince Edward, and so returns into England. And these were all the troubles King Edward had with France.

But now must something be spoken of the troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning: In a Parliament at Salisbury, the five and twentieth year of his reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the wars in Gascon; which needed a present supply, by reason of the death of his brother Edmund; but the Lords make all their excuses, every man for himself. Whereupon the King in great rage threatned, they should either go, or he would give their Lands to others that should: Upon this Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, High Constable, and Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, Marshall of England, make their Declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him; otherwise not. Which answer offended the King more, and being urged again, the Earl Marshall protested he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vauit-guard, as by right of inheritance he ought to do; But the King told him plainly, he should go with any other, though he were not himself in person. I am not so bound (saith the Earl) neither will I take that Journey without you. The King swore, by God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang: And I swear by the same oath (saith the Earl) I will neither go nor hang; and so without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls assemble many Noble men, and other their friends, to the number of thirty Banners, so as they were fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and stood upon their guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter pass, in regard that his business called him presently into Flanders; when being ready to take ship, the Archbishopps, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons send him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions, with his seeking to force their services by unlawful courses: to which the King sends answer, that he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Counsel, who were not now about him; and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his journey, (which they absolutely refused to do, though he went in Person, unless he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet do nothing in his absence prejudicial to the peace of the Kingdom; and that at his return, he would set all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his journey, and being held

The Kings of  
England and  
France fall out;  
and why.A truce is con-  
cluded be-  
tween them.King Edward  
marries his son  
Edward to a  
daughter of  
the King of  
France.The Lords re-  
fuse to attend  
the King, un-  
less he went  
himself in per-  
son.King Edward  
condescends  
to the Lords  
demands.

King Edward confirms the two Charters.

Is released of his grant by the Pope.

held there with long delays, to his exceeding great expenses, he was forced to send over for a more supply of Treasure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at York by the Prince, and (because of his Minority, for he was then but sixteen years of age) by such as had the managing of the Kingdom in his absence: and to the end he would not be disappointed of aid, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: Promising from thenceforth never to charge his subjects otherwise then by their consents in Parliaments, and to pardon all such as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27 year of his reign, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the promised confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disafforestation had heretofore been made, was earnestly urged, and in the end with much ado granted; and that with omission of the clause, *Salvo Jure Corona nostra*: which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people by no means would agree, and the perambulation of the Forests of England was then committed to three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons. But some years after, in the two and thirtieth year of his reign, King Edward begun to shew his resentment of the stubborn behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies Roger Bigod, Earl Marshall, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir, in possession; (though he had a Brother of his own living) referring only to himself a thousand pounds per annum, during his life. Of others likewise he got ving only to himself a thousand pounds per annum, during his life. Of others likewise he got great sums for the same offence; The Earl of Hereford escaped his fine by death. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, (whom he accused to have disturbed his Peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope Clement the fifth, (who succeeded Boniface) that he might be crusht with a double power. This Pope was Native of Burdeaux, and so the more regardful of the Kings desire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertain and increase, King Edward sends him a whole furnish of all vessels for his Chamber of clean gold: which great gift wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his subjects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath: A safe time for Princes, when they might tie themselves to any Obligation to their subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope he untied again.

### His Taxations, and waies for raising of money.

IF Taxations may suffer degrees of comparison, it may not unfitly be said of these last Kings, that King John was in the Positive; his son Henry the third, in the Comparative; and this King Edward in the Superlative. For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a spell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: but then under the name of Taxations, we must include the waies he took for raising of profit. But first in the way of Parliament. In the first year of his reign, was granted him a tenth of the Clergy for two years, besides a fifteenth of them and the Temporality. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh wars: In his seventh, the old money was called in, and new coined, in regard it had been much devalued by the Jews; for which 297 were at one time executed in London: and this brought in profit of no small value. In his eleventh year, he had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for his wars in Wales. In the thirteenth, Escheage, forty shillings of every Knights Fee. In his fourteenth year he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants fined for false weights. In his nineteenth, William Marchion then Lord Treasurer of England, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and religious houses, put it so into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treasury. In the eight year of his reign, he sent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what title men held their lauds; which brought him in much money, till John Earl of Warren, being called to shew his title, drew out an old rusty sword, and then said, he held his land by that, and by that would hold it to death; which though it made the King desist from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his seventeenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir Ralph Higham Chief Justice of the higher Bench, in seven thousand Marks: Sir John Loveton Justice of the lower Bench, in three thousand Marks: Sir William Brompton, in six thousand Marks: Sir Salomon Rochester, in four thousand Marks: Sir Richard Boyland, in four thousand: Sir Walter Hopton, in two thousand: Sir William Saham, in three thousand: Robert Lithbury Master of the Rolls, in one thousand: Roger Leycester, in one thousand: Henry Bray Escheator, and Judge for the Jews, in one thousand: but Sir Adam Stratton chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand: and Thomas Wyland (found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest substance) had all his goods and whole estate confiscated to the King; and himself banished out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth year he banished the Jews; of whom there was at that time above fifteen thousand in the Kingdom, who had all their goods confiscate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subsidy to be levied upon all farplars of Wool going out of England: as likewise with Fels and Hides. In his five and twentieth year, he calls a Parliament at S. Edmundsbury, where is granted the eight part of the goods of good Towns, and all other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they desire to be excused, and refuse to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his reign, they

John Earl of Warren opposes the Writ of Quo Warranto. The Judges fined for corruption.

He banisheth the Jews.

A payed the moiety of their goods: and in his three and twentieth year, he seized into his hands, all Priors, aliens and their goods: besides he had a loan of the Clergy, which amounted to a hundred thousand pounds: but notwithstanding upon this refusal of the Clergy, the Kings puts all Clergy men out of his protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts; a strain of State beyond any of his Predecessours) which so amazed them, that in the end, the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Salisbury, and Lincoln, yielded to lay down in their Churches, the fifth part of all their goods towards the maintenance of the Kings wars; whereby they appeased his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seized on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to minister only necessities to the Monks, converting the rest to the Kings use: at length by much suit, the Abbots and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeem themselves, and the Kings favour. In the six and twentieth year of his reign, at a Parliament holden at York, is granted him the ninth penny of the goods of the Temporality: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury, and of York the fifth; and in this year also he raised the Imposition upon every sack of Wool, from a Noble to forty shillings. In his two and thirtieth year he sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens lands; who to oppress the right owner, would make over their land to great men; for Batters hired to beat men, for Breakers of Peace, for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murderers, Fighters, false Assisors and other such Malefactors: which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treasure to the King. As likewise did another Commission at the same time, sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time also he called his Lords to account for their stubbornness some years before, in denying to attend him into Flanders; which brought him in profit answerable to their greatness that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth year, there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into Scotland. And this may be sufficient to shew his taxations to have been in the superlative degree. And yet besides these, he had no small benefit by silver Mines; which in his time were found in Devonshire.

The Clergy is put out of the Kings protection.

The writ of Trailbaston sent forth.

Silver mines found in Devonshire.

D

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN the first year of his reign were made the Statutes called of Westminster the first. In his twelfth year were made the Statutes of Alton Burnell. In the fourteenth year of his reign were made Statutes called *Additamenta Gloucestric*. He ordained such men to be Sheriffs in every County, as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that Jews should wear a cognizance upon their upper garment whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of Usury. In his time was also Enacted the Statute of Mortmain. In his twelfth year, in the Quindenes of Saint Michael, the Justices Itinerants began to go their general Circuits. In his time new pieces of money were coined, and half pence of silver came to be in use, which were before of base metal. In his time, three men for rescuing a Prisoner, arrested by an Officer, had their right hands cut off by the writs. In his time all Jews were banished out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-coal in London and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noisome smoak. In his eleventh year the Bakers of London were first drawn upon Hurdles, by Henry VValeys Maior, and Corn was then first sold by weight. In this Kings time the title of Baron which had before been promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have voyce in Parliament. In the sixth year of this King, Michaelmas term was kept at Shrewsbury. In his twelfth, he divided VVales into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are used in England.

The Justices Itinerants, when first begun.

Sea-coal prohibited to be burned in London.

The title of Barons confined to such only as were called by writ to the Parliament.

F

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at Reading by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the General Council, that no Ecclesiastical person should have more then one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of souls: and that every person promoted to any Ecclesiastical living, should take the order of Priesthood within one year after. In his time lived and dyed Pope Boniface the 8. of whom his Predecessour had prophesied: *Ascendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Lys, morieris ut Canis*.

No Ecclesiastical person to have more then one Benefice.

G

### Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded the Abbey of the Vale Royal in Cheshire, of the Cistercian Order. In his time John Baliol King of Scots, builded Balioll Colledge in Oxford: also in his time, Walter Merton Lord Chancellor of England, and after Bishop of Rochester, founded Merton Colledge in Oxford, who was drowned passing over the water at Rochester, being at that time no

Balioll Colledge in Oxford by whom builded.

Merton Col-  
ledge in Ox-  
ford by whom  
built.

The Stocks a  
market for fish  
and flesh,  
when made.

Bridge there, as now there is. In his time was finished the new work of the Church of *Westminster*, which had been three score and six years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the *Black Friars* besides *Langgate* by *Robert Kilwarbie* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of *Baynards Castle* also in his time, his second wife *Queen Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Gray Friars* in *London*. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, standing against the Church called *Arces* in *Cheap*. In his time *Henry Wallweys*, Mayor of *London*, caused the *Ton* upon *Cornhill*, to be a Prison for night-walkers: and also builded a house called the *Stocks*, for a Market of fish and flesh, in the middle of the City. In this Kings time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leicester*, the Kings brother, founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Algate*. This King builded the Castle of *Flink* in *Wales*, and the Castle of *Beaumaris* in the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the Castle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Also in this Kings time, *John Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Colledge of Canons at *Vvingham* in *Kent*.

### Casualties happening in his time.

A rot of sheep  
five and twen-  
ty years toge-  
ther, and how  
caused.

IN the second year of this Kings reign, there happened the greatest rot of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected sheep of incredible greatness, brought out of *Spain* by a *French Merchant* into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, Wheat was sold for ten groats a quarter; where the next year after there was so great a dearth, that it was sold for eighteen pence the bushel. In the seventeenth year of his reign, there fell so much rain, that Wheat was raised from three pence the bushel, to sixteen pence; and so increased yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty shillings the Quarter. And this year the City of *Carlisle*, and the Abbey with all the Houses belonging to the *Fryers Minors*: was consumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year, a great part of the Town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady was also burnt. In the seven and twentieth year of his reign, his Palace at *Westminster*, and the Monastery adjoining, were consumed with fire. The Monastery of *Glocester* also was burnt to the ground. In this year also an Act of Common-Council by consent of the King, was made concerning victuals; a fat cock to be sold for three half pence, two Pullers for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Goose four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheasant four pence, a Heron six pence, a Plover one penny, a Swan three shillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three half pence, a fat Lamb from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, sixteen pence, and all the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year so plentiful, that a quarter was sold for ten groats. In his sixteenth year it chanced in *Gascogne*, that as the King and *Queen* sat in their chamber, upon a bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the window behinde them, passed betwixt them, and flew two of their Gentlemen, that stood before them.

The price of  
victuals at this  
time ordained.

### Of his Wives and Children.

Monuments  
ordained in  
memory of  
*Queen Elean-  
or*.

HE had two Wives, his first was *Eleanor* daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*; and was married to him at *Bures* in *Spain*: who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a journey with him towards *Scotland*, at *Herdely* in *Lincolnshire* she dyed; in whose memory, and as monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statute, to be erected in all chief places; where her Corps in carrying to *Westminster*, rested: as at *Stamford*, *Dunstable*, *Saint Albans*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*; and lastly, at the place called *Charing-Cross*: she was buried in *Westminster*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Portraiture of Copper gilt. By this wife King *Edward* had four sons and nine daughters; his eldest son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonfus*; dyed all young in their Fathers time: his fourth son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his daughters, the eldest named *Eleanor*, was first married by Proxy to *Alphonfus*, King of *Aragon*; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristol* to *Henry* Earl of *Bary* in *France*; by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward* and *Queen Eleanor*, born at *Acon* in the *Holy-Land*, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the Red Earl of *Glocester* and *Hareford*, by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. She survived her husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Monthermer*, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the now Vicount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and *Queen Eleanor*, was married to *John Duke of Brabant*: *Berenger* and *Alice*, their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth daughter, at ten years of her age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Aimsbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of *Queen Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friesland*; he dying within two years, she was afterward married to *Thomaspri Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brcknock*, and High Constable of *England*, by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edwards* second wife was *Margaret*, eldest daughter of

The now Vic-  
count *Monta-  
cute*, from  
whence des-  
cended.

A of *Philip* King of *France*, called the Hardy, and sister to *Philip* called the Fair; at eighteen years old she was married to King *Edward*, being above three score; yet at these unequal years she had issue by him, two sons and a daughter: their eldest son was born at a little Village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas of Brotherton*: he was created Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, after *Roger Bigod*, who died without issue. Their second son *Edmund*, was born at *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*, and of the place was so called: he was created Earl of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* Daughter of *John*, and sister and sole Heir of *Thomas Lord Wake* of *Lyddell* in the County of *Northampton*; by whom he had issue two sons and one daughter: his sons *Edmund* and *John* died without issue; his daughter *Joan* for her beauty called the Fair maid of *Kent*, was married first to *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and from him divorced, was remarried to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earl of *Kent*, and Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Huntington*: and lastly, she was the Wife of *Edward of Woodstock*, the Black Prince of *Wales*; and by him Mother of King *Richard* the second. This Earl *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth year of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor* the daughter of King *Edward* by his second wife *Margaret*, died in her childhood.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, higher then ordinary men by head and shoulders, and thereof called *Longshank*; of a swarthy complexion, strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger, sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in War Peaceful; so in Peace he was warlike, delighting specially in that kind of hunting, which is to kill Stagges or other wild Beasts with Spears. In continency of life, he was equal to his Father; in acts of valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two wisdoms, not often found in any, single; both together, seldom or never: An ability of judgment in himself, and a readines to hear the judgment of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl *Roger Bigod*, whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion, but once in passion, not easily appeased; as was seen by his dealing with the *Scots*; towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his Kingdom. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife *Queen Eleanor*, three of them died in his own life time, who were worthy to have out-lived him; and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

King *Edward*  
called *Long-  
shank*; and  
why;

### Of his Death and Burial.

IN his last expedition into *Scotland*, being at *Carlisle*, he fell sick; and lying in his death bed, he sent for his son *Edward*: to whom, besides many admonitions to piety; he commended three things specially; that he should carry his bones about with him through *Scotland* till he had subdued it: that he should send his heart into the *Holy-Land*, with seven score Knights to that war, and the two and thirty thousand pounds, he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recal *Gawston* from banishment: and soon after of a dysentery or Bloudy-Flux he died at *Borough* upon the Sands, the seventh of July, in the year 1307. when he had reigned four and thirty years and seven moneths, lived three score and eight years: Being dead, his Corps was brought to *Waltham Abbey*, and there kept the space of sixteen weeks, and after on *Simon* and *Judes* day buried at *Westminster*.

King *Edward's*  
admonition to  
to his son.

1307.

### Men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men there were many, these especially: *John* Earl of *Warren*, who opposed the Kings Inquisition by *Quo Warranto*: and *Roger Bigod*, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men also many, specially these: *John Berton* Bishop of *Hereford*, who compiled a Book of the Laws of *England*, called *le Breton*: *Thomas Spot* a Chronographer: *John Eversten* a writer of Annals, and of this Kings reign: *Gregory Cairgent* a Monk of *Glocester*, and a writer also of Annals. *John Peckham* a Franciscan Fryer made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who writ many excellent works: *John Reed* an Historiographer: *Thomas Bungey* a Friar Minor, an excellent Mathematician: *Roger Bacon* a Franciscan Fryer, an excellent Philosopher and Mathematician: *Robert Kilwarbie* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and after made a Cardinal: also *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of *London*, who writ a Chronicle of *England* in the *Latine* tongue: but above them all, though of another Country, *Thomas Aquinas*, born of a Noble Family, whose works are too famous to be spoken of, who going to the Connel holden at *Lyons* by Pope Gregory the tenth, died by the way.

*Berton* who  
made a Book  
of the Law.

*Thomas Aquinas*  
when he  
died.

## Majors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Maior.  
*John Horn, Walter Potter*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*Henry Walleys* was Maior.  
*Nicolas Winchester, Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* was Maior.  
*Lucas Battencourt, Henry Frowicke*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* continued Maior.  
*John Horne, Ralph Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* continued Maior.  
*Robert de Arar, Ralph L. Fewre*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* continued Maior.  
*John Adrian, VValter Langley*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* continued Maior.  
*Robert Basing, William le Meyre*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* continued Maior.  
*Thomas Box, Ralph Moore*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* continued Maior.  
*VVilliam Earendon, Nicolas VVincehester*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
*Henry Walleys* was Maior.  
*William le Meyre, Richard Chigwel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
*Henry Walleys* continued Maior.  
*Ralph Blunt, Hawkin Betnell*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
*Henry Walleys* continued Maior.  
*Jordan Goodcheap, Martin Box*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
*Gregory Rokesley* was Maior.  
*Stephen Cornhill, Robert Rokesley*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* was Maior.  
*VValter Blunt, John VVade*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior,  
*Thomas Crofs, VValter Hawteyne*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*VVilliam Hereford, Thomas Stamer*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*VVilliam Betaine, John of Canterlury*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*Fulk of S. Edmund, Salomon Langford*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*Thomas Romain, Williams de Lyre*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich*, continued Maior.  
*Ralph Blunt, Hamond Box*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*Elias Russel, Henry Bole*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,  
*Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*Robert Rokesley, Martin Awbery*, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,  
*Sir Ralph Sandwich* continued Maior.  
*Henry Box, Richard Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,  
*Sir John Briton* was Maior.  
*John Dunstable, Adam de Halingbery*, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,  
*Sir John Briton* continued Maior.  
*Thomas of Suffolk, Adam of Fulham*, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,  
*Henry Walleys* was Maior.  
*Richard Refham, Thomas Sely*, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,  
*Elias Russel* was Maior.  
*John Armentur, Henry Fingene*, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,  
*Elias Russel* continued Maior.  
*Lucas de Havering, Richard Champner*, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,  
*Sir John Blunt* was Maior.  
*Robert Callor, Peter de Besenho*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Maior.  
*Hugh Pourte, Simon Paris*, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Maior.  
*William Comemartin, John de Burford*, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Maior.  
*Roger Paris, John de Lincoln*, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Maior.  
*William Cawson, Reginald Thunderley*, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,  
*Sir John Blunt* continued Maior.  
*Geoffrey at the Conduit, Simon Billet*, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SECOND.

Of his A&amp;ts before, and at his Coronation.

**E**dward of Carnarvan, eldest son of King Edward the first, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applause of Nobility and People; and there was good cause for it; for he had been trained up in all good courtes for Piety and Learning; he had seen the Government of his Father, from whose Example he could not but have learned many good Lessons; he had been initiated in the ways of State, having been left Governour of the Realm, and presiding in Parliament in his Fathers absence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter; and yet for all these advantages, there wanted not fears of him in the minds of many, who could not but remember, what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Bishop of Cheshers Park, and in most disorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himself had been committed to Prison, and his friend *Pierce Gaveston* banished the Realm: and if he did such things being but Prince, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For seldom doth advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worse often, and commonly then when it is joyned with an authority that sets them above controullment. Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had seen, then out of what they saw; for where he should have endeavoured to accomplish the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he seemed to intend nothing less, nothing more then wholly to break it; for he presently called home *Pierce Gaveston* from banishment: and either all or the most of it, he bestowed upon *Gaveston*: and for carrying his Fathers bones with him about Scotland; it had been well if he had suffered them quietly to be laid at rest in England; for after the Corps had been kept above ground, sixteen weeks in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Bishop of *Cheshere*, *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treasurer, and Executor of his Fathers Will, was busie in preparing for his Funeral: he sent the Constable of the Tower to arrest him, and imprison him at *Wallingford*, seiling upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveston*; and all for old grudges. And (that which seemed a high strain of incongruity) before he had seen performed his Fathers Funerals, which was not till the 27. of October following, he entered into a Treaty of his own Nuptials: for going over to *Bolovigne*, on the two and twentieth of January, he married *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip the Fair*, King of France: which marriage was honoured with the presence of four Kings, the King of France himself, the King of *Norwre* his son, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicilie*: and three Queens besides the Bride, *Mary Queen of France*, *Margaret the Dowager Queen of England*, and the Queen of *Norwre*: and yet did *Gaveston* exceed them all in braverie. This was observed by the Lords of England: and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, signifying what a hainous transgression of his Fathers will it was to call home *Gaveston*; and seeing the charge was no less given to them then to him, if he did not perform it they would, and therefore unless he would remove *Gaveston* from the

1307.

The disorders of King Edward when he was Prince.

He breaks his Fathers admonitions in all things.

He marries Isabella, the King of Frances daughter.

The Lords threaten to hinder his Coronation, unless he banished the Gaveston.

1307.

He and his Queen are Crowned. To carry Saint Edwards Crown at the Coronation, the greatest honour a subject could have done him. Gaveston's advancement in honours.

the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding, which struck such a damp to Prince Edward's spirits, to think what a disgrace it would be to him, if so many of his great friends being present, *Charles of Valois* the King of France's Brother, the Dukes of *Brittain* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperor, the Duke of *Savoy*, the two Duchesses of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation should be called in question, that he solemnly swore he would do what they desired in the next Parliament, so they would be quiet now; and thereupon on the 24. day of February, in the year 1307. his Queen and he were both Crowned at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Henry Bishop of Winchester*, by Commission from *Robert Archbishop of Canterbury*, being then in exile and out of the Kingdom: At which solemnity there was so great a press of people, that *Sir John Blackwell* Knight was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords against *Gaveston*: for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint Edward before him, (the greatest honour could be done to a subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwall*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) so incensed the Lords, that they entered into consultation how to suppress this violence of the King's affection; which shortly after they put in execution. Portion in money, King Edward had none with his Wife: but the King of France gave him the Duchy of *Guyenne*, which he had seized upon before, as confiscate to him: and thereupon King Edward did him Homage for that Duchy, and for the County of *Ponthieu*.

### Of his differences with his Lords about Gaveston.

WE shall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, no such five years, as *Nero* afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at his first entrance will shew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took some great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they should be pliant to him, than that he had any meaning to apply himself to them; For let them say what they would, *Gaveston* must be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but *Gaveston's* impressions: And now *Gaveston* presently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witness of his worthiness, and that the King had not bestowed his Favours upon him without cause; caused to be published a Tournament at *Wallingford*: whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, *Humphrey Earl of Hereford*, *Amyer Earl of Pembroke*, and *John Earl of Warren*, with many others, all Valiant men at Arms; yet none had the honour of the day like to *Gaveston*. And thus far he did well, if he could have stayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into vain-glory: For the Lords envied him not so much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his infolency in Manners: for in a scornful pride he would be calling scoffs upon them all, calling *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, the Stage-player; the Earl of *Lincoln* Burthen-belly; *Amyer de Valence Earl of Pembroke*, *Joseph the Jew*, and *Guy Earl of Warwick* the black Dog of *Artois*; which scoffs together with his other infolencies, drew such a party upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances: of which the chief were, that the great Charter of *Magna Charta* should be observed; that all strangers should be banished the Court and Kingdom; that the business of the State should be treated of by the Counsel of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King should not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without consent of Parliament. Which Articles though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields unto them; and specially to the banishment of his minion *Gaveston*, as hoping that would excuse him from exile, pronounceth excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon *Gaveston* is sent away into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a banished man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Country, and indeed not unworthily; for in the time of his being there, he is said to have made a journey into the Mountains of *Dublin*, and to have broken and subdued the Rebels there; built *New-Castle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired the Castle of *Keryn*, and passed up to *Monster* and *Thomond*; performing every where much service, with great valour and worthiness, that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deserts in *Ireland* have redeemed his defects in *England*: but the King impatient of his absence, and asking advice what means might be used to recal him; It was told him, that if he could but match him with the Earl of *Glocester's* sister, a man of such greatness, and so greatly beloved of the people, for his sake certainly no man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King sends for *Gaveston*, and makes up the Match between them, and married they were at *Barkinsfold*; but this did no good; for *Gaveston* still working upon the King in such manner, that he scarce left him means to sustain himself, and as little to maintain the Queen; nothing being done, but as *Gaveston* would have it; put the Lords into a new discontentment; who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, that unless he would put *Gaveston* out of the Court and Kingdom, they would rise up in arms against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great strait: loath he was to leave *Gaveston*, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he should be banished, and in such sort banished, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he should be held and proceeded against as an enemy of the

*Gaveston* gets the prize in a publick Tournament. He casts scoffs upon all the Lords.

Articles required by the Lords of the King.

1308.

*Gaveston* is banished into *Ireland*, where he doth many good services.

*Gaveston* is sent back, and marries the Earl of *Glocester's* sister. The Lords require *Gaveston's* banishment again.

A the State. So once again is *Gaveston* sent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes into France, but found no safe harbouring there: For the King of France hearing of it, gave a strait charge, if he were found in his Dominions to apprehend him: Then he passeth into *Flanders*, but is no farther there than in France: After waving about, and finding no place to rest in safety, he returns secretly into *England*, relying upon the Kings love, and the Duke of *Glocester's* favour. The King receives him as an Angel sent from Heaven, and to be out of the Lords eye, goes a journey to *Turk*, taking *Gaveston* along with him, and there thinks to be in quiet; but the Lords hearing of it follow him thither, chusing for their General *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, a man posselt of five Earldoms, *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, *Ferrers*, *Lincoln*, and *Salisbury*; besides the Liberties of *Pickering*, and the honour of *Cockermere*, and other Lands in *Wales*, and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but only *Gilbert Earl of Glocester*, the Kings sisters Son; These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver *Gaveston* into their hands, or at least to send him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill counsel, and little regarding the Lords Message, takes *Gaveston* with him to *New-Castle* upon *Tins*, thence to *Tinmouth*, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with child, and entreating the King with tears to stay with her) yet such was his desire to see *Gaveston* put into some place of security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and passed with *Gaveston* to *Scarborough*, and leaving him there in a strong Castle, not ealie to be won, he went himself into *Warwickshire*; perhaps that the Lords might see he had not *Gaveston* with him. But the Lords hearing where *Gaveston* was, assaulted the Castle with such violence, that *Gaveston* seeing no means to escape was content to render himself; requesting only, that he might but once be allowed to see the Kings face; and the King hearing he was taken, desired as much: to which the Earl of *Pembroke* consented; and taking *Gaveston* into his custody, promised upon Forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth coming: but desiring to be with his Wife that night, who lay not far off, at *Didington*, he delivers him to his servants to carry to *Wallingford*; From whom as they passed by *Warwick*, the Earl of that place hearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Castle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wisdom to suffer *Gaveston* to speak with the King or no; it was at last concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called *Blacklow*, was presently put in execution. His corps was carried to *Oxford*, and kept there two years, till the King caused it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monastery of purpose, where his soul should be prayed for.

This *Gaveston*, was the Son of a Gentleman of France, who had done good service for King Edward the first in France, and for his sake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince: a man of excellent parts of body, and of no less endowments of mind; Valiant and Witty; to which if we might add Vertuous, he had been compleat; Though the Lords (whether they had heard so, or whether they said it to wean the King from him) told the King, that his Father was a Traitor to the King of France, and for the same was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveston* was banished out of France for consenting to his Mothers Witchcraft, and that he had now bewitched the King himself. But why should the Lords be so violent against *Gaveston*? might not the King place his affection where he pleased? Might he not make his own choice of what companion he liked? No doubt he might; and fit he should: but yet in this case the Lords had great cause to do as they did; both in regard of the King, of themselves, and of the Common-wealth. It is true, if the Valour of *Gaveston* could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous; there might some good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: but seeing virtues are but personal, vices only are communicative; it now made the King not only more vicious than otherwise he would have been, but vicious where otherwise he would not have been; and therefore great cause in regard of the King to remove *Gaveston* from his company; and no less in regard of the Lords themselves; For *Gaveston's* advancing was their debasing; his greatness with the King made them but cyphers: but in regard of the Common-wealth, most cause of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveston*, and *Gaveston* himself was altogether irregular, the Common-wealth could have but little hope of Justice, but was sure to suffer as long as *Gaveston* was suffered. And this may be sufficient to justify the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

1310.

But soon returns again. The King seeks to shelter him.

*Gaveston* is taken by the Lords.

1311.

Is beheaded at *Blacklow*. The King builds a Monastery of purpose to pray for his soul. *Gaveston's* Parcentage.

### Of his Troubles with Scotland.

AND now we have seen two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King and punished in him; the two and thirty thousand pounds appointed for the Holy War, bestowed upon *Gaveston*, and the King for it punished himself with want, *Gaveston* called home from banishment, and the King for it punished with the loss of his Subjects love. It remains to see how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers Will, for subduing of Scotland. It was now the sixth year after the death of his Father King Edward, and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of Scotland, had stayed all this while to see how this new King Edward would prove: and when he found by the courses he held, that he was like to prove a good easie enemy; he thereupon took heart, and began to stir, and in a very short time had brought almost all Scotland under his obedience; and finding no opposition he entered the English borders, took and burnt Towns; that

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Bruce enters the English borders.

King Edward's Army of 100 thousand overthrown by the Scots.

1315.

The Scots' Stratagem.

The battle of Bannockburn.

The North parts from Carlisle to York in subjection to the Scots.

Edward Bruce Crowned King of Ireland: but after three years is taken prisoner, and beheaded.

1317.

Treachery justly punished. King Edward besieges Barwick.

The Earl of Lancaster withdraws himself from King Edward; and why.

1318.

The Yorkshire men defeated by the Scots in the white Battle.

Once again King Edward enters Scotland with an Army but without success. So he makes a Truce with them for certain years.

that now King Edward, unless he would sit still, and suffer Bruce to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chuse but do something to stop his proceeding. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himself, fitter for a Court than for a Camp: Many men and great bravery; but readier to take spoils, than to make spoil: and accordingly they speed; For going to raise the siege at *Strivelling*, defended for King Edward by the valiant Knight *Philip Morley*, the Kings Army consisting of a hundred thousand, was defeated and overthrown by the Scots Army, consisting of scarce thirty thousand: So true is that saying of an ancient Souldier; There is more hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but sheep; then of an Army, where the General is a Sheep, though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the Scots, besides Valour used Policy: For having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horse at all, they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the English Horsemen were to pass, who floundring in those Trenches, were killed no less by their own Fellows, than by the Enemy. In this Battle, called of *Bannockborough*, were slain the Lord *Mauve*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptot*, the Lord *William Marshall*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and seven hundred Knights and Esquires, specially *Gilbert Earl of Gloucester*, who had shewed much valour that day; and whom the Scots would willingly have kept for ransom, if they had known him; but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms, whereby to be known. The slaughter of common Souldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not so great as *Hector Boetius* speaks of, who saith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners *Hunsfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Claveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Northbrook*, bearer of the Kings shield; the King himself with the Bishops, the Earls of *Hartford*, and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spenser*, saved themselves by flight; *Hunsfrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* was afterward released in Exchange for *Bruce* Wife, who had been long kept a Prisoner in England. After this many English fell away to the Scots, and all the North parts from *Carlisle* to *York*, came under their subjection; and the English grew so faint-hearted; and into such contempt, that three Scots durst venture upon a hundred English, when a hundred English durst scarce encounter with three Scots. And what can be thought the cause of this great disaster to this King, but the want of his Fathers blessing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanied with the want of a higher blessing, without which a *Vacat* is set upon the labours of men, that makes them all frustrate? But *Bruce* not satisfied with his acquiescence in England, sends his Brother *Edward* into Ireland also; who so far prevailed, that many Irish came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Island, and so he continued the space of three years; till the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Brimingham*, Justiciar of Ireland, gathering Forces together opposed him, and in a Battle taking him Prisoner at *Dundalk* cut off his head, with the slaughter of many thousands of the Scots besides. With which the Scots are so incensed, that they invade again the English borders, foraging as far as *York*; whereupon a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein an aid is granted of armed men to go against them; *London* sets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, *Saint Albans* ten, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied; which coming to *York*, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was soon dissolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of *Barnwick* was betrayed to the Scots through the Treason of *Peter Spalding* the Governour, and other English men; whom the King of Scots to make them an example, caused to be hanged for being Traitors to their Country. King Edward hearing of the surrendring of *Barnwick*, raiseth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the Scots to divert his Forces, enter upon England by other ways, and were like to have surprised the person of the Queen, lying then near *York*. The siege of *Barnwick* is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* with his followers withdrawn himself upon discontent; hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spenser* the younger, who was now grown a special Favourite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean time the Scots won the Castles of *Harbottle*, *Wark* and *Midford*, so as they possessed the greater part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them till they came to *Rypon*, which Town they spoiled, and carrying there three days, they received a Thousand Marks to save the Town from burning, as they had done the Towns of *Northallerton*, *Borough-Briggs*, and others. In their returning back they burnt *Knaresborough*, and *Skipton* in *Craven*, and all other afore them, carrying into Scotland a marvellous number of Cattel, besides Prisoners, men and women. The *Yorkshire* men thus grievously endamaged, gather together the number of ten thousand, and at the Town of *Milton*, ten miles from *York*, encounter the Scots, where they lost three thousand of their men, and were defeated: which Battle, because of the many spiritual men that were in it, was called the white Battle. Whereof when the King heard he left the siege of *Barnwick*, to follow the Scots, but they returned another way. The year following, King Edward once again with a great Army entered Scotland; but the Scots having destroyed all afore, the King oppressed with famine was forced to return, whom the Scots followed, and in a place of the Forest of *Blackmore* set upon him, that hardly escaped; where were taken *John Earl of Britain*, and the Lord of *Silico*, the French Kings Embassadour, and many other. After this King Edward finding the Scots either too strong, or too wily for him, made a truce with them for two years, some say for thirteen. And this was the success of this unfortunate King in his Wars with Scotland.

of

## Of his Troubles at home.

But his troubles abroad were not so grievous as those at home; or rather, they were those at home that made his troubles abroad so grievous; for though the Lords having made an end of *Gaveston*, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to bear Arms, and had cut off the head of all their discontents; yet as if *Gaveston* had been a Phoenix, as it were out of his ashes another Phoenix riseth presently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever *Gaveston* did. For now the younger *Spenser* upon a sudden grows as great a favourite of the Kings as ever *Gaveston* was: and indeed in all points just such another, equal to him in goodlines of personage, in favour of the King, and in abusing the Lords; for though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at first to be the Kings Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love: yet being once in the place, he so won upon the King by diligent service, and by complying with the Kings humour; that he brought the King at last to comply with his humour, and nothing must be done but as *Spenser* would have it. It seems it was the Kings nature, that he could not be without a bosome friend; one or other to be an *Alter idem*: and to seek to remove such a one from him, was to seek to remove him from himself; as impossible a thing as to alter nature; yet the Lords being more sensible of their own grievance, to be insulted on by a Favourite, than of the Kings grievance to be affronted by his subjects, are more intentive to work their own ends than the Kings: and therefore to remove *Spenser* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by strong hand, they continue their Arms, and confederating together, they send to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatening with all, that unless he presently perform the same, they would constrain him to it by force of Arms: and thereupon assemble strong Forces about *Dunstable*, where the King then lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of *Gloucester*, labour to appease them, and with two Cardinals sent lately by the Pope, to reform these disorders, they repair to *Saint Albans*, and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably; but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuse to receive; saying, they were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdom, whose counsel they would use, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: so the Cardinals with this answer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of England so labour the business, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King such horses, treasure and jewels, as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveston* at *New-Castle*, so as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandall* Treasurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to *Saint Albans* to receive those things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Arms, their taking and murdering *Pierce Gaveston*, and such other affronts: Whereunto with one accord they answer, that they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour; having taken Arms, not for any contempt of his royal person, but to destroy the publick enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwise would never have been done: Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of *Gloucester* seeing, they seek by all means to qualify their heat; and at length so prevailed with them, that they humble themselves to the King, and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyal subjects; grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveston*: and for the greater shew of true reconciliation, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, is made of the Kings Counsel, though shortly after he had ended his life; not without suspicion of poison; as being a man much envied by such as possessed the King. The King kept his Christmas at *Clifton*, and his Easter at *Clarendon*: and they seemed to be all good friends, but this reconciliation of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with ashes, every little wind that blew, made it break out into flames afresh; and the time being so unfertile as it was, it was impossible but such winds would continually be blowing. It was such a wind blew, when the great Earl of *Lancaster* had his wife (a Lady who had lived with him alwaies in good fame) taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, by one *Richard Saint Martin*, a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his wife, and had lien with her before the Earl married her: and this wind was made to blow the stronger, by the Ladies own confession; for upon examination, she voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ugly fellow in her right, claimed the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, which he durst not have done, if he had not been back'd with great Abettors: and it was not without aspersion upon the King himself. It was another such wind blew, when at the Feast of Pentecost, at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised, entred on horseback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he shewed of such as had done him and his Father noble services, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and such other complaints; which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the door being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in such manner, answered, It was the fashion of the Kings house in times of Festivals, to keep out

The younger Spenser in as great favour as Gaveston.

Whereupon the Lords take Arms again; and threaten the King unless he perform the Articles formerly granted.

The Lords humble themselves to the King; and the King confirms their Articles.

The Earl of Lancasters wife taken from him by a deformed dwarf.

An affront offered to the King, but put up.

out

out none that came as this woman did, to make sport. Search being made for the woman, she is found and examined who fet her on; she confessed a Knight gave her money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon examination, boldly answered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no other end, and thereupon escaped without further trouble. It was such another wind blew, when a Knight was taken passing by *Pomfret*, with Letters sealed with the Kings Seal, directed to the King of *Scots*, about murdering the Earl of *Lancaster*; which messenger is executed, his head fet upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters referred to witness the intended plot. Which whether it were feigned or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King; and made many to take the Earls part. It was such another wind blew, when a fanatic fellow, one *John Ponder*, a Tanners son of *Excester* gave forth, that himself was the true *Edward*, eldest son of the late King *Edward* the first, and by a false Nurse was changed in his cradle, and that the now King *Edward* was a Carters son, and laid in his place: but this wind was soon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar Spirit in his house in the likeness of a Cat, that assured him he should be King of *England*, and that he had served the said Spirit three years before to bring his purpose about. But most of all, it was such a wind blew, when a Baron named *William Brewis*, having waited his estate, offers to sell unto divers men, a part of his inheritance called *Powis*; *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, obtains leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it: The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those parts, not understanding, it seems, any thing of the former bargain, contract also for the same Land with the said *Sir William Brewis*: *Hugh Spenser* the younger, hearing of this sale, and the land adjoining to part of his, obtains a more special leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buys it out of their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* complains hereof to the Earl of *Lancaster*: who thereupon at *Sherbourne* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there assembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and dye together in maintaining the right of the Kingdom, and to procure the banishment of the two *Spensers*, father and son, whom they now hold to be the great seducers of the King, and oppressors of the State, disposing of all things in Court at their pleasure, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their means; and under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to *St. Albans*, they fend to the King, being then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*, (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendered the quiet of the Realm, to rid his Court of those Traitors, the *Spensers* condemned in many Articles of high treason, by the commonality of the Land; and withall to grant his Letters Patents of pardon and indemnity both to them and all such as took part with them. The King returns answer, that *Hugh Spenser* the father was now beyond the Seas, employed in his business, and his son was guarding the Cinqueports according to his office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be banished without being heard: and withall swore, he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of pardon to such notorious offenders, who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty: Which answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to *London*, and lodging in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their demands: to which at length by mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend, and by his Edict, published in *Westminster Hall*, by the Earl of *Hereford*, the *Spensers* are banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the father hearing it, keeps beyond the Seas, but the son secretly hides himself in *England*, expecting the turn of a better season. And indeed shortly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in a Council holden at *London*, pronounceth the banishment of the *Spensers* to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spensers* are called home, and set in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their desire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity, return home, but yet not with such security as to give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progress towards *Canterbury*, intended to lodge at the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to the Lord *Bedlesmer*, (who had been long the Kings Steward, but now took part with the Lords) and sending her Marshall to make ready for her and her train; they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the Queen, nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queen her self goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer; whereupon she is driven to take such lodging elsewhere as could be provided. Of which indignity she complains to the King; who took it so to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he laies siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper *Thomas Colepeper*, sends the wife and children of the Lord *Bedlesmer* to the Tower, and seisth upon all his goods and treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with success and the instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to *Chichester*; where he keeps his Christmas, and there provides for an Army against the Barons: whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their Associates, and yield themselves to his mercy: amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and means; the Lord *Hugh Audley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others: who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their company from about *Glocester*, towards the North-parts: whom the King follows with his army; wherein were the Earls of *Arbol* and *Angus*; and at *Burton upon Trent*, where they had made a head, discomfited their forces, and put

A scandalous  
forgery of  
King Edwards  
birth.

The Lords  
confederate  
again, to have  
the two *Spensers*  
banished.

1320.

The King  
answers for them.

But at last  
yields to their  
banishment.

But soon revo-  
ked.

The Queen is  
denied to lodge  
in *Leeds* Ca-  
stle.

The King re-  
venge the  
indignity.

The King pro-  
vides an Army  
against the  
Barons.

Of whom ma-  
ny submit  
themselves, yet  
are committed  
to custody.

A put them to flight. In the mean time the Earl of *Lancaster* had sent into *Lancashire* a Knight of his, named *Robert Holland*, (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the Kings part; which so disfaistes the Earl, that he began now to think of suing to the King for grace; but being in the way, at a Town called *Borough-bridge*, was there set upon by *Sir Simon Warde* Sheriff of *York*, and *Sir Andrew Harkeley* Constable of *Carlisle*, who utterly defeat his Forces: In which fight was slain the Earl of *Hereford*, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Spear into the fundament) *Sir Roger Benefield*, *Sir William Sulland* and others; there was taken the Earl of *Lancaster*, *Sir Roger Clifford*, *Sir John Mowbray*, *Sir Roger Tuckets*, *Sir William Fitz-Williams*, with divers other, and were led to *Tork*. This field was fought the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1320. It was not long after that *Sir Hugh Daniel*, *Sir Bartholomew de Baddlesmer* were taken. Three daies after the Earl of *Lancaster* is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King sitting himself in judgement with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* his brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl *Warren*, *Hugh Spenser*, lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others; sentence of death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royal blood: and beheaded he was the same day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. To speak of the Miracles said to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle, and therefore I omit them. By the like judgement were condemned the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tucket*, *Thomas Mandit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *Lord Cheyney*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, *Joceline Lord Daniel*, all which were executed at *Tork*: Shortly after, the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawn, hanged, and quartered at *London*, *William the Lord Aldenham* at *Windfor*; the Lords *Baddlesmer* and *Ashburton* at *Canterbury*; at *Cardiffe in Wales*, *Sir William Fleming*; at *Briffor*, *Sir Henry Womington*, and *Sir Henry Montford Bannet*; at *Glocester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and *Sir William Elmbridge*, principal men in principal places; to spread the terror over the Kingdom: all their estates and inheritances are confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this manner in *England* since *Williams* the Conquerour.

But not long after, the King in a calmer humour, began to have sense of the Earl of *Lancaster's* execution, which he discovered upon this occasion: some about him making earnest suit for a Pardon to one of the Earls followers; and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one word for his near kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*: who (said he) had he lived, might have been useful to me, and the whole Kingdom; but this fellow the longer he lives, the more mischief he will do, and therefore by the soul of God, he should die the death he had deserved. *Sir Andrew Harkeley*, who was the man that took the Earl of *Lancaster* prisoner, being advanced for this service to the Earldom of *Carlisle*, enjoyed his honour but a while; for the next year after, either thrust out into discontent by the *Spensers*, envying his high preferment, or combining with the *Scots*, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his honours; drawn, hanged, and quartered at *London* for Treason.

But now the King of *France* summons King *Edward* to come and do his homage for *Giscome*; and he not coming, all his Territories in *France* are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are seized on by the *French*. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common consent of all agreed, that the King should not go in person himself, in regard of the distraction of the times, but should send some special men to excuse his appearance; whereupon *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the Kings brother is sent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should go, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great variance: some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this business, which she negotiated so well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King should give to his son *Edward* the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and send him over to do his homage for them; which after many consultations, the King is wrought to yield unto; and the Prince is sent with the Bishop of *Excester* and others, to the Court of *France* accordingly; but others say, she went out of discontent, to complain to her brother the King of *France* for wrongs offered her by the *Spensers*, who had so alienated the Kings mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, a gallant young Gentleman, whom the specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of *London*, by giving his keepers (as was said) a sleeping drink. And withall, the Bishop of *Excester* perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicits the King of *France* to hasten their return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdom, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land; and withall caused all the Ports to be strongly kept; and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that the King as for love of the *Spensers*, had his minde alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of *Mortimer* had her

The Earl of  
*Lancaster* de-  
feated;

Is taken, pri-  
soner.

1321.

Is condemned  
the King him-  
self sitting in  
Judgement;  
is beheaded.

Miracles done  
by him after  
his death.

Divers Lords  
and others ex-  
ecuted.

The first blood  
of Nobility  
shed since the  
Conquest.

The King  
grieveth for  
the Earl of  
*Lancaster's*  
death.

1322.

King *Edward*  
summoned in-  
to *France*.

His Queen  
goes to excuse  
her appearance.

The reason of  
the Queens  
going uncer-  
tain.

The Queen  
stays in *France*  
for the love  
of *Roger Mor-  
timer*.

Notwithstanding  
the Kings send-  
ing for, they  
are proclaimed  
enemies to the  
State.

The Queen upon a match of her son Prince Edward with a Daughter of the Earl of Hainault is aided by him.

1326.

Coming into England many Lords resort unto her.

The King fearing the Queens forces, flies to the Isle of Lundy.

But is driven into Wales.

The Londoners favour to the Queen.

Hugh Spenser the Father executed; and most cruelly.

The King with Spenser the son, and others are taken and kept in custody.

Spenser the son hanged and quartered.

The Parliament agrees to depose the King, and set up his son.

The King is persuaded by the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, to resign his Crown to his son.

Coming to make his resignation he falls in a swoon.

The King is deposed.

mind alienated from loving the King, and therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the Kings Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into England without some good assistance: whereupon soliciting her brother the King of France he aided her with men and money, say some, but others, that he refusing to aid her, as being wrought under hand by the *Spensers* against her, she left the French Court, and went into Hainault, to the Earl of that Country, who upon a contract between her son Prince Edward and *Philippa* the Earls daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the conduct of his brother *John*: and with them and her beloved *Mortimer*, she took shipping and landed at Orwell, a Port neer unto *Harwich* in *Suffolk*: where presently came to her the Earl Marshal, *Henry* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* with the wry neck, called *Torcello*, and many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being at London, and hearing of the Queens landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly, stricken in with a great amazement; and though he had his great Counsellors the *Spensers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counsel could do him: and indeed in this case, what should he, or what could he do? to stay in London was apparent danger, for he plainly saw the Londoners to be more inclining to take the Queens part then his; and to go from London to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possessed either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends: at last the Isle of Lundy is thought of, a place plentiful of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be entered, and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many; upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of *Glocester*, the *Spensers*, and *Robert Baldock* with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and fain through *Templets* to land in *Wales*, and there in the Abbey of *Nethe* in *Glamorganshire* kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to *Oxford*, where *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford* took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*, and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the Londoners to shew their love to the Queen, seized upon *Walter Stapleton*, the good Bishop of *Excester* and Lord Treasurer of England, left Governour there by the King, and with great despite beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean time, the Queen went from *Oxford* to *Glocester*, and from thence to *Bristol*, where *Hugh Spenser* the Father was, a man of fourscore and ten years old, who is there taken, and without examination or Judgment, in most cruel manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen stayed at *Hereford* the space of a month, and then dividing her Army, she sends one part of it under the Conduct of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, and *Rice ap Powell* a Clerk to find out the King: and this *Rice* being a *Welshman*, and knowing the Country well, brought the Earl to the Monastery of *Nethe* where the King was, whom they there take together with *Spenser* the Son, *Robert Baldock*, and *Simon of Reading*. The King is by the Bishop of *Hereford* committed to the custody of the Earl of *Leicester*: where all that winter he was used no worse then was fit for a captive King, but *Edmund* Earl of *Arundell*, *John Daniel*, and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the instance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Presently after is *Hugh Spenser*, the younger who was now Earl of *Glocester*, drawn, hanged, and quartered, his head sent up to be set upon *London Bridge*, and his four quarters bestowed in several Cities. The like is done with *Simon of Reading*, but *Robert Baldock* is committed to *Newgate*, against whom, when no just cause of death could be found, there was used so much cruelty in his imprisonment, that he shortly after died.

Presently after *Christmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depose the King and set up his Son; which he hearing refused it, unless his Father would freely resign; whereupon are appointed three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgess to go to the King; in custody then at *Kensworth* the Bishops were *John* of *Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam* Tarleton Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*. But the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, getting to the King before the rest came, persuaded the King to resign his Crown to his eldest Son; craftily promising him he should have as good maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King; And contrarily threatening him, that if he did it not, the people would exclude both him and his Son too, and make a King of another Race. By these promises and threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Bishops motion; but when afterward the Bishop of *Hereford* and the other Commissioners came, and were fere in a place appointed to take his Resignation, the King coming forth amongst them in mourning Robes, upon a sudden fell down in a swoon; in whom the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, had much ado to recover life, but then the Bishop of *Hereford* rising up, delivered the cause of their coming, as the other Bishops before had done; To which the King answered, that as he much grieved his people, should be so hardened against him, as utterly to reject him; so it was some comfort unto him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the Kings house brake the Staffe of his Office; and *William Trussell* Speaker of the Parliament in the name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward of Carnarvan*. Here *Croxton* writes, that from the time of this Kings depoling, which was in *December*, to the time of his Sons Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the

Kings

A Kings Bench were stayed, and all Prisoners, arrested by Sheriffs, commanded to be set at liberty; which seems to have little probability, seeing his Son *Edward* presently upon his Depoling was received for King: But howsoever so great a Dowry was then assigned to Queen *Isabel*, that scarce a third part of the Revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his wife: And to the late King is allowed a hundred marks a month for his maintenance; with which he lived with his cousin Earl of *Leicester*, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this grieved him most of all (he said) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him: For he swore most devoutly that from the time he first saw her face, he could never like of any other Woman. By which it may appear, that neither *Graveston* nor the *Spensers* had so debauched him, as to make him false to his bed, or to be disloyal to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened against him, and conceiving he had too great Liberty under the Earl of *Leicester*, by advice of her peltilent Counsellour, *Adam* Tarleton Bishop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gurney*, and *John* Matrevers Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own custody, and to carry him whither they thought good; who thereupon take him from *Kensworth*, and carry him first to *Corf* Castle, and from thence to *Bristol*; where they shut him in the Castle; till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to *Barkley* Castle, where by the way they abused him most inhumanely, as Sir *Thomas de la More* a Knight of *Glocestershire*, in his life relateth: For to the end he should not be known, they shaved his head and beard, and that in most beastly manner; for they took him from his Horse and set him upon a Hillock, and then taking piddle water out of a Ditch thereby, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold water must serve for this time; whereat the miserable King looking sternly upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash him; and therewithal to make good his word, he presently shed forth a shewre of tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in such a manner; Many Kingdoms have been lost by the chance of War, but this Kingdom was lost before any Dice were cast; no blow struck, no batrel fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with consent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleased; for the King was not pleased to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleased to leave him his life; it was not safe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole; and therefore this was the mark now aimed at, having taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his life secretly; be the Authors of it, and not be seen in it; but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Is inhumanely used.

### Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears, there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the mindes of English Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations then in this Kings time, yet never were the Subjects minds more alienated from their King, then they were from him: Before his Coronation, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporality. In his fifth year in a Parliament at *London*, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality. In his fifteenth year was granted the sixth penny of temporal mens goods, through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, towards his Wars with *Scotland*; And more then these we read not of; but then at the defeat of the Earl of *Lancaster*, there were Confiscations that supplied the place of Taxations, by which (as one saith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE Ordained that the money of his Father, though counted base by the People, should be current. In the eighth year of his reign, by reason of a dearth which raised the price of all Victuals, it was ordained by Parliament, that an Oxe fatted with grafs should be sold for fifteen shillings, fatted with Corn, for twenty; the best Cow for twelve shillings; a fat Hog of two years old, three shillings four pence; a fat sheep shorn, fourteen pence, with the Fleeces twenty pence; a fat Goose for two pence half penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; four Pigeons a penny; whosoever fold for more, should forfeit their ware to the King: But after these rates imposed, all kind of victuals grew so scarce, that Provision could hardly be made for the Kings house; whereupon shortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market folks permitted to make the best of their wares. In this Kings time an Ordinance was made against Knights Templars, accused of Heresie and other crimes, and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendome, at one instant, being condemned in a General Council at *Vienna*. In the 14. year of his reign, on the 15. of October, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards *Tork* with the Book called *Domus Dei*, and other Records, and Provision that laded one and twenty Carts, but in half a year they were brought back again.

Price of victuals in a dearth.

Knights Templars, accused of Heresie, and committed to prison.

## Affairs of the Church in his time.

**A** Bishop arrested by the King, was rescued by the other Bishops.

**I**N the 17. year of his reign the Bishop of Hereford was arrested, accused of High Treason, for aiding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion; but he refused to answer, (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose suffragan he was, (and who he said was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the consents of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose, and humbly craved the Kings Clemency in his behalf; but finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Barre, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury: shortly after, he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops, Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, all with their Croffes erected, went to the place of Judgment, and again took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him; with which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning those Objections against the Bishop: wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions seized into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crowcher Fryers came first into England. In his time Pope John the two and twentieth, first intituted the Feast of *Corpus Christi*; begun before by Urban the fourth.

Crowcher Fryers come first into England.

## Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

Oriel Colledge in Oxford founded.

**T**His King founded Oriel Colledge, and Saint Mary Hall in Oxford: He builded a Church of Fryers at his Manour of Langley, where the soul of Gaveston should be prayed for. In this Kings twentieth year, Richard Roshing Sheriff of London, builded the Parish Church of Garlick-bith in London, Ralph Baldock Bishop of London, gave two thousand Marks to the building of the new Work of the Chappel, on the South side of Paul's Church, And left much more by his Testament.

## Casualties.

A marvailous death.

**I**N the eight year of this Kings reign, was so great a dearth, that Horses and Doggs were eaten, and Theeves in prison pluckt in pieces those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his reign, the Church of Middleton in Dorsetshire, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Matins. In this Kings time, digging the Foundation of work about Paul's, were found more then a hundred heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the opinion, that of old time it had been the Temple of Jupiter, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

## Of his Wife and Children.

**H**E married Isabel Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France, she being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threescore and three years old at Ryfings near London, was buried in the midst of Gray-Friers Quire in London. By her he had issue two Sons and two Daughters: his eldest Son named Edward of Windsor, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second Son named John of Eltham, because born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of Cornwall: he dyed in Scotland in the flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter Joan, being a child, was married in the fourth year of King Edward her brother, to David Prince of Scotland, Son to King Robert Bruce, at seven years old; who coming afterward into England to visit her Brother, dyed here, and was buried at the Gray Friars in London. His second Daughter Eleanor, was married to Reginold the second Earl of Gelder, with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds and had issue by him two sons, who were Earls successively.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

**H**E was fair of body, and of great strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets; For his other conditions, his greatest fault was, that he loved but one, for if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was yet extream in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated, be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. He was rather unfortunate then unhappy; seeing unfortunateness is in the event, unhappiness in the cause; and if his fortune had been to love good men,

**A** his own goodness would have made him happy. Two Vertues were eminent in him above all his Predecessours, Continnence, and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base illue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courtes for railing of money. They who despised him being alive, so much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

## Of his Death and Burial.

**M**Any waies were attempted to take away his life: First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well indure to eat, but this succeeded nor. Then they lodged him in a chamber over carion and dead carkasses, enough to have poysoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his window, he never endured to great a misery in all his life, but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poysons, but whether by the strength of his constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent Achitophel, the Bishop of Hereford, devised a Letter to his keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service which was expected from them: and in the end of his Letter wrote this line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself might find sufficient excuse. The Keepers guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution; they took him in his bed, and casting heavy bolsters upon him, and pressing them hard down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an iron rod hot, and through a Pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen; but though none were seen, yet some were heard; For when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. Gourney and Matrevers, his murderers, looking for reward, had the reward of murderers: For the Queen and Bishop Torleton disavowing the command, threatened to question them for the Kings death: whereupon they fled beyond Sea; and Gourney after three years, being taken in France, and sent into England, was in the way upon the Sea, beheaded. Matrevers flying into Germany, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus died this King in the year 1327. more then half a year after his depoling; when he had reigned almost 19. years, lived 43. His body was carried to Gloucester, and there without any Funeral Pomp buried in the Monastery of Saint Peter, by the Benedictine Fryers.

Waies devised to take away his life.

1327.

## Of Men of Note in his time.

**I**N this Kings time, of Martial men were many, whose Acts have been spoken of in the late Kings life. Of learned men also many, as John Duns the great Logician, called Doctor Subtilis, born in Northumberland, at Emildune a Village three miles distant from Alnwick; though both the Scots and the Irish challenge him for theirs: Robert Walsingham a Carmelite Fryer, who wrote divers Treatises; Robert Bafon born in Nottinghamshire, a Carmelite Fryer of Scarborough, whom King Edward took with him into Scotland, to write some remembrances of his victories; but being taken by the Scots, was constrained by Robert Bruce, to write Remembrances of his overthrowes; William Rishanger, a Monk of Saint Albans, an Historiographer; Ralph Baldocke, Bishop of London, who wrote a History intituled *Historia Anglica*; John Walsingham, a Carmelite Fryer, who wrote divers Treatises; Nicolas de Lyra a Jew by birth, who wrote many excellent Treatises, in Divinity; William Ockam a Fryer Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against John Duns, and also against Pope John the 23. in favour of the Emperour Lewis of Bavaria; Thomas Halsewood, a Canon of Leeds in Kent, who wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicon compendiarium*; Robert Persecurator born in Yorkshire, a black Fryer and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and last, though not least worthy to be remembered, John Mandeville, the great traveller, a Doctor of Phylick and a Knight.

John Duns called Doctor Subtilis when he lived.

John Mandeville the great traveller, when he lived.

## Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
Sir John Blunt, continued Maior.  
Nicolas Pigot, Nigelus Drury, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Richard Keffm, was Maior.  
Simon Cooper, Peter Blackney, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Nicolas Faringdon, was Maior.  
William Basing, James Butteler, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir John Gyffers, was Maior.  
Simon Metwood, Richard Wylford, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Thomas Romaine, was Maior.  
Roger le Palmer, James of S. Edmund, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir John Gyffers, was Maior.  
John Lambin, Adam Lukin, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Nicholas Farendon, was Maior.  
Robert Guden, Hugh Garton, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir John Gifford, was Maior.  
Stephen Alington, Hamond Chickwell, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Stephen de Alington, was Maior.  
Hamond Goodcheap, William Bodeleigh, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
John Wingrove, was Maior.  
William Coston, Ralph Balancer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
John Wingrove, continued Maior.  
John Prior, William Furneux, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
John Wingrove, continued Maior.  
John Pointell, John Dalling, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.  
Simon de Abington, John Preston, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Nicholas Farendon, was Maior.  
Renauld at the Conduit, Will. Frotham, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.  
Richard Constantine, Richard de Hackney, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Hamond Chickwell, continued Maior.  
John Grantham, Richard de Ely, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Nicholas Farendon, was Maior.  
Adms of Salisbury, John of Oxford Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.  
Benet of Fulham, John Cawson, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Hamond Chickwell, continued Maior.  
Gilbert Mardon, John Cawson, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Richard Brittain, was Maior.  
Richard Robbing, Roger Chauntelere, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.



Edward of Windsor, eldest son of King Edward the second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Fathers Resignation, was proclaimed King of England, on the five and twentieth day of January, in the year 1327. and because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by Henry Earl of Lancaster girt solemnly with the Sword; and on the first day of February following, was crowned at Westminster by Walter Reginold Archbishop of Canterbury: and thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custome with all succeeding Kings: that at their first coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is alwaies granted.

Anno Dom.  
1327.

King Edward  
the third  
crowned.

And because the King was under age, scarce fifteen years old (though Froysard saith he was then eighteen) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the Kingdom; namely the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Worcester; Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshal, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncles: John Earl Waren, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Pierce, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Rosse: but though these were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and Roger Mortimer took all the authority to themselves. The first action that was undertaken, was an expedition against the Scots; for Robert Bruce, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) Leprous; yet considering the youth of the new King, and the distractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit time to do some good upon England: and entering the English borders with an Army, sent defiance to King Edward: whereupon an Army is raised, and the Heynaudders, whom the Queen had brought over) are joyned with the English; but a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the action not successful. For the Kings Army encountering the Scots at Stanhope Park in VVeredal in the Bishoprick of Durham, though three times as many as the Scots, as being thirty thousand; yet through this variance, but more through treason of some great men, suffered them all to escape their hands, and the Scots returned home in safety, the English with dishonour: and after this, the English seeing the Heynaudders could do them no good, sent them away to their own Countrey. In King Edward's second year, his marriage with Philippa of Heynault is solemnised, (a dispensation being first gotten, because of their nearness in blood) and a Parliament is holden at Northampton, where the King made three Earls: John of Eltham his brother, Earl of Cornwall, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and James Butler of Ireland, Earl of Ormond: and in this Parliament a dishonourable peace is concluded with the Scots, and confirmed by a match between David Bruce Prince of Scotland, being but seven years old, and Joan sister to King Edward not so old; at which time by the secret working of Queen Isabell, Roger Mortimer and Sir James Douglas, the King surrenders all his title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of Scotland, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called Ragmans Roll, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Crofs of Scotland; and besides, any English man is prohibited to hold Lands in Scotland, unless he were a dweller there. In consideration whereof

A general pardon  
don at the  
Kings Coro-  
nation, when  
first begun.

His first action  
was an expedi-  
tion against  
the Scots, but  
without suc-  
cess; and why.

He marries  
Philippa of  
Haynault.

King Edward  
surrenders all  
his title to the  
Crown of  
Scotland.

whereof King Bruce was to pay 30000 Marks, and to renounce his claim to the Counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and any other place possessed by him in England. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at Winchester, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession, for intending to restore his brother, the late King Edward; an intention only without any fact; yet condemned he was; and brought to the Scaffold, but generally so beloved of the people, that he stood on the Scaffold from one clock till five, before any executioner could be found that would do the office, till at last a silly wretch of the Marshalsey was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves, for in the third year of the Kings reign, another Parliament is holden at Nottingham, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Pension of a thousand pounds a year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her daies, no fewer then thirty years, a time long enough to find that her being the daughter of a King, the sister of a King, the wife of a King, and the mother of a King, were glorious titles, but all not worth the liberty of a mean estate; and as for Mortimer, (lying then in the Castle of Nottingham) and lately created Earl of the Marches of Wales) he was seized on in this manner; the King taking with him William Montacute, Robert Holland, and others go secretly one night by Torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they came to the Queens Chamber, where leaving the King without, they entred and found the Queen with Mortimer, ready to go to bed: then laying hands on him, they led him forth: after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fits, yet pitié du gentil Mortimer*; good son, good son, take pity upon the gentle Mortimer, suspecting that her son had been amongst them: this course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, he having no fewer then nine score Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seized on, he is committed presently to the Tower, accused of divers great crimes, whereof these were chief; that he had procured the late Kings death; that he had been the author of the Scots safe escaping at Stanhope Park, corrupted with the gift of thirty thousand pounds; that he had procured the late marriage and Peace with Scotland, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; that he had been too familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with child: of which Articles he was found guilty and condemned; and thereupon is drawn and hanged on the common Gallows at the Elms, now called *Tiburn*, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

After these busineses in England, there comes a new busines upon him from the King of France: for about this time Philippe le Bel, King of France, the Queens brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to Charles a former King, wherein are competitors Philip Duke of Valois, and Edward King of England; Edward is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedegree by a Female: Philip the farther off, but descending by all Males; and because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females, therefore is Philip's title preferred before King Edwards; and Philip is received and crowned King of France: to which preferment of his, Robert de Artois a Peer of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as Philip was Invested in the Crown, he summons Edward to come and do his Homage for the Duchy of Guyenn, and his other lands in France, held of that Crown, according to the custome; which though it were some prejudice to King Edwards claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of England was scarce well settled, and himself but young, he was contented to do it; and thereupon the sixth of June, in the year 1329. King Edward in a Crimson Velvet Gown imbrodered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his sword by his side, and golden Spurs on his heels; presents himself in the body of the Cathedral Church of Amiens before King Philip, sitting in his Chair of Estate, in a Velvet Gown of a Violet colour imbrodered with Flowers de lys of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Viscount Melun Chamberlain of France, first commands King Edward to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of France, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: You become Leigeman to my Master here present, as Duke of Aquitaine and Peer of France, and you promise to bear faith and loyalty unto him; Say yea: and King Edward said yea, and kissed the King of France on the mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like Homage also he did for the Earldom of Ponthieu. But this act of submission left a rancour in King Edwards heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for France it had never been exacted.

This done, King Edward returns home, and there finds a new busines with Scotland, upon this occasion, Edward Balioll, son to John Balioll (sometimes King of Scotland) two and thirty years after his Fathers depolition, began now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of France, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under-hand in England, with them he suddenly assails those who had the government of Scotland, during the Nonage of the young King David, (being at that time with the King of France) and in a batel overcame them, with the slaughter of many Noble men, and thousands of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of Scotland at Scone. But notwithstanding his great defeat, King Balioll was forced to retire him into England to get more aid

1329.

Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncle beheaded; and why.

King Edward confineth his mother.

1330.

Seizeth upon Mortimer; and in what manner.

Who is hanged at Tiburn.

King Edward claims the Crown of France; but Philip of Valois is preferred; and why.

King Edward doth homage to the King of France for his Duchy of Guyenne; and the manner of doing it.

Edward Balioll is crowned King of Scotland.

A of King Edward: who now shews himself in the action, joyns with Baliol against his Brother in Law, King David; goes in person with a strong Army to recover Berwick, which after three months siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord Seton, was taken in, and the Army of the Scots which came to the rescue thereof, at Halidown-Hill, utterly defeated: where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our Writers report: as theirs, but fourteen thousand: and with this effusion of blood is Balioll returned to his miserable Kingdom, and to hold good correspondence with the King of England hereafter, doth him Homage for his Realm of Scotland; and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not quietness, for many of the Scots aided by the French, made war upon him divers years after; during all which time, King David with his wife remained in France. If any man marvel why King Edward would aid Balioll against King David, who had married his sister, he may consider that Alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the scales of State.

About this time, the Isle of Man is conquered by William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, for which service King Edward gave him the title of King of Man.

### Of his Aets after he came of age.

C And now Robert of Artois banished out of France, comes into England, whom King Edward makes Earl of Richmond, and of his Council. This Robert persuades King Edward to make war upon France, to which Crown (he said) he had more right then he that held it: with whose persuasions, King Edward is at last resolved to undertake the enterprise: and to furnish himself of noble Cheitains, he at one time in a Parliament at Westminster, the eighth year of his reign, creates six Earls, Henry of Lancaster he made Earl of Derby, William Montacute he made Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Audley Earl of Gloucester, Williams Clinton Earl of Huntingdon, and Robert Clifford or Clifford Earl of Suffolk; also twenty Knights, of whom Thomas de la Moore, who writ the life of the Kings Father, was one. Withal he sends the Bishop of Lincoln, to procure leagues of amity, with divers Princes abroad; where it is scarce worth remembering, what Froissard mentions here, that certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece of silk, and vowed to see but with one eye, till it might be seen, what great deeds of Arms they performed, but for all this vow of theirs we hear nothing of their exploits. And as the King of England laboured to procure himself friends, so likewise the King of France got to take his part, the Bishop of Leige, with the Dukes and Earls of Gelders, Juliers, Cleve, Heynalt, and Brabant, and with the Archbishops of Colen, and Valeran his Brother: John King of Bohemia, Earl of Luxemburg, Henry Count Palatine, Aubert Bishop of Metz, Otto Duke of Austria, Anne Earl of Geneva, with many other Princes and Captains out of Germany, Spain, and other Countries. King Edward thus resolved in himself, and furnished with friends abroad, goes over into Flanders with his Queen and Children, makes his residence at Antwerp; where by perswasion of the Flemings he takes upon him the Stile, Title, and Arms of the King of France; for by this they accounted themselves disobliged of the Bond of twenty hundred thousand crowns, which they had entred into, never to bear Arms against the King of France; and hereupon the League was established between them and King Edward: and from this time forward, the Kings of England quartered the Arms of France with those of England, and took upon them the name of Kings of France. And now King Edward for a beginning to put his claim in execution, sets upon Cambray, and enters France by the way of Vermandois and Thierach; on the other side King Philip seizes on the Duchie of Guienne, and sends thither the Conte d'Eu, Constable of France, with the Earls of Foix and Armigniac. At last both Armies came so near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after; but upon better consideration, the English thought it no discretion to give batel to an Army so much greater than their own, if they could avoid it; and the French thought it as little discretion for them to hazard the person of the Prince within his own Kingdom; and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by Robert King of Sicilie, a great Astronomer, that he foresaw by the Stars, some great misfortune to threaten the French, if they should that day fight with the English, King Edward being present: and thus both Armies having their several reasons to decline the batel, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened scarce worth remembering, yet must be remembered. A Hare starting out before the head of the French Army, caused a great shout to be made; whereupon, they who saw not the Hare, but only heard the shout, supposing it to be the onset of the batel, disposed themselves to fight, and fourteen Gentlemen for encouragements sake, as the custom is, were knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

G But now King Edward must a little look home, and therefore leaving the Queen in Brabant, he passeth himself into England about Candlemas, having been in Brabant about a year; and landing at the Tower about midnight, and finding it unguarded, was so much displeased, that he presently sends for the Mayor of London, commanding him to bring before him the Chancelour and Treasurer, with Sir John Saint Paul, Michael Wath, Philip Thorpes, Henry Stratford, Clergie man, (who it seems were Officers for his Receipts) and John Sconer Justice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancelour, were apprehended and committed to prison; as were afterward in like manner, divers Officers of Justice, and Accomptants, upon inquiry

King Edward aids Balioll against his brother in law King David.

1333.

The Scots defeated at Halidown-Hill.

William Montacute Earl of Salisbury hath the title given him to be King of Man.

King Edward is persuaded by Robert d'Artois to make war upon France.

1339.

The Armies of the two Kings, being near together, yet part without fighting; and why.

Knights of the Hare, why so called.

William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Clifford Earl of Suffolk, taken prisoners by the French.

of their unjust proceeding. During the Kings abode in England, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Clifford Earl of Suffolk left in Flanders to oppose the French, having performed divers great exploits, were at last in an encounter about Lille, so overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken, and sent Prisoners to Paris: Besides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King Edward's proceeding; one, that his Wives Father, William Earl of Hainault, dying, and leaving his Son to succeed, this son left his Brother King Edward, and fell to take part with the King of France; the other, that the Duke of Normandy, thinking himself as strong as ever William Duke of Normandy was that conquered England, he saw no reason but he might conquer it as well as that William; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterprise: but these were but vapours that never came to be winds, at least brought no storms: for John Earl of Hainault had quickly enough of the King of France, and was soon after reconciled to his brother King Edward; and the Duke of Normandy went no further then preparations: for indeed King Edward prosecuted his courses against France with such heat, that all the neighbouring Princes seeing a fire kindled so near their own borders, were glad to look to themselves at home. But now to impeach the King of Englands return into France, King Philip had provided a mighty Navie in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundred sail of Ships, (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing: whereof King Edward being advertized, prepares the like number of Ships, and sets out to Sea upon Midsummer Eve; is met the morrow after with a Navie likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir Robert Morley, and encounters his enemy who lay to intercept him with such force and courage, and such advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navie, took and sunk all their ships, slew thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory, (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yield, though King Edward himself was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Most of the French, rather than to endure the Arrows of the English, or be taken, desperately leapt into the Sea; whereupon the French Kings Jester, set on to give notice to him of this overthrow, (which being so ill news, none else would willingly impart unto him) said, and oftentimes repeated it in the Kings hearing; Cowardly English men, Dastardly English men, faint-hearted English men! the King at length asked him why? for that (said he) they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave French men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow: which the French attributed to Nicolas Butcher, one of their chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of base condition, (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen and sufficient soldiers, in regard they required greater wages: And indeed it often happens that the avarice of Commanders is the occasion of great defeats.

King Edward's Army of five and fifty thousand defeated, King Edward sends a challenge to the King of France, and the King of France's Answer.

By this victory King Edward gained a free entrance into Flanders, and presently went and besieged Tournay with an Army of five and fifty thousand, but was so valiantly encountered by the Duke of Burgundie and the Earl of Armignack, that they routed his Army, and slew four thousand upon the place: which so enraged King Edward, that two dayes after, he sent a challenge to King Philip to meet him in a single combat, or with an hundred against as many, before the walls of Tournay. King Philip answers, that his challenge being made to Philip de Valois, with mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of France; but he wished him to remember the Homage he had done him at Amiens, and the wrong he did to the Christian world, by his troublesome courses to hinder him from his voyage intended to the Holy-Land. Besides this answer in writing, he sends to him by word of mouth; that by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but exposed only the Dominion of another, which was against all reason: but if he would set his Kingdom of England, though much meaner, against his of France, he would then accept the challenge, and meet him in the field in single combat. But this King Edward would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, so he was circumspect to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his siege of Tournay; to the relief whereof King Philip sends all the forces he could possibly make by himself or his friends; and after the siege had continued three moneths, partly by mediation of Robert King of Sicilie, but chiefly by the Lady Jane of Valois, sister to King Philip, and mother of King Edward's wife, (who had vowed her self a Nun; but to do this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are dissolved.

After this, King Edward returning into England, was advertized how the Scots after many other places gained, had besieged the Castle of Striveling; for relief whereof, the King makes all the haste he can; and yet before he could come, it was by force of battery, compelled to render it self upon conditions. Then King Edward being at Berwick, passeth to New-Castle upon Tyne, where he stays a moneth, waiting for his provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by tempest, he makes a Truce with the Scots for three or four months, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the Scots send to King David, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own person; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of France, with whom he had remained seven years, he with his wife Joan, King Edward's sister, returns into Scotland; where, after he had been most honourably received by the Prince of Orkney, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom, as soon as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters Northumberland, passing on to New-Castle upon Tyne, where he plants his Camp. Of this Castle, John Neville was left governour by King Edward, who sending out certain companies

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

King David of Scotland enters England with an Army.

panies, took the Earl Murray prisoner, and with the slaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Castle; which so incensed King David, that he assaulted the Castle as a man enraged, but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of Durham, where he used all kinds of cruelty, first upon the Countrey, and then upon the City, killing men, women, and children, Clergy, and others; burning and destroying houses and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he passeth on to the Castle of Salisbury, which Castle belonged to William Montacute Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, but himself being then prisoner in France, only his Countess, and one William Montacute a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This William perceiving the Scottish horse to be so over-charged with pillage, that they were scarce able to go; issues out of the Castle with forty horse, sets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes sixscore, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Castle. King David soon after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King Edwards coming (who certified of these things, made all the haste he could) he retires himself from thence; and King Edward finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and visit the Countess: of whom, as soon as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more battery to her chastity, then King David had done to her Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the Scots, with whom for three daies together he had many skirmishes till at last a Truce was concluded for two years; and amongst other conditions, William Earl of Salisbury, prisoner with the King of France, was set at liberty in exchange for the Earl Murray, prisoner with the King of England.

Is repelled at the Castle of Salisbury.

King Edwards love to the Countess of Salisbury.

William Earl of Salisbury set at liberty by exchange.

About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of England and France. John Earl of Montford laid claim to the Duchy of Britain, but in the quarrel was taken prisoner by the King of France: his Lady sends to King Edward for succour; which King Edward grants upon condition that a marriage be made between his daughter Mary and the Earl of Montford's son; which being agreed on (he sends over to her aid, first, Walter de Manny a valiant Knight, and afterward Robert d'Artois; but while his Army was preparing, King Edward was informed by Edward Bayliol, the pretended King of Scotland, and Governour of Berwick, that the Scots had not kept the conditions of the Truce; whereupon King Edward draws a great Army to Berwick, with a purpose to do great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time Robert d'Artois had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countess of Montford, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Suffolk, and many other Barons; after great tempests and encounters at Sea, lands safely at last near to Vannes, which was held by the French, and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of Walter de Manny, who came unto him, after many assaults, at last he took it, to the great joy of the Countess of Montford, though she held it not long; for certain resolute French Knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the English. In which action many Lords, were slain or wounded, and particularly Robert d'Artois himself; who passing over into England, for the better curing of his wounds, soon after died, and was buried in Pauls Church in London. And now King Edward himself with a strong Army passeth over into Britain, and plants his Camp before the City of Vannes, where was like to have been a cruel battel; but in the instant, there came from Pope Clement the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of Preseste and Tusculum; who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace; amongst other conditions, this was one; that the City of Vannes should be delivered to King Philip, and thereupon John Earl of Montford should be set at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to go into Britain: which promise notwithstanding, he kept not but went presently and besieged a Town in Britain, though he were forced to retire, and died shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by Montford, was afterward absolutely broken by King Edward, though he charged the breach of it upon King Philip, and King Philip upon him: But howsoever, broken it was; and Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, with divers other Earls and Barons, is sent into France, who won many Towns in Gascoyne, and in the Counties of Perigord and Tholouse, and then went to winter at Burdeaux. And afterward, in May following, pursuing his victories, he won many more Towns; and amongst others, the great Town of Reoll. After this again, he took Montpesut, Mauore, Villefranche, and many other Towns; and at last the great City of Angoulesme, and then came to winter again at Burdeaux.

Robert Artois wounded, deth.

A peace concluded between the two Kings: but soon broken. King Edward wins many Towns in France.

### Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KING Philip informed of so many great losses, assembles a mighty Army, no less then a hundred thousand men, with which he recovers Miremont, and Villefranche, and then proceeded to besiege Angoulesme; whom the Earl Derby having not forces sufficient to encounter, King Edward (leaving for Wardens of England in his absence, the Lords Percy and Nevill) goeth himself in person with an Army (as Ercostard faith) of fourscore thousand men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of Wales, and Ireland; taking with him his son, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Guyenne, being then but of the age of fifteen years. It may be thought preposterous in King Edward, to put his son to be a Soldier before he was come to be a man; but it seems he had a longing to try his sons valour in the bud, and perhaps was loath to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at stake; but howsoever, taking him along with him,

The King of France assembles an Army of a hundred thousand men, and with them recovers some Towns.

King Edward goes in person into France, taking the Prince of Wales with him, being but fifteen years of age.

King Edward at his landing takes a fall, but takes it for a good sign.

King Edward's valiant resolution,

1346.

The battail between the two Kings at Cressy.

King Edward refuseth to send aid to his son.

Thirty thousand French slain.

him, and almost all the Lords of his Kingdom, he takes shipping, and lands at *Normandy*, where at the first setting his foot on ground, he took such a fall, that the blood gushed out at his nose; which the Barons took for an ill sign, but the King took it for a good: saying, it was a sign that the Land desired to have him: and indeed he presently took the Towns of *Harslew*, *Moulbourg*, *Carenton*, and *Saint Lo*, and afterward the City of *Caen* it self; and from thence passed to the County of *Eu*, sacked and pillaged it, as also the City of *Gyffort*, *Vernon*, *Meulan*, and *Boulebourne* to the City of *Poissy*. King Philip all this while stayed about *Paris*, as looking for King Edward to give him battel there; and for that purpose had planted his Camp near to *Saint Germans*; but King Edward deceived him: for going from *Poissy*, he passed into *Picardie* and *Ponthieu*, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then passed the River of *Somme*, though not without danger: for King Philip had sent thither *Gundemar de Fay* with a thousand horse, and six thousand foot, to stop his passage: King Edward notwithstanding resolves to pass, or perish, and plungeth foremost into the River; crying out, They who love me will follow me: at which voyce, every man strove who should go foremost, and so the shore was presently gained by the English. *Gundemar* astonished with his bold adventure, astonisheth his people with his fearful countenance: so that the English encountering the French all in disorder, put them to flight. King Philip enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it; and presently provokes King Edward to battel. King Edward had now encamped in a Village called *Cressy*, his Army consisted of thirty thousand men, which he divided into three battalies: the first was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, with whom were joynted the Earl of *Warwick*, *Geoffry of Harecourt*, *Thomas Holland*, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandos*, *Robert Neville*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand *Welsh*. In the second were the Earls of *Northampton* and of *Arundell*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Basset*, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred men at Arms, and three thousand Archers. The battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The French Kings Army was far greater, consisting of above sixty thousand combatants well armed; whereof the chief were *Charles Duke of Alanson* the Kings brother, *John of Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph Duke of Lorraine*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*; of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vaunt-guard he commits to his brother the Count de *Alanson*, the Reer to the Earl of *Savoy*, the main battel he leads himself; his heat out of confidence of victory, was so great, that it scarce permitted time for a little counsel what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised that the Army should take some repast, and that the Infantry consisting of *Genoveses* (which were above fifteen thousand Cross-bowes, and sure men) should make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanson*, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genoveses* were in the first rank, and in fury caused them to change place, which bred that discontentment, that it irritated them more against the Leader, then the enemy; besides, there fell at the instant, such a shoure of rain, as dissolved their strings, and made their Bowes of little use; and at the breaking up of the shoure, the Sun shone full in the face of the French (dazling their sight) and on the back of the English, as if all made for them. King Edward who had gotten to a Windmill, beholding as from a Sentinel, the countenance of the enemy, and discovering the disturbance made by the change of place; instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themselves; whereupon the discontented *Genoveses* recoil, which the Count de *Alanson* perceiving, he comes on with the horse, and in great rage cries out, On, on, Let us make way upon the bellies of these *Genoveses*, who do but hinder us: and instantly pricks on with a full career through the midt of them, followed by the Earls of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, and never staies till he came up to the English battail, where the Prince was; the fight grew hot and doubtful, in so much as the Commanders about the Prince send to King Edward to come up with his power to aid him. The King asks the messengers whether his Son were slain or hurt: who answering, No, but that he was like to be over-laid: well then (said the King) return, and tell them who sent you, that so long as my son is alive, they send no more to me what ever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather because the French King having his horse slain under him, and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont* was to the great discouragement of his people, withdrawn out of the field: whereof notice being once taken by the English, the day was soon after theirs, and the greatest victory they ever had yet against the French, and so bloody, as there is no mention made of any one prisoner taken in the battail, but all slain our-right; only some few troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to places near adjoining. The French King himself with a small company, got to *Bray* in the night, and approaching the walls, and the guard asking who goes there? he answered, the Fortune of *France*. By his voyce he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The number of the slain are certified to be thirty thousand: the chief whereof, were *Charles de Alanson*, *John Duke of Burbon*, *Ralph Earl of Lorraine*, *Lewis Earl of Flanders*, *Jacques Dauphin de Viennois*, son to *Imbert*, (who after gave *Dauphin* to the Crown of *France*) the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt*, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* day,

1346.

A in the year 1346. The next day, early in the mornings, being Sunday, he sent out 300 Lances, and 2000 Archers, to discover what was become of the enemy, who found great Troops coming from *Abbeville*, *Saint Requir*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoies* (ignorant of what had happened) led by the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the Prior of *France*: whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King Edward that year; there was another of no less importance gotten in *England*, by the Queen and his people at home, against the Scots; who being set on by the French, to divert the war there, entered upon this Kingdom with three score thousand men, (as our writers report) assuring himself of success, in regard (as he supposed) of the main strength thereof was now gone into *France*; but he found it otherwise: For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Umphreville*, the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Piercy*, *Ralph Neville*, *William Dayncourt*, with the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queen, who was there in person) as fighting a great battail at *Neuils Crofs* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, took *David* their King prisoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Monteth*, *Murray*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, and others; and put to the sword fifteen thousand Scots. This victory also fell upon a Saturday, six weeks after that of *Cressy*. He that took King *David* prisoner, was one *John Copland*, an Esquire of *Northumberland*, whom King Edward rewarded with five hundred pound land a year, and made him a Bannerer. And as if all concurred to make this year Triumphant, the aids sent to the Countess of *Montford* in *Brittain*, led by *Thomas Dagworth* a valiant Knight, overthrew and took prisoner, *Charles de Blois*, Pretender to that Duchy, and with him *Monsieur la Vall*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumont*, *Loyacque*; with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: Where were slain the Lord *de la Vall*, Father to him that was taken, *Vicomte Roban*, *Monsieur de Chasteau*, *Bryan de Malestrois*, *de Quintin*, *de Direvell*, besides many other Knights and Esquires to the number of seven hundred. And now King Edward without meddling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, marched on directly, and sits down before *Callice*, a Town of more importance for *England*, and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein *John de Viennes* Marshall of *France*, and the Lord *de Andreghen*, (a great man in his time) commanded: The King being to make it a Winter siege, erected for him and his people, so many houses and lodges, that it was named *New-Callice*.

D All that Winter King Edward lay without any molestation by the French King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of money; wherewith supplied at last, he raiseth an Army and approacheth *Callice*, but finds no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Haven, and possit all other waies that were passable; and the *Flemings* his friends had besieged *Aire*; to oppose whom, *John Duke of Normandy* is sent for out of *Guyenne*: who departing, leaves *Henry of Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, Master of the Field, and he having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of *Xaintoigne*, and *Poiston*; and in the end besieged and sacked *Poitiers*, and then returns to *Bordeaux*, with more pillage then his people could well bear: Thus the English prosper every where, and the French suffer. During this siege of *Callice*, (in which some think King Edward first used Guns) the *Flemings* send to King Edward, to make a marriage between his Daughter *Isabell* and their Lord, the young Count *Lewis*; to which the King consented, but the Duke of *Brabant* gets the King of *France*, to make the match for a Daughter of his; The *Flemings* prefs their Lord with the match of *England*; but he absolutely refuseth it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This answer so incensed the *Flemings*, that they put their Lord in Prison, till with long durance he at last consented; and thereupon King Edward and his Queen, with their Daughter *Isabell*, come over to *Berghes*, and there the young Earl is affianced to her; but returning afterwards into *Flanders*, as soon as he found opportunity, he went to King Philip, and left his affianced Lady unmarried; and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*. But all this while the siege of *Callice* was continued; and King Philip not being able to come to relieve it, solicits King Edward to appoint some place of battail, and he would meet him. But King Edward returns answer, that if he would make his own way, to come thither to him, there he should find him, but from thence he would not part; having lain there so long to his great labour and expence, and being now so near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing, so as the French King was forced to break up his Army and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Callice* to the mercy of the Besieger: which when the Town understood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein received this final answer, that fix of the chief Burgeses should be sent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their shirts, with halsters about their necks, the keys of the Town and Cattle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will; the rest he was content to take to mercy. This seemed a hard condition and much difficult; who should be those six: but one rising up, and out of love to his Countrey offering himself to be one, the six were soon made up; for now by his example every one strove to be of the number: who presenting themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to death. Great supplication was made by his Lords for their lives, but the King would not be drawn to alter his sentence, till the Queen, great with childe, fell on her knees, and with tears obtained pardon for them; which done, she caused them to be clothed,

The Scots in King Edward's absence, with an Army of three score thousand invade *England*.

But are defeated, and David their King taken prisoner.

John Copland who took King David prisoner, is rewarded by King Edward with 500 L. land a year.

King Edward sits down before *Callice*.

When Guns first used.

*Callice* desires a Parle.

King Edward requires six of their chief Burgeses to bring the keys of the Town to him with halsters about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death.

But at the Queens intercession spares them.

and besides a good repast, gives to every one of them six Nobles a piece. But though the King in this sentence shewed severity, yet in an Act before he had shewed mercy; For when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unuseful persons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates; he forced them not back again as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their store; but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence a piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Town of Calice gotten, the third day of August, in the year 1347. after eleven months siege, and continued afterward in possession of the English two hundred and ten years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Priest, and two old men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: and a Colony of English, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of London, is sent to inhabit it; the King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queen was brought a bed of her Daughter Margaret. The King made Governour of the Town Amery of Pavia a Lombard, whom he had brought up from his Infancy, and then with his Queen returns into England; at which time the Princes Electours send to signify, that they had chosen him King of the Romans, but the King refused to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and scarce comparable with his State at home.

After this, Truces were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the space of two years, in which time, Geoffry de Charmy Captain of Saint Omers, agreed with Amery of Pavia, whom King Edward had left Governour of Calice, to render it up for twenty thousand Crowns: which King Edward hearing of, sent to Amery, and charged him with this perfidiousness, whereupon Amery comes to the King, and humbly desiring pardon, promiseth to handle the matter so as shall be to the Kings advantage; and thereupon is sent back to Calice. The King, the night before the time of agreement arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Archers: Monsieur de Charmy sets out likewise the same night with Saint Omers with his forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crowns to Amery: the men are let in at a Potern Gate, the Crowns received; and assured to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter Monsieur de Charmy: who perceiving himself betrayed, defended himself the best he could, and put King Edward to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be known there in person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord Walter Manny, and was twice beaten down on his knees by Monsieur de Riboumont, a hardy Knight, (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took Riboumont prisoner. Charmy was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new year) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave Riboumont in honour of his valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himself wore on his head (for a new years gift) forgave him his ransom, and set him at liberty. But the English not long after, in the like practise, had better success, and got the Castle of Guynes, (a piece of great importance near Calice) for a sum of money, given to one Beaconroy a French man. Of which Castle when the French King demanded restitution in regard of the Truce, King Edward returns answer, that for things bought and sold between their people, there was no exception; and so held it.

About this time Philip King of France died, leaving his Son John to succeed him; in the beginning of whose reign, Humbert Prince of Dauphin, dying without Issue, made him his Heir, and thereupon Charles King John's Son was created the first Dauphin of France: from whence it grew to be a custom, that the King of France his Heir should always be called Dauphin of France. About this time also the Duke of Lancaster was to perform a combat, upon a challenge with a Prince of Bohemia; but when they were entered the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, King John interposed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings; the Prince of Wales being now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into Gascony with a thousand men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of Welshmen, and in June following he sets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, the Lord Chandos, the Lord James Audley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Francis Hall, with many others. About Michaelmas following, the King himself passeth over to Calice with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, Lionel of Antwerp, now Earl of Ulster, in right of his Wife, and John of Gaunt Earl of Richmond. There met him at Calice of Mercenaries out of Germany, Flanders, and Brabant, a thousand men at Arms, so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on horse-back, besides Archers on foot. The City of London sent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of France would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had so disturnished the Countrey of all provisions, that the King of England was forced to return. King Edward solicited by the King of Navarre to aid him against the King of France, sends over the Duke of Lancaster with four thousand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters Guienne, passeth over Languedoc to Toulouse, Narbonne, Burges, without any Encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroys where he goes, and laden with booties returns to Bordeaux. The French King thus assailed on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in Normandy, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawn of force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of Wales, who was come up into Tourayne, against whom he brings his whole Army,

A Army, consisting of above threescore thousand: whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being six for one) was advised to retire again to Bordeaux. But the French King to prevent this course follows; and within two Leagues of Poitiers, harries him at a great advantage: at which instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the French King supposing he had his enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages, and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he said he stood accountable to his Father, and to his Countrey. But the French King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himself sure of victory: and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince: who seeing himself reduced to this straight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impeter and intangle the French Horse, which he saw were to come furiously upon him. The success answered his expectation, for the Cavalry of his Enemies upon their first assault were so wrapped and encumbered amongst the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the French King to give the honour of the day to his Cavalry, employed them only without his Infantry; so as they being disordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this battle were taken prisoners King John himself, with his youngest Son Philip, by Dennis de Morbecque, a Knight of Artois; Jacques de Bourbon, Conte de Ponthieu; the Archbishop of Sens; John de Artois; Conte de Eu; Charles de Artois; his brother Conte de Longueville; John de Melun; Count de Tankerville; the Counts of Vendosme, Vaudemont, Estampes, Salisburg, Dampmartin and La Roche; also John de Ceintrey, accounted (as Froissard saith) the best Knight of France, with many other Lords, besides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen; inasmuch as the Conquerours holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The French who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this battle, a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannerets: the most eminent Peter de Bourbon, the Duke of Ardenne, Countable of France, Jehan de Clermont Marthal, Geoffry de Charmy, high Chamberlain; the Bishop of Chulms, the Lord of Landas, of Pons, and of Chamblay. There escaped from this battle three of the French Kings Sons, (for he brought them all thither) Charles Prince Dauphin; Louis after Duke of Anjou; and John Duke of Berry; all great actors in the time following. The special great men of the English in this fight, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, Stafford; the Lords Cobham, Spenser, Barkley, Basset: of Gascony, Le Capital de Beuff; the Lords, Pymper, Chamouin, and others. The Lord James Audley won honour both by his valour, and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks Fee-simple in England, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires; whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? he answered, that these men had deserved the same as well as himself, and had more need of it: with which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.

E But here great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King John prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims, till they came into England; where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King John's own testimony, that one Sir Dennis Morbecque of Saint Omers had taken him prisoner: for which service the Prince rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

And now, though King John had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a Noble enemy; for Prince Edward used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the battle, which was fought the nineteenth day of September, in the year 1357. Prince Edward leads King John and the captive Lords, to Bordeaux, where he retains them till the Spring following; but sends present news of this victory to his Father: who thereupon causeth a general thanksgiving all England over eight dayes together: and in May following, King John being brought over with the Prince, then brought over by him, is lodged at the Savoy, a Palace belonging to Henry Duke of Lancaster, and the fairest at that time about London. And King Edward, as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his Prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen Joan, sets her Husband David King of Scots at liberty, after he had been prisoner in England eleven years, but not without paying a ranfome, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of England and France, and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded: King Edward requires the Duchies of Normandy and Guyenne, the Counties of Poitou, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, with all their appurtenances as large as King Richard the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King John (weary of imprisonment) assents and seals, but the Dauphin and Council of France utterly reject it: whereupon King Edward in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of France; and leaving his younger Son Thomas Governour of his Kingdom at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred sail, and taking all the great Lords of the Realm with him, he

John King of France, with an Army of six thousand opposed the Prince of Wales, at Poitiers.

The Princes policy.

King John himself with many great Lords taken prisoners.

The Lord James Audley his valour and his bounty.

1357.

A Thanksgiving all England over eight dayes together. King John is brought over and lodged at the Savoy. David King of Scots, after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty. The Dauphin and Council of France not yielding to King Edward's demands, he passeth with an Army over into France.

1347.

Calice after eleven months siege, yielded up to King Edward.

King Edward is chosen King of the Romans; but refuseth it.

1349.

Amery of Pavia Governour of Calice is bribed to betray it. But gets the bribe and yet keeps the town.

King Edward, twice beaten down on his knees by Monsieur de Riboumont; yet at last takes him prisoner. He rewards Riboumont for his valour.

1350.

The French Kings eldest son to be Dauphin of France, whence it began.

1355.

The Prince of Wales is sent into Gascony.

He marcheth  
up to Paris.

King Edward  
would hearken  
to no condi-  
tions of Peace,  
till terrified by  
thunder and  
lightning.  
Articles of  
Peace between  
the two Kings  
of England  
and France.

King John af-  
ter five years  
imprisonment  
is released.

Edward Prince  
of Wales mar-  
ries the Coun-  
tess of Kent,  
and keeps his  
Court at Bur-  
deaux.

1362.

King John  
comes into  
England.

And here falls  
sick, and dieth.

1367.

Prince Edward  
makes a jour-  
ney into Spain,  
to aid Peter  
King of Ca-  
stille, and re-  
ceives his King-  
dom for him.  
But is ill re-  
warded.

passeth over to Calles, dividing his Army into three battles, whereof one he commits to the Prince of Wales, another to the Duke of Lancaster, and the third he leads himself; and first marching through Picardy, where he takes in many Towns; he plants his liege afterward before Rheims; but having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of Sens and Nevers; the Duchy of Burgoyne redeems it self from spoil, with paying two hundred thousand Florens of gold: then he marcheth up to Paris, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the order of Knighthood: but when Sir Walter de Manny had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the Dauphin would by no provocations be drawn out to battel; he raiseth his siege, and returns into Britain to refresh his Army, from thence he marcheth towards Charvres with a purpose to besiege that City, and though great offers were made him by the French, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestness to accept them, yet neither they, nor the Duke of Lancaster's persuasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of hail with Thunder and Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning, as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the French King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at a Treaty of Brignay near to Chartres, upon these Articles: that the Feifs of Thouars, and Belleville, the Duchy of Guyenne, comprising Gascoyne, Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, Rhodes, Angoulême, and Rochell, together with the Counties of Guynes and Callice, and some other places with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, should be to the King of England, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of gold; whereof six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after: and for this the King of England, and his Son the Prince of Wales, for them and their Successors for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of France, the Duchy of Normandy, the Countries of Touraine, Anjou, Mayne, the Homage and Sovereignty of Brittain, and the Earldom of Flanders; and within three weeks King John to be rendred at Callice, at the charge of the King of England, except the expences of his house: For assurance of which accord, should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of France for Hostages. The Scots not to be aided by the French King, nor the Flemings by the English. This accord and final Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, Edward and Charles, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered to King Edward, who brought them into England; and thereupon King John is honourably conducted to Callice, after he had remained prisoner in England near about five years: but being come to Callice, he was detained there above three monthes, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided: and for providing the rest he was put to hard shifts, being fain to give the Jews leave to dwell in France for twenty years; paying twelve Florens a man at the entry, and six every year after. At this time the Prince by dispensation, marries the Countess of Kent, daughter to Edmund, brother to Edward the second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of Aquitain, he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent: and not long after, with the Princess his wife, he passeth over into France, and keeps his Court at Burdeaux.

This was now the year 1362. and the fiftieth year of King Edward's age, wherein for a Jubilee, he shews himself extraordinarily gracious to his people; freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into England: John King of France, Peter King of Cyprus, and David King of Scots. The King of Cyprus came to solicit King Edward to joyn with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only royal entertainment and excuses. The King of Scots came for business and visitation, but why the King of France came is not so certain, whether it were about taking order for his Hostages, or to satisfie King Edward for breach of some Articles, or else for love to the Countess of Salisbury; or perhaps out of a desire to let England see his Majesty, being at liberty, which had been darkened before by the cloud of captivity; but whatsoever the cause of his coming was, the cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying than he meant) was a mortal sickness, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the Savoy) in March or April following he died; and his body conveyed over into France, was buried at Saint Denis with his Ancestours.

The Prince of Wales was now grown famous all the Christian world over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to flie for succour: for which end there came at this time to his Court, James King of Majorque; and happened to come at a time when the Princess lay in; and thereupon he and Richard King of Navarre were taken to be Godfathers to his Son Richard: For the like assistance also, there came at the same time to him, Peter King of Castille, driven out of his Kingdom by the French, in favour to Peter King of Aragon: and Prince Edward, partly out of charity to succour a distressed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keep his Souldiers in exercise; undertakes the enterprize, and was so prosperous in it, that with one battel (having but 30000 against a 100000) he put King Peter in possession of his Kingdom though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the ungrateful King would not so much as pay his Souldiers; and it is memorable which Froissard writes; that of the enemies were slain and drowned above 2000. and of the Princes party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory, yet he brought back with him such an indisposition of body, that he

was

A was never thoroughly well after: not perhaps by poyson, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of Lancaster, though both were suspected; but there were causes of dissembling him enough besides, the Countrey, the season, the action it self; and it may be more marvelled that his Souldiers came home so well, then that he came so ill; but howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind: for not having means to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not chuse but see, and feeling, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Countrey, and thereupon how the Countrey murmured against him; and now to stop this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Bishop of Rhodes, devised a new imposition, of leaving a Frank for every Chimney, and this to continue for five years to pay the Princes debts: but this imposition made the murmuring the more; for though some part of his Dominions, as the Poitevins, Xaintons, and Limousins in a sort consented to it, yet the Count of Armignack, the Count of Comminges, the Viscount of Carmagn, and many others so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of France, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be just, he thereupon by advice of his Councel, summons Prince Edward to appear in person to answer the complaint: whereunto Prince Edward made answer, that if he must needs appear, he would bring three score thousand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against Paris, if he had not fallen into symphones of a Droplie which (Walsingham faith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this answer of the Prince, King Charles sends defiance to King Edward, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The French enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeats divers of his Troops; in revenge whereof John Chandos the Princes Lieutenant assaults Terriers in the Province of Tholouse, and takes it. The Count of Perigord assaults Royanville in Quercy, and put all the English to the sword: in revenge whereof James Audley Seneschal of Poitou, assaults the City of Broiss, and takes it. In the mean time Robert Knols by some called Robin, and by others Arnould, or Reynould Knoll, had drawn Ferdinand de Albert to the party of the English; and thereupon went and encamped before the Fort of Darcenell in Quercy, which John Chandos understanding, went also and joyned with him in the siege; but finding they could do no good there, they removed and besieged the City of Damme: and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of Froyns, Rochevandon, and villefranche; and that done, returned to the Prince at Angoulesme. At the same time the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, having spent nine weeks at the siege of Boreille, at last took it; but other Captains of the English did yet more, for they scaled Belleperche in the Province of Bourbon, where the Mother of the Duke of Bourbon, and the Queen of France was, and take her prisoner.

About this time, Philippa Queen of England, King Edward's Wife died, and was buried at Westminster; but this hindered not the proceeding of the English in France; the Earl of Pembroke enters Anjou, where he takes many Towns: the Duke of Lancaster doth the like about Callice, and marching forward, plants his Camp before Harfleur, with a purpose to burn the King of France his Navy, but being watched by the Count Saint Poll, was forced to forbear that design; and so passing other waies, and spoiling all the places where he passed, he returned to Callice. Winter now was drawing on, and John Chandos desiring to recover the Abby of Saint Silyn in Poitou, which not long before had been betrayed to the French; was in the enterprize discovered, and being assaulted by greater Forces, was slain in the place, to the great grief of the Prince of Wales, and of the English Lords: but dying without issue, his Estate, which amounted to four hundred thousand Franks, came to the Prince. At this time the Dukes of Anjou and Berry, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of Wales; whereof the Prince advertised, affembles Forces to oppose them: but when the news was brought him of the taking of Limouges, he was so much troubled at it, by reason the Bishop of that place was his Gossp, and one in whom he specially had affiance; that he resolved to recover it at any price, and not to spare a man that had any hand in rendring it up: and thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to sack and pillage it, and would not be stayed by the cries of the people, calling themselves down at his feet; till passing through the Town, he perceived three French Captains, who themselves alone had withstood the assault of his victorious Army, and moved with the consideration of their valour, he then abated his anger; and for their sakes, granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is vertue even in an enemy, respected by generous minds. In the mean time David King of Scots died without issue; and Robert Stewart his Nephew succeeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at Scone. At this time Robert Knolls with a great Army is sent into France, where making many attennps, with valour enough, but with little success, he was coming home, though with no gain, yet with no loss: till Bertrand de Guisclhyn assaulting him, slew the most part of his men; and so this great Army on a sudden came to nothing. It seems Knolls his action was the less successful, by reason of some young Lords that went with him, scornful to be under his command, as being now a new man, and risen from a low estate, were refractory to his directions: And indeed what can a General do, if he have not as well reputation of person, as of place?

And now the Prince of Wales, his eldest Son Edward dying at Burdeaux, the Prince with his Wife, and other Son Richard, came over into England; at which time the valiant Knight Walter de Manny died at London, and was buried in the Monastery of the Chartreux which he had builded; leaving one only Daughter, married to John Earl of Pembroke. This Earl of Pembroke was soon after sent Governour into Aquitain, but set upon by the way by Spaniards in

N 3

The Prince  
neverthroug-  
hly well after  
this journey.

Prince Edward  
summoned by  
the King of  
France, what  
answer he  
makes.

The two Kings  
enter into  
Arms, and in-  
terchangeably  
take Towns.

Queen Philip-  
pa dieth.

Valour respec-  
ted in an En-  
emy.

Robert Stewart  
crowned King  
of Scotland.

1371.

Sir Walter de  
Manny dieth.

favour

1372.

The Earl of Pembroke being taken Prisoner, the Princes Dominions in France fall soon away.

1373.

The Duke of Lancaster is sent over with an Army of thirty thousand; but scarce six thousand returned home.

Edward Prince of Wales died.

1376.

A Parliament called, to which of Clergy men were summoned only four Bishops and five Abbots.

Subsidies are demanded by the King; And redress of grievances are demanded for the Subject. Hereupon the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Pierce are banished the Court, but soon revoked. Defrauding of Soldiers punished with death.

Winchester Bishop forbidden to come to the Parliament called the good Parliament. Alice Pierce her insolent carriage. Richard of Burdeaux is created Prince of Wales, and published her apparent of the Crown. Fourteen hundred Towns offered for Calice.

favour of the French, was by them taken prisoner, and carried with others into Spain: who being chained together, as the manner is, one Evans a Welsh Fugitive, who gave himself out for the right Heir of Wales, came upon him, foolishly playing upon him with scornful language, as though to insult over another mans misery, could serve for a cordial to mitigate his own. And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Princes Dominions in France, are either taken away, or fall away faster then they were gotten; *Gueschlyn* enters *Poitou*, takes *Montmorillon*; *Chauvigny*, *Lusack*, and *Moncontour*: straight after follows the countrey of *Aunis*, or *Xantaigne*, and the rest of *Poitou*; then *Saint Maxent*, *Neele*, *Aulnai*, then *Benaon*, *Marant*, *Burgers*, *Fontency*, and at last they came to *Tonouras*, where the most part of the Lords of *Poitou*, that held with the Prince were assembled; at which time King Edward, with the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and all the great Lords of England, set forward to their succour, but being driven back by tempest, never came to give them assistance, so as *Thonouras* yielded upon composition. Yet did this preparation of the King stand him in nine thousand Marks; that it may be truly said, it cost him more now to lose Towns, then it had cost him before to win them; so great odds there is between the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this, the Duke of Lancaster is sent over with another great Army, who passed up into many parts of the Countrey, but King Charles resolved to hazard no battle; saying, They were but clouds, and would soon pass away; yet so watched him, that what with light skirmishes, and what with scarcity of victuals, his Forces were so diminished, that of thirty thousand which went out of Calice, there scarce returned six thousand home: which made King Edward say of this King Charles, that he did him more mischief sitting still, then his Predecessors had done with all their stirring. And now by this time all *Poitou* is lost, and all *Aquitain* also, but only *Burdeaux* and *Baion*: when the Archbishop of *Roan* and others are sent from Pope Gregory the eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings; but each of them standing upon high terms of conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three years together. In which time Edward Prince of Wales died, and with him we may say, the Fortune of England; for a Prince so full of virtues, that he left no place for any vice; and if he had lived in the Heroick times, might well have been numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument standeth. King Edward in his seven and fortieth year called a Parliament at *Westminster*, which lasted but eight daies; and to which were summoned by Writ, of Clergy men only four Bishops, and five Abbots.

### Of King Edward's Acts after the death of the Prince.

IN the time of the Princes sickness, King Edward calls a Parliament at *Westminster*; in which when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for redress of grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of Lancaster the Lord Latimer then Lord Chamberlain, Dame Alice Pierce the Kings Concubine, and one Sir Richard Starry might be removed from Court: And this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir Peter de la Moore, that the King rather then not to be supplied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former places.

About this time exemplary justice was done upon Sir John Midseforth Knight, who was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tilburn* for Treason, by him committed, in defrauding Souldiers of their wages.

About this time the Duke of Lancaster, being at *Burdeaux*, and hearing of the death of Prince King of Castile; whom Prince Edward had vested in his Kingdom; and that he left only two daughters, the Heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of *Gascoine*, for their safety: he sent and caused them to be brought to *Burdeaux*, and there himself married the elder sister *Constance*: in whose right he afterward took upon him the title of King of Castile and *Leon*: and not long after his younger brother, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, married the younger sister *Isabel*.

It was now the fiftieth year of Edward's Reign, and he for another Jubilee, grants another general pardon to his Subjects, only William Pickham Bishop of Winchester is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of Lancaster, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects; for Sir Peter de la Moore at the suit of Alice Pierce, is committed to perpetual imprisonment at *Fotheringham*, though within two years after, by importunate suit of friends, he regained his liberty. This Alice Pierce presuming upon the Kings favour, grew so insolent, that she intermeddled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices; where she herself would sit, to countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of Lancaster is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the affairs of the Kingdom; but King Edward to prevent the mischiefs, which by disordering the succession, might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon Richard of Burdeaux; creating him first Earl of Chester and Cornwall, and then Prince of Wales, and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath, to accept him for their Kings, as his lawful Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean time a Treaty was had about a marriage between this Prince Richard, and Mary a daughter of Charles King of France: and an offer was made to King Edward, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in *Aquitain*, upon condition he would render Calice, and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, King Edward died.

### Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at London, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a Tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at Northampton, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasure as was committed to Churches through England for the Holy War, is taken out for the Kings use, towards his Wars with France. The next year after, all the goods of three orders of Monks, *Lombards*, *Cluniacks*, and *Cistercians*, are likewise seized into the Kings hands: and the like subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth year, (and as some write, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at Northampton, is granted by the Laity, one half of their Wool, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wool by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at London, is granted him for custome of every sack of Wool, forty shillings, for every three hundred Wool Fells forty shillings, for every Last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises according to the rate: the same to endure from that Easter to the Whitsuntide twelve Month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of goods; of foreign Merchants and others, a fifteenth, of Husbandmen, the ninth sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply he had Loans of divers persons; and the City of London lent twenty thousand Marks. For the Grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all americiations for transgressions in his Forreits, Reliefs and Scutage to the first time of his going into Flanders, besides all aids for the marriage of his sons and daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewise confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at London, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity; Besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities, and all of five pounds to ten of Lay Fee, were appointed to find an Archer on horseback; of twenty five, a Demy lance; and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the *Floren*, of base alloy for the Kings benefit, towards his wars in France, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metal coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his nine and twentieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every Sack of wool, for six years next ensuing; by which Imposition, it was thought, the King might dispend a thousand Marks Sterling a day, the vent of Wool was so great in that time; but that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ransome he had in his four and thirtieth year, of the King of France, three millions of crowns of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens, their Houses, Lands, and Tenements, for the maintenance of his French Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then restored them again. In his six and thirtieth year was granted twenty six shillings eight pence, for transportation of every sack of Wool for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign, in a Parliament at Westminster, the Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds to be paid the same year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by setting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen shillings upon every Parish, which were found in the thirty seven Shires to be eight thousand and six hundred, and so came in the whole to fifty thousand, one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but 181 li. was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonshire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament, is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year a Subsidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince Richard, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of Lancaster had brought into the Parliament of purpose to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandises sold, for one year; and one pound of silver for every Knights Fee, and of every Fire-house, one penny; but in stead of this Subsidie, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every person, man and woman within the Kingdom, above the age of fourteen years, should pay four pence, (those who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parson beneficed, and of all other Religious persons four pence; a mighty aid, and such as was never granted to any King of England before.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE instituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cause is not certain; the common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as some say) of the Lady Joan Countess of Salisbury, slipping off in a Dance, King Edward stooped, and took it up; whereat some of his Lords that were present, smiling, as at an amorous action, he seriously said, it should not be long ere Sovereign honour should be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the French Motto, *Honi soit qui maly pense*; therein checking, his Lords sinister suspicion. Some conjecture that he instituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word Garter, for the word or sign: and some again are of opinion, that the institution

Men rated to find Souldiers.

Three millions of Crowns of gold paid to King Edward, by the King of France.

Eight thousand six hundred Parishes in England.

A Subsidy demanded of a new nature.

Every person above 14 years old pay four pence.

The order of the Garter instituted, and whereupon.

of

The great Officers of the Kingdom chosen by Parliament.

All Pleas in Law were first ordained to be made in English. Purveyors to take up nothing but for ready money. Householders appointed what meat they should eat. Whores to wear their garments reversed. Dukes first created. New Coyns ordained.

No wooll to be transported. Peter-pence forbidden to be paid to Rome.

A difference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King.

of this order is more ancient, and begun by King Richard the first, but that this King Edward adorned it, and brought it into splendour. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty six, whereof the King himself is alwaies one, and President; and their Feast yearly celebrated at *Windfor* on Saint *Georges* day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a book of purpose. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he was earnestly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed; and that the great Officers of the Kingdom should (as in former times) be elected by Parliament: to which Petition, though the King at first stood stiffe upon his own election and Prerogative; yet at last (in regard to have his present turn served, (as himself after confessed) he yielded that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to do justice to all men in their Offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked.

This King also caused all Pleas, which were before in French, to be made in English, that the Subject might understand the course of the Law. Also in his time an Act was passed for Purveyours, that nothing should be taken up but for ready money upon strict punishment. In the next Parliament holden the seven and thirtieth year of his Reign, certain sumptuary Laws were ordained both for apparel and diet; appointing every degree of men, the stufte and habits they should wear, prohibiting the wearing of gold and silver, silks and rich furs to all, but eminent persons. The labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what meats he should eat. Also in his time at the instance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Where should wear any Hood, except striped with divers colours; nor Furs, but Garments reversed the wrong side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes; of whom *Henry of Bullingbrook*, Earl of *Lancaster*, created Duke of *Lancaster*, in the seven and twentieth year of his reign, was the first. But afterward he erected *Cornwall* also into a Duchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldest Son used alwaies to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. This King also altered moneys, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to pass according to the former value. Before his time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles, with the small pieces of silver called *Sterlings*; but now Groats of four pence, and half Groats of two pence, equivalent to the Sterling money, are coyned, which inhaunced the prizes of things, that rise or fall, according to the plenty or scarcity of coyn; which made Servants and Labourers to raise their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the former rate. Also an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Wears, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindering the passage of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessels should be removed; which though it were most commodious to the Kingdom, yet it took little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their own private, then the publique benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth year of his Reign, it was enacted that no Wooll growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in *England*. *Peter-Pence* are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to *Rome*; but yet in many Shires of *England* are gathered to this day; saith *Fabian*. The custome of washing poor mens feet on *Maundy-Tuesday*, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of *London*; and ordained that the Maior for the time being, should sit in all places of judgement, within the liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the Kings person only excepted; and that every Alderman that had been Maior, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of *London*, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defend the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be seized into the Kings hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that *Southwark* should be under the rule of the City, and the Maior to choose a Bayliffe there, as he liked: He also granted to the Citizens of *London*, that the Officers of the Maiors and Sheriffs, should from that day forward use Maces of silver parcel-gilt.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

King Edward upon some displeasure, had imprisoned divers Clergy-men; whereupon *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury* writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of *Magna Charta*; and after much good counsel given him, threatens, that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiastical authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, charging the Archbishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first set him upon the war with *France*; assuring him he should want no money, and now had been the hinderance, that moneys given him by Parliament, were not duly levied: and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporal authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this difference between them

them was not long after, upon the Archbishops submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his employing almost none but Clergy-men in all his Offices of account; *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancellor of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Keeper of the Privy Seal; *David Wiler* Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; *William Mulse* Dean of Saint *Martins le Grand*, chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; *William Auby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of Saint *Martin*, Clerk of the Privy Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of Saint *Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings House; *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundell*, Master of the Kings Wardrobe; *John Nennham* Parson of *Fenny-stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; *John Rousby* Parson of *Harwick*, Surveyor and Comptroller of the Kings works; *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asby*, Treasurer to the King, for the part of *Guineas*, and the Marches of *Calice*; *John Troy* a Priest, Treasurer of *Ireland*.

In the sevenyenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, complaint is made of the great inconvenience, that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in *England*; conferring them upon strangers: who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a flock they could not feed; and hereupon Sir *John Shurdich* is sent to Pope *Clement* the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signify his consent therein: but this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his silence for consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, preferre or admit any such person, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline; but towards the end of his reign there fell a disturbance in matter of Doctrine, for a certain Divine named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders; and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called *Lollards*) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Rustler; amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King, nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men, and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*; and others. This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Percy* Marshal, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so faire to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions; whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop; the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chappel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him; It was against all Law and Reason, that he who was there cited, before his Ordinary should sit. Hereupon contumelious words arose between the Lord Marshal and the Bishop; the Duke takes the Marshals part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop; the Bishop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great rage swore he would pull down the pride of him, and of all the Bishops of *England*; and whispering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, then to suffer such indignities; which words the *Londoners* over-hearing, swore with a loud voice they would rather lose their lives then suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their fury was the more against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the Kings name; that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City, and that the Lord Marshal of *England* should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. The morrow after the Citizens assembling to consult of this business, it happened the Lord *Fitz-water*, and *Guido Bryan*, came into the City; which the people seeing, furiously ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord *Fitz-water* protested, he came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to the injuries offered to them, as to himself; and therefore willed them, to look to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Arms, assail the Marshals Inn, break open the Gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Givens, and set him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshal, who with the Duke, was that day to dine with one *John de Tyres*. Then this furious multitude ran to assail the *Savoy*; which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hatts to the place where his Lord dined, and acquaints him with this uproar in the City: The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shins on the founn; and with Sir *Henry Percy* alone takes boat; and goes to *Kennington* near *Lambeth*, where the Princess with the young Prince lay: to whom he complains of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the mean time the multitude coming to the *Savoy*, a Priest inquisitive to know the business, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshal, and compel them to deliver Sir *Peter de la Mare*, unjustly kept in prison. The Priest replied, that Sir *Peter* was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged: At which words they all cried out, This is *Piercy*, This is the Traytor of *England*,

All the great Offices of the Kingdom in the hands of Clergy men.

The Pope restrained from conferring of Benefices in *England*.

*John Wickliffe* bringseth in new Doctrin.

Whom the Duke of *Lancaster* favours.

Whereupon a great contention between the Duke and the Bishop of *London*.

The *Londoners* take the Bishops parts and set upon the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s house.

his speech bewrayes him, though his apparel be disguised, and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Bishop of London hearing of this outrage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the Savoy, admonisheth them of the holy time being Lent: assuring them all should be fairly ended for the good of the City: with whole persuasions they were somewhat pacified; but yet they took the Dukes Arms, and hung them up reversed, in sign of Treason; in all the principal streets of the City. Upon the Princesses advice, the chief Citizens send to the sick King, to excuse this tumult; saying it was not in their power to suppress it, the Commonalty being in commotion; upon an information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to infringe their Liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not dowrt with the Duke, till he had pulled down some of the principal of them; for he caused the Maior and Aldermen to be displaced, and other put in their rooms: a revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after: and to want their love is a kind of banishment. Wickliffe himself, censured by the Bishops to abjure his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Country then his Doctrine, and going over into Bohemia, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he dyed; at least, a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day.

### Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

**H**IS works of Piety were great and many, as the founding of *East-Minster*, an Abbey (of the Cîteaux Order) near the Tower. An Abbey for Nuns at *Dorsetford in Kent*: The Kings Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars. An Hospital for the poor at *Callice*. He conferred upon the University of *Oxford*, where he had himself been trained up, under the learned *Walter Burley*, the chief rule of the City, subordinating the Maior and Citizens to the Chancellour of the University. He built *Saint Stephens Chappel* at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound per annum. He augmented the Chappel at *Windfore*, and made provisions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. These were his publick works; But besides these, his private buildings were, the Castle of *Windfore*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle at *Quinborough*, Fortifications at *Callice* and other places. His Queen *Philippa* founded *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford*: and *Mary Countess of Pembroke*, the Colledge called *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings time Sir *John Poulney*, Maior of *London*, built the Colledge in *London* called *Saint Lawrence Poulney*, and little *Abballons*, a Parish Church in *Thames-street*, and also the Carmelite Fryers Church in *Coventry*. *Henry Earl of Lancaster* and *Leicester*, founded the Hospital by the Castle of *Leicester*, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things necessary. *William Elsing Mercer* of *London*, made a new Hospital of an old House of Nuns by *Cripplegate*, and placing Canons regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. *Walter Stapleton Bishop of Excester*, founded *Excester Colledge*, and *Hart Hall* in *Oxford*. *William Cateman Bishop of Norwich*, builded *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*. *Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury*, founded *Canterbury Colledge* in *Oxford*. *William Edendon Treasurer of England*, founded the Monastery of *Edendon*: the religious brethren whereof were called *Bonhommes*. Sir *Walter de Manny*, born in *Cambray*, purchased a piece of ground called *Spittle-croft*, containing thirteen Acres, without the bars of *West-Smithfield*, and caused the same to be enclosed, where he built a Chappel, and after founded the same to be a house of Charter-house Monks. *Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex*, re-edified the *Augustine Fryers Church* in *London*, and was buried in the Quire thereof. In the two and thirtieth year of this Kings Reign, *John Stody* Maior of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where Vintners Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about, from the lane to this day called *Stodys-lane*; where are founded thirteen houses for thirteen poor people, which are there kept of charity. Also in this Kings time Sir *John Cobham* founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Lokken* four times Maior of *London*, builded at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappel called *Magdalens*, to the which he joynd an Hospital, wherein was a Master, two Priests, and certain poor men: and for that the Parish Church of *Saint Michael* by *Crooked-lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reason of the Butchers in *Eastcheap*, who made the same their lay-stall; he on the same ground builded the fair new Parish Church of *Saint Michael* now standing, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of stone. He also founded a Colledge to the same Church, near thereunto adjoining, *John Barns* Maior of *London*, gave a Chest with three locks, and a thousand Marks to be lent to young men upon security, so that it passed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to say at his pleasure, *De Profundis*, for the soul of *John Barns*; if he were not learned, to say *Pater Noster*: but howsoever the money is lent, the Chest at this day standeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas of Woodstock*, the youngest son of King *Edward*, founded a Colledge at *Playffe* in *Essex*, where in his life he had provided a sumptuous Tombe, where he was first laid, but translated afterward to *Westminster*.

Casualties

### Casualties happening in his time.

**I**N the two and twentieth year of his reign, a contagious pestilence arose in the East and South parts of the world, and spread it self over all Christendome; and coming at last into *England*, it so wasted the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts were left alive. There died in *London*, (some say in *Northwich*) between the first of *January* and the first of *July*, 57374. persons. In *Tarmouth*, in one year, 7052. men and women: before which time, the Parlonage there was worth 700 Marks a year, and afterwards was scarce worth forty pounds a year. This plague began in *London* about *Abballontide*, in the year 1348. and continued till the year 1357. Where it was observed, that those who were born after the beginning of this mortallity, had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth year of his reign, a sudden inundation of water, at *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, bare down a piece of the Town wall, and six pearches in length, near to a place called *Walkeney*; where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his reign, another pestilence happened in *England*, which was called the second pestilence, in which died *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, also *Reginald Lord Cobham*, and *Walter Fitz-Warren*, two famous men; and five Bishops, of *Worcester*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Chichester*. In this Kings time, a solemn Jousting or Tournament was holden at *Lodon* in *Cheside*, betwix the great Cross and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-lane*, which lasted three daies; where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies fell from a Stage, set up for them to behold the Jousting; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatened to punish the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen intreated pardon for them upon her knees; as indeed she was alwaies ready to do all good offices of mercy to all people. In the eleventh year of his reign was so great plenty, that a quarter of wheat was sold at *London* for two shillings; a fat Oxe for a Noble, a fat Sheep for six pence, and six Pigeons for a penny, a fat Goose for two pence, a Pig for a penny, and other things after that rate. But in his twenty seventh year there was a great scarcity, by reason there fell no rain, or very little, from the end of *March*, to the end of *July*; and was therefore called the dry summer.

### Of his Wife and Children.

**H**e married *Philippa* the daughter of *William Earl of Hainault* at *York*: a match made up in haste by Queen *Isabel* his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King *Edward*'s ends: for though her Parentage was not great, and her portion less; yet she made amends for both, in virtue; for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had seven sons and five daughters: his eldest son *Edward Prince of Wales*, and commonly called the Black Prince, (but why so called uncertain; for to say, of his dreadful acts, as *Speed* saith, hath little probability: and indeed *Frassford*, who hath written the reign of King *Edward* the third, more particularly than any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince *Edward* the Black Prince, nor any where makes mention, that he was so called) was born at *Woodstock*, in the third year of his Fathers reign; he married *Joan*, the daughter of *Edmund Earl of Kent*, brother by the Fathers side to King *Edward* the second. She had been twice married before; first to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom she was divorced: next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whose decease, this Prince passionately loving her, married her; by her he had issue two sons, *Edward* the eldest, born at *Angouleme*, who died at seven years of age; and *Richard* born at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father, was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather King of *England*. This Prince had also natural issue, Sir *John Souther*, and *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the reign of King *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have been Ancestor to the house of *Smiths* in *Essex*. He died at *Canterbury* in the six and fortieth year of his age, and of his Fathers reign, the nine and fortieth, and was buried at *Christ Church* there. His second son *William* was born at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, who deceased in his childhood, and was buried at *York*. His third son *Lyonel* was born at *Antwerp*, in the twelfth year of his Fathers reign; he married first *Elizabeth*, the daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*; in whose right he was first created Earl of *Ulster*: and because he had with her, the honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Tonmoud*, he was in a Parliament, created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the country about the town and honour of *Clare*; from which Duchy, the name of *Clarentineux* (being the title of the King of *Armes*, for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one only daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne Countess of Cambridge*, the mother of *Richard Duke of York*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth. The second Marriage of this Duke was at *Millain* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galeacio*, the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edward*'s fourth son named *John*, was born at *Gower*, in the fourteenth year of his Fathers reign; he had three wives, the first was *Blanch*, daughter and co-heir, and in the end, the sole Heir of *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, son of *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom

A very great Pestilence, and continued nine years.

After which the number of mens teeth lessened.

Many great men died of the plague. A frost that lasted seven months.

Price of Victuals in a plenty.

The family of *Smiths* in *Essex* from whom descended.

Duke of *Clarence*, from whence it hath the title.

The King of *Arms* why called *Clarentineux*.

Wickliffe is banished.

Kings Hall in Cambridge built.

Queens Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded.

Pembroke Hall in Cambridge by whom founded.

Excester Colledge, and Hart Hall in Oxford, by whom founded.

Trinity Hall in Cambridge, by whom founded.

Canterbury Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded.

The Charter-house by Smithfield, by whom founded.

whom he had issue, Henry of Bullingbrooke Earl of Derby, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly King of England, named Henry the fourth, who first placed the Crown in the house of Lancaster. By her also John of Gaunt had two daughters, Philip wife of John the first, King of Portugal, and Elizabeth married first to John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, and after him, to Sir John Cornwall, Baron of Fanbroke. John of Gaunt's second wife was Constance, the eldest daughter of Peter King of Castile and Leon, in whose right, for the time, he intitled himself King of both those Realms: by her he had issue one only daughter named Katherine, married to Henry the third, son of King John, in possession before, and in her right, after King of both the said Realms. John of Gaunt's third wife was Katherine, the Widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, a Knight of Lincolnshire, eldest daughter and co-heir of Pain Roet, a Gascoyne, called Guien King of Arms for that country; his younger daughter being married to Sir Geoffry Chawcer, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King Richard the second; John Earl of Somerset, Thomas Duke of Excester, Henry Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal, and Ioan (who was first married to Robert Ferrers Baron of Wenmore, and Ousey, in the counties of Salop and Warwick.) and secondly, to Ralph Nevill, the first Earl of Westmorland. She and all her brethren were surnamed Beauchamp, of a Cattle which the Duke had in France, where they were all born; and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the cognizance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew King Richard was created Duke of Aquitain, but in the sixteenth year, he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after, in the sixtieth of his age, he died at Ely-houfe in Holbourn, and lieth honourably Entombed in the Quire of Saint Paul. King Edward's fifth son Edmund, surnamed of Langley, was first in the year 1362. created Earl of Cambridge, and afterward in the year 1386. made Duke of York; he married Isabella daughter and co-heir to Peter, King of Castile and Leon; his son Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, took to wife Anne Mortimer, Heir of the forsaid Lionell, elder brother to Edmund of Langley. King Edward's sixth son William, surnamed of Windsor, where he was born, died young, and is buried at Westminster. King Edward's youngest son Thomas, surnamed of Woodstock, where he was born, was first Earl of Buckingham, and after made Duke of Gloucester by his Nephew King Richard the second. He was a man of valour and wisdom, but the King surmizing him to be too severe an observer of his doings, consulted with Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, how to make him away: whom Mowbray unawares surprizing, conveyed secretly to Callice, where he was strangled the twentieth year of King Richard's reign. He had issue one son, Humphrey Earl of Buckingham, who died, at Chester of the Pestilence, in the year 1400. and two daughters, Anne married first to Edmund Earl of Stafford, by whom she had Humphrey Duke of Buckingham; secondly to William Bourchier Earl of Ewe, by whom she had Henry Earl of Essex; and Ioan married to Gilbert, Lord Talbot, and had issue by him a daughter, who died young. Of King Edwards daughters, the eldest named Isabella, was married at Windsor to Ingelram of Guyens, Lord of Concy, Earl of Soissons, and after Archduke of Austria; created also by King Edward Earl of Bedford; by whom she was mother of two daughters; Mary married to Henry Duke of Barre, and Philip married to Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, Duke of Ireland, and Marquess of Dublin. This Robert in the height of his fortunes forsook his Lady Philip, and married one Lancerona a Joyner's daughter (as was said) which came with King Richard the second's wife out of Bohemia; and being for abusing the Kings ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at Lozan in extrem poverty in the year 1392. Isabella his wives mother, was buried in the Church of Friars Minorities near Algate in London. King Edwards second daughter Ioan was married by Proxie to Alphonsus, King of Castile and Leon; but passing into Spain, died by the way, and King Alphonsus met her in stead of consummating his Espousal, to solemnize her Funeral. His third daughter Blanch died young. His fourth named Mary was married to John Montford Duke of Britain. His youngest named Margaret, born in Callice, was the first wife of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, but died without issue.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, of sparkling eyes, of a comely and manly countenance, in his later time somewhat bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was submission; where opposition, no man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his passions, then of his people; for he was never so loving, as to be fond; nor ever so angry, as to be inexorable; but this must be understood of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a child again, he was Prince of neither. He was no less fortunate then valiant, and his fortunateness was the greater by a kind of Antiperistasis, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; Successour to one, and predecessour to another. He was of so warlike a disposition, that his very sports were warlike; for no delights were so frequent with him as Jests and Turnaments. To shew his devotion, one example may be sufficient, for when neither Cardinals nor Counsellours could move him to make peace with France, a tempest from Heaven did it; to which may be added, that he never won great battel, of which he was many, but he presently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thanksgiving. He outlived the best wife, and the best son that ever King had; and to say the truth, he outlived the best of himself, for his latter years were not answerable to his former.

### Of his Death and Burial.

KING Edward besides his being old, and worn with the labours of war, had other causes that hastened his end: his grief for the loss of so worthy a son, dead but remembrance before; his grief for the loss of all benefit of his conquests in France, of all which he had little now left, but only Callice, and oppressed thus in body and minde, he was drawing his last breath, when his Concubine Alice Pierce packing away what she could catch, even to the rings of his fingers, left him, and by her example, other of his attendants, feiling on what they could come by, shift away; and all his Counsellours and others forsook him, when he most needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty; which a poor Priest in the house seeing, he approached to the Kings Bed-side, and finding him yet breathing call upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask mercy for his offences, which none about him before would do: but now moved by the voyce of this Priest, he shews all signs of contrition, and at last breath he expresth the name of Jesus. Thus dyed this victorious King at his Manor at Sheene, (now Richmond) the 21. day of June, in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty years, four months and odd days. His body was conveyed from Sheene by his four sons and other Lords, and solemnly interred within Westminster Church, where he hath his Monument, and where it is said the Sword he used in battel, is yet to be seen, being eight pound in weight, and seven foot in length.

Lying in his death-bed forsaken of all.

1377.

### Of Men of Note in his time.

MARTIAL men were never more plentiful then in this Kings reign: whether it were that this stars have an influence to produce such men at one time more then another: or whether it were that Regis ad exemplum, the Kings example made his subjects like himself: or lastly, that his continual exercise of arms put them as it were into a mould of fortitude. The first of this kind is worthily Edward the black Prince, and so worthily the first, that Longe est a primo quisque secundus erit. Next him Henry Earl of Lancaster, the Princes right hand, in all his great achievements: then William the valiant Earl of Salisbury, then John Bare, Ancestor to the L. Eures that now lieth; then follow the Lord John Chandos, Sir James Audley, Sir Walter de Manny, Sir Robert Knolls, then Sir John Hawkwood born in Essex; who though not much honoured at home, having been a Taylour, yet in foreign parts; and specially in Italy so famous; that his Statue was erected in publick, for a Monument to testifie his valour to posterity. And here must not be forgotten Robert Penile, Knight, a Norfolk man, who when the Scots and English were ready to give battel, a certain stout Champion of great stature, commonly called Tourney coming out of the Scots Army, and challenging any English man to meet him in a single combat; this Robert Penile accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certain black Mastiffe Dog which waited on the Champion, he suddenly with his sword cut him off at the loyns, and afterwards did more to the Champion himself, cutting his head from off his shoulders. And as there was this great plenty of Martial men, so there was no less plenty of learned men; John Baconthorpe born in Norfolk, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Divinity; Nicholas Trivet born also in Norfolk, a black Frier, who wrote two Histories, and a Book of Annals: Richard Stradley, born in the Marches of Wales, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatises of the Scriptures; William Herbert a Welsh man, and a Frier Minor, who wrote many good Treatises in Divinity: Tho. Vallies a Dominican Fryer, and a writer of many excellent Books: John Everden a Monk of Bury in Suffolke, an Historiographer: Walter Burley a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in Merton Colledge in Oxford, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Natural and Moral Philosophy, which remain in estimation to this day; and who for the great fame of his learning, had the honour to be one of the great Instructours of Edward the black Prince: Roger of Chesham, Monk of that City, and an Historiographer: John Burgh a Monk, who wrote a History, and also divers homilies: Richard Amgrevill Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancellor of England, born in Suffolke: Richard Hominford an Historiographer: Richard Chichester a Monk of Westminster, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1348. Richard Rolle alias Hamptone, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity: Robert Holcot, a black Frier, born in Northampton, a learned Schoolman, who wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity: Thomas Bradwardine born near Chichester in Suffolke, Archbishop of Canterbury, and who wrote against the Pelagians, and for his depth of learning, had the Title of Doctor Profundus: Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, a learned writer: William Gryffant, named Anglion, a notable Physician, whose son came to be Pope, and was called Urban the fifth: John Killingworth an excellent Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician: Ranph Higdon a Monk of Chester, an Historiographer: Bartholomew Glanville, descended of thole Glanvilles that were sometimes Earls of Suffolke: Simon Islip Archbishop of Ely, and founder of Canterbury Colledge in Oxford, who wrote many Treatises: Matthew Paris a Frenchman, who wrote the Book called Flores Historiarum: William Fleet an Hermite, who wrote sundry Treatises, extolling England to repentance: Henry Knighton, who wrote a History intitled De gestis Anglorum; and lastly two other, worth perhaps to have been placed first; John Mandevill the great traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and

Sir John Hawkwood a Taylour, so famous in Italy, that his Statue is there erected. Robert Penile his Valour.

Walter Burley one of the black Princes Schoolmasters.

Robert Holcot a learned Schoolman.

Thomas Bradwardine a learned Doctor Profundus.

Matthew of Westminster lived in this time.

John Mandevill the great traveller, and

Sir Geoffry  
Chawcer lived  
at this time.

and a Knight, who dyed at Liege, in the year 1372. and Sir Geoffry Chawcer, the Homer of our Nation; and who found as sweet a Muse in the Groves of Woodstock, as the Ancients did upon the banks of Helicon.

### Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
Hamond Chickwell, was Maior.  
Henry Darcy, John Hantun, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
John Grantham, was Maior.  
Simon Frances, Henry Colmartin, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Richard Swanland, was Maior.  
Richard Lazer, William Gysors, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir John Pountney, was Maior.  
Robert of Elic, Thomas Worwode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir John Pountney, continued Maior.  
John Mocking, Andrew Aubery, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
John Preston, was Maior.  
Nicholas Pike, John Husband, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir John Pountney, was Maior.  
John Hammond, William Hanford, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Reginald at the Conduit was Maior.  
John Kingstone, Walter Turk, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Reginald at the Conduit continued Maior.  
Walter Mordon, Richard Upton, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
Sir John Pountney, was Maior.  
John Clark, W. Curtes, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
Henry Darcy, was Maior,  
Walter Neale, Nicholas Crane, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
Henry Darcy, continued Maior.  
William de Ponsfret, Hugh Marbler, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
Andrew Aubery, was Maior.  
William Thorney, Roger Frosham, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Andrew Aubery, continued Maior.  
Adam Lucas, Bartholomew Morris, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
John of Oxenford, was Maior.  
Richard de Barking, John de Rokesty, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Simon Francis, was Maior.  
John Loufskin, Richard Killingbury, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
John Hammond, was Maior.  
John Steward, John Ayleham, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
John Hammond, continued Maior.  
Geoffry Witchingham, Thomas Leg, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Richard Lazer, was Maior.  
Edmund Hemenhall, John of Gloucester, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Geoffry Witchingham, was Maior.  
John Croyden, William Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,  
Thomas Leggy, was Maior.  
Adam Brampson, Richard Eas, or Bas, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,  
John Loufskin, was Maior.  
Henry Picard, Simon Dolely, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,  
Walter Turk, was Maior.  
Adam of Bury, Ralph of Lynne, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,  
Richard Killingbury, was Maior.  
John Notte, William of Worcester, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,  
Andrew Aubery, was Maior.  
John VVroth, Gilbert of Stenineshorpe, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,  
Adam Francis, was Maior.  
John Peace, John Stotley, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,  
Adam Francis continued Maior.  
William VVolve, John Little, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,  
Thomas Leggy was Maior.  
William Nottingham, Roger Smelt, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,  
Simon Francis, was Maior.  
Thomas Foster, Thom Brandon, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
Henry Picard, was Maior.  
Richard Nottingham, Thomas Dolsel, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,  
Sir John Stody was Maior.  
Stephen Candish, Bartholomew Frostling, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,  
John Loufskin was Maior.  
John Barnes, John Baris, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,  
Simon Doulfley was Maior.  
Simon of Benington, John of Chichester, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,  
John Wroth was Maior.  
John Dennis, Walter Berny, Sheriffs.

In his five and thirtieth year,  
John Pecke was Maior.  
William Holbech, James Tame, Sheriffs.

In his six and thirtieth year,  
Stephen Candish was Maior.  
John of S. Albans, James Andrew, Sheriffs.

In his seven and thirtieth year,  
John Not was Maior.  
Richard of Croyden, John Hiltost, Sheriffs.

In his eight and thirtieth year,  
Adam of Bury was Maior.  
John de Metford, Simon de Mordon, Sheriffs.

In his nine and thirtieth year,  
John Loufskin was Maior.  
John Bukelworth, John Ireland, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,  
John Loufskin continued Maior.  
John Ward, Thomas of Lee, Sheriffs.

In his one and fortieth year,  
James Andrew was Maior.  
John Turngold, William Dickeman, Sheriffs.

In his two and fortieth year,  
Simon Mordan was Maior.  
Robert Girdeler, Adam Wymontham, Sheriffs.

In his three and fortieth year,  
John Chichester was Maior.  
John Piel, Hugh Holdich, Sheriffs.

In his four and fortieth year,  
John Barnes was Maior.  
William Watworth, Robert Gayton, Sheriffs.

In his five and fortieth year,  
John Barnes continued Maior.  
Adam Staple, Robert Haisfield, Sheriffs.

In his six and fortieth year,  
John Piel was Maior.  
John Philpot, Nicholas Brembar, Sheriffs.

In his seven and fortieth year,  
Adam of Bury was Maior.  
John Aubery, John Fished, Sheriffs.

In his eight and fortieth year,  
William Walworth was Maior.  
Richard Lions, William Woodhouse, Sheriffs.

In his nine and fortieth year,  
John Ward was Maior,  
John Hadley, William Newport, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,  
Adam Staple was Maior.  
John Northampton, Robert Laund, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

Anno Dom.  
1377.

King Richard  
the Second  
Crowned.



Claims of  
Office at his  
Coronation.

**R**ICHARD, called of *Burdeanx*, because born there, the only Son of Edward the black Prince, was by his Grandfather in his life time, declared to be his Heir and lawful successor; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of England, at *Westminster*, the sixteenth day of July, in the year 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: And for the more solemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls: *Thomas of Woodstock* King Edward the third's youngest son, was created Earl of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger brother of *John L. Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angoulesme* a *Gifford*, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Percy* son of *Henry Lord Percy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaster*, by the name of *John King of Castile and Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaster*, put in his claim as Earl of *Leicester* to have the place of Earl Marshal of England; as Duke of *Lancaster*, to carry the sword called *Curatana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be carver that day; all which to be executed by himself, or by his sufficient Deputy; which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewise, divers others made their claims: *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to powre out water for the King to wash: *John Wiltshire* Citizen of *London* by reason of a moiety of the Manour of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeanty, claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe with when he went to meat: *Thomas Beauchampe* Earl of *Warwick*, to bear the third Sword before the King; and also to exercise the office of Pantler: *Sir John Argentine*, by reason of his Manour of *Wimondsey* in the County of *Hartford*, to serve the King at his cup: *William L. Furnival*, for his Manour of *Fernham*, to support the Kings right arm when he held the Royal Scepter; *Anne* late wife of *John de Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Manour of *Athele* in *Norfolk*, to have the Office of Naperer; which he was admitted to do by her Deputy *Sir Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earl of *Arundell*, for his Manour of *B. in Kent*, was admitted to be chief Butler: The *L. Maior of London*, to attend in his own person, as chief Cup-waiter: *Sir John Dimmock*, for his Manour of *Scribolvie*; and *Sir Baldwin Frevile*, for his Castle of *Tamworth*, in the county of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the Kings Champion, but adjudged to *Dimmock*: *William de Latimer*, and *John* the son and heir of *John Mowbray* of *Acholm*, jointly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*: *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Manour of *L.* held by the service of making wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to bear the Kings Canopy, upon four slaves of silver, over the Kings head; and also to sit at meat in the Hall, at the highest Table on the Kings right hand: *John Pitt-John*, by reason of his Manour of *S. in Norfolk*, was admitted to be chief Larderer: *Richard Herring*, for the Manour of the *C. in the County of Surrey*, claimed to be Usher of the Kings Chamber; but because that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to pursue his Right some other time. The Coronation it self was performed with great solemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbishop blessed the King; which done, he tore off his garments, and stripped him into his shift; then he anointed

The manner  
of his Corona-  
tion.

A anointed his hands, head, breast, shoulders, and the joyntes of his arms, with the sacred Oyle; & after certain Prayers, he then clad him, first with the Coat of *S. Edward*, and after with his Mantle: after which, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, saying, *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, saying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this, he put upon him an uper veiture called a Pall, saying, *Accipe Pallium*. In the mean time, while the Archbishop blessed the Crown, he to whose office it pertained, put spurs on his heels; after, the Crown was blessed, the Archb. set it on his head, saying, *Coronet te Deus*; then he delivered him a Ring, saying, *Accipe Annulum*. Immediately herewith came the *L. Furnival*, by virtue of his Office, offering him a red Glove with the Archb. blessed, & putting it on his hand, delivered him a Scepter, saying, *Accipe Sceptrum*; and after that, into his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof stood a Dove, saying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*; & then blessed the King, saying, *Benedicat te Deus*; which done, the King kissed the Bishops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his seat; and so ended the solemnity.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven years of age, required a Protector; but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, than to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon *John Duke of Lancaster*, *Edmund Earl of Cambridge*, the Kings Uncles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joyned in Commission to manage the State; and *Gifford de Angoulesme* appointed to be his School-master. And now the Kings Minority made forain Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrel to England: which the French and Scots took presently hold of; For, the French came now, and burnt the Town of *Rye*; and soon after, entering the Isle of *Wight*, burnt divers Towns there; and though they were repelled from the Cattle by the valiant *Sir Hugh Tyrrel* Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks, to spare the residue of their houses and goods: and departing thence, they set on land where they saw advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the shore; as *Portsmouth*, *Dorchester*, and *Plimmouth*; and then sailing towards *Dover*, they burnt *Hastings*, assaulted *Winchelsey*; but being valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battell*, were forced to retire: After this, they landed not far from the Abbey of *Levis*, at a place called *Rottingham*, where the Prior of *Levis*, with *Sir Thomas Cheyney*, and *Sir John Fallesley*, encountering them, were overthrow, and taken Prisoners. And now lets then the French, were the Scots also now busie; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the Castle of *Berwick*; but shortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Barls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*; and all the Scots they found in it, except *Alexander Ramsay* their Captain, put to the sword. About *Michaelmas*, as Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein *Alice Pierce*, the late Kings Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her goods confiscate; and two Tenths of the Clergie, and two Fifteenths of the Temporality were granted; but so, as that two Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth*, and *John Philpot*, should receive and keep it, to set it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In this time, *Sir Hugh Calverley*, Deputy of *Callice*, burnt six and twenty French ships in the Haven of *Bollogne*; and at the same time a great Navie set out, under the guiding of the Earl of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Brittain*, the Lord *Latimer*, *Sir Robert Knolls* and others, with a purpose to intercept the Spanish Fleet; E but through tempest was twice driven back: when in the mean time, one *Mercer* a Scottish Pirate, came to *Scarborough*, took there divers ships, and committed many out-rages: and no order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of *London*, named *John Philpot*, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountering them, took the said *Mercer*, and all his ships: and returning home, in stead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navie without advice of the Kings Council: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, though they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled; for this were to bring authority into contempt, and instead of errors to bring in confusion; but yet when wrongs be offered that are publick, every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners not to stay the States leisure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them.

Many actions passed at this time with the French and Scots, some prosperous, and some adverse: The Scots burn *Roxborough*; this was adverse: but the Earl of *Northumberland* entering *Scotland* with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of *March*, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would needs make a Road into *Scotland*, and were encountered by the Scots, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsummer, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Earls of *Buckingham*, *Warwick*, *Stafford*, and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in *Brittain*, besieged the Town of *S. Malo*; but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return home: this was adverse. And now again, the Scots by night entred secretly into the Castle of *Berwick*, and flew *Sir Robert Baynton*, that was Constable there: this also was adverse. But when the Earl of *Northumberland*, being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Castle, and after two days defence recovered it again; this was prosperous: *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Callice*, forsogeth the Country round about, and furnisheth *Callice* with booties of French cattel: *Sir Hugh Calverley* and *Sir Thomas Percy* made Admirals, put to Sea, and take divers ships laden with merchandize, and one ship of war: *Sir John Hurleston*, Captain of *Chirborough* in France, issuing forth assaults a Fortrefs of the French, which was the store-houle of their provision, and with much valour takes it: these were prosperous: but when *Sir Joh. Clerk* lying in garison in a castle in *Brittain*, where

Three in Commission of the Protector's ship.

The French enter England and take and burn divers Towns.

The Scots also invade the borders, but with little success. *Alice Pierce* banished the Realm. A subsidie granted, but with condition.

1380.

*John Philpot*, a Citizen of *London*, his worthy act. But ill rewarded.

Actions with the French and Scots, some prosperous, some adverse.

Sir John Arundell and a thousand others drowned. His sumptuousness of apparel.

The Earl of Warwick appointed Protector.

A combat between Katrington and Annesley.

The French burn divers Towns in England.

1383.

An infurrection in Kent, and the cause.

They agree to receive no King that should be called John, and why.

They set upon the Savoy the Duke of Lancasters house.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the Tower, and abused the Kings Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellor and the furor.

where lay many English Ships in the Haven, had these Ships set upon by the French; where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: this was adverse. Also in the third year of this Kings Reign Sir John Arundell, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Banister, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to pass over into Britain; but were so beaten back with Tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir John Arundell, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trampington, Sir Thomas Dale, and above a thousand others were drowned; only Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Elmham, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir John Arundell was then said in his future to have two and fifty new suits of apparel of cloth of Gold and Tissue, all lost at Sea.

This year also, there being found inconvenience in having many Governours of the King and Kingdom; it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir John Annesley Knight accused Thomas Katrington Esquire, for betraying the Fortresses of St. Eustach to the French: which Katrington denying, at the suit of Annesley, a solemn combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present: the Esquire Katrington was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight Annesley a little man; yet through the justness of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed; and Katrington the day after their combat dyed. Fabian saith, he was drawn to Tiburn, and there hanged for his false accusation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, Thomas of Woodstock Earl of Buckingham, the Kings Uncle, with divers Barons and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into France, to aid the Duke of Burgundy; but the King of France at that time dying, the Duke of Burgundy grew to have peace with the new King; whereupon the Earl of Buckingham came home again without doing much; but making of Knights, and foraging the Country. In this time the French and Spanish Gallies did much mischief on the Coast of England; they burnt Rye, Hastings, and Portsmouth; and at last entering the River of Thames, they came up to Gravesend, where they burnt most part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties returned into France.

At this time also, there fell out an accident of great disturbance to the Realm, for the Commons rose in divers parts, beginning at Depford in Kent; and the cause of their rising grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-money, whose coming into the house of one John Tyler, and demanding Poll-money of his wife for a daughter of hers; and the saying that her daughter was not of age to pay; the rude fellow said he would preferre to see whether she were for or no, & thereupon forcibly turned up her cloaths; whereat the mother making an out-cry, her husband being at work hard by, and hearing the noise, came in with his lathing-staff in his hand, with which he gave the Collector such a blow on the head, that his brains flew out, and he presently died. Upon this, at the complaint of Tyler amongst his neighbours, and withal a factious Clergy-man, one John Ball, taking occasion hereat to rip up the ground of this Misgovernment, and telling the people that this difference of mens Estates, where some are Potentates, and some are Bondmen, was against Christian Liberty, taking for his Theme, *When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a Gentleman?* he so incited them, that the Commons in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in Kent, or otherwise in Essex, they drew at last into their faction the Commons of Sussex, Hartfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and other Shires; and arresting all such as passed, made them swear to be true to King Richard, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called John; which they did for the envy they bore to John Duke of Lancaster. Thus their number still increased, that by that time they were come as far as Blackheath, they were esteemed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to London, was to send for one Richard Lyons, a grave Citizen, who had been Tylers Matter, & his head they struck off, and carried it upon a pole in Triumph before them: The next day they came to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancasters house, which they set on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the Thames, laying they were men of Justice, and would not like Robbers enrich themselves with any mans goods; and when one of their fellows was egypted to thrust a fair silver piece into his pocket, they took him, and cast both him and the piece into the fire: Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Winecellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rafters of the house, on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them; that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven days after, and then perished. From the Savoy they went to the Temple, where they burnt the Lawyers lodgings, with their Books and writings, and all they could lay hand on: Also the House of St. Johns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seven days together. After this they came to the Tower, where the King was then lodged, and though he had at that time fix hundred Armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durst not but suffer them to enter; where they abused the Kings Mother, offering to kiss her in such rude manner that she fell into a swoon: and finding in the place Simon Thibald Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor; and Sir Robert Hales also Lord Treasurer; they led them to the Tower-hill, and there in most cruel manner struck off their heads, as also of divers others. Neither spared they sacred places; for breaking into the Church of the Augustine Friars, they drew forth thirteen Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; as also seventeen others out of other Churches. Yet after all these outrages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all such as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the Essex men did; but the Kentish men continued still with their Captain

Tyler.

A Tyler, a cowardin when the King sent Sir John Newton to understand what his meaning was; Wat Tyler, offended because he came on Horse-back, told him it became him to light from his Horse in his presence, and therewith drew out his dagger to strike him: the King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his Horse; but when this would not pacifie him, the Mayor of London, William Walworth, by the Kings appointment rode to him and arrested him, and gave him such a blow on the head, that he astonished him; and then other of the Kings servants drew their swords, and thrust him through divers parts of his body, so he dyed there in the place. When the Commons saw this, they cryed out, Our Captain is slain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen years of age, yet had the courage to ride unto them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead; he would be their Leader himself; and if they would follow him into the fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the mean time the Lord Mayor Walworth had gone into the City, and raised a thousand armed men; and meeting Sir Robert Knolls by chance got him to be their leader; who coming into the fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their weapons, they cryed for mercy; that it was a wonderful thing to see how suddenly Fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their words of insolvency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of most servile submission. And as strange an alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldness surprized Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the sight of the Rebels, when suddenly upon sight of this aid their fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by compulsion; and to set upon them this mingled might as well be the death of the innocent, as of the guilty. But to pacifie them the more, the King caused his Charter of Magnamission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing out-rages at St. Albans, and cancelling the ancient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the sedition was more general, then that the appealing it in one place could be final; for at the same time there were gathered together in Suffolk to the number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one John Wray a lewd Priest: And these fell to destroy the houses of Lawyers specially; and Sir John Crowthill Lord Chief Justice of England they beheaded, and set his head upon the Pillory in St. Edmundsbury. The like commotion of the Commons was at the same time also in Cambridgeshire, in the Isle of Ely, and in Norfolk, under the guiding of one John Littlester a Dyer; and to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpose to have brought William Afford Earl of Suffolk into their fellowship; but he, advertised of their intention, suddenly rose from supper, and got him away; but many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them; as the Lord Scates, the Lord Morley Sir John Breche, Sir Stephen Hales, and Sir Robert Salle, who not enduring their insolencies, had his brains dashed out by a Countrey Clown that was his bondman: The rest terrified by this example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain, John Littlester, who named himself King of the Commons, and counted it a preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the assay of his meats and drinks with kneeling humbly before him, as he sat at meat. And now these fellows, upon a consultation, send two eloquence men, namely, the Lord Morley, and Sir John Brewe, with three of their chief Commons, to the King, for their Charter of Manu-

million and Enfranchising: who being on their way at Ichingham not far from Newmarket, they met with Henry Spenser Bishop of Norwich; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their heads to be struck off; and then pursuing on towards Northwalsham in Norfolk, where the Commons stayed for an answer from the King; by that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Lances, and a small number of Archers in his company; his number was so increased, that it came to be a complete Army, with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took John Littlester and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed; and by this means the Countrey was quieted. After this the Mayor of London sat in Judgment upon Offenders; where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst other, Jack Straw, John Kirkeby, Alane Tredrar, and John Sterling, who gloried that he was the man had slain the Archbishop: Also Sir Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, was appointed to sit in Judgment against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty; and in sundry places put to death: amongst others John Ball Priest, their Incendiary; of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of Essex; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory, and what strength of persuasion there was in Non-sense.

John Sheep St. Mary Priest of York, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Namble, and John the Miller, and John Carter; and biddeth them that they beware of guile in Borough, and stand together in Gods name: and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his work and chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trenman and all his fellows, and no more. John the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: Know your friend from your foe: Have enough and say Ho; and do well and better: Flee sin, and seek peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth John Trenman and all his fellows;

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of Jack Straw at his execution: "When we were assembled (said he) upon Blackheath, and had sent to the King to come to us, our purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gentlemen that should be about him: and as for the King, we would have kept him amongst us, to the end the people might more boldly have repaired

Wat Tyler's insolent carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Mayor kills him.

Wat Tyler's insolent carriage before the King.

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Wat Tyler's insolent carriage before the King.

"repared to us, and when we had gotten power enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and specially the Knights of the Rhodes, and lastly, we would have killed the King, and all men of possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of Churches, only Friars Mendicants we would have spared, for administration of the Sacraments: Then we would have devised Laws according to which the people should have lived; for we would have created Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*, and others in other Countries: and the same evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed, we were determined to set fire in four corners of the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst us: and this was our purpose, as God may help me now at my last end. For his service done in this felonious business, the King knighted the Maier *William Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee; also he knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waist with the girdle of Knighthood, which was the manner of graduating in those days; but as *Stow* saith, the manner of Knighthood was rather thus; to cause him to put a halberd on his head, and then the King with a sword in both his hands, to strike him strongly on the neck. And to do the City itself honour, the King at this time granted there should be a dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this time the City bore only the Cross without the dagger.

*William Walworth* the Maier how rewarded.

The manner of Knighthood at this time.

A dagger added to the Arms of the City.

A difference between the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Northumberland.

1382. King Richard marries the Lady Anne sister to the Emperor *Vincennes*.

*William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* dieth suddenly. The King keeps the great Seal in his own hands.

1383.

The Kings hall soon delayed.

A Truce is concluded between England and France.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked, and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realm; and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this edition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet, who so carried the matter; that before the *Scots* heard of the edition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick*, was denied by the Captain *Sir Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, because of a Coma mandement given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland*; but howsoever, this bred such a spleen in the Duke against the Earl, that at his coming home he laid many things to the Earls charge, and the Earl as stoutly answered his objections; and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terror of the people: but the King wisely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time, the Lady *Anne*, sister to the Emperor *Vincennes*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Calice*; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued: the Lady was brought to *London*, joyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great solemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again; in which *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalf of the Common-wealth, certain matters concerning the same, the very day and hour in which he should have done the business, as he went up the stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens judgments. About this time the Lord *Scrope* was deposed from the Chancellourship, for refusing to seal some Grants which the King had made: and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased; till at length it was delivered to *Robert Brailbrooke* Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellour.

*Henry Spenser* Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the Kings leave, raised an Army, and was gone into *France*, in behalf of Pope *Urban*, against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; and entering first into *Flanders*, he took and sacked many Towns; at last beliedged *Tpres*; till by an Army of French (greater then was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his siege; and then passing divers places, he came to *Graveling*; from whence he writ to King *Richard*, that if ever he meant to try battel with the French, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Dayntrie* in *Northamptonshire*; and being at supper, when the word was brought him, he instantly rose from the Table, got to Horseback, and rode in Post with such speed that he came to *St. Albans* about midnight; where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he baited forth till he came to *Westminster*, as though he had meant never to rest till he had given battel to the French-men: but after he had taken counsel of his Pillow, his mind was altered, and he thought it better to employ some other, than to go himself: so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest man; but he protracted the time so long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away: And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly lose all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloaths so long, till it be time to put them off again. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between *England* and *France*, to endure till the Feast of Saint *Michael*, which should be in the year 1384.

### Of Acts done after he came of Age.

THE *Scots* in this mean time, had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders: whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to repress them; but having entred *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a battel, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned.

About

About this time an Irish Fryer of the order of the Carmelites, charged the Duke of *Lancaster* with heinous crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown; shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole plot. But the Duke called to his answer, so cleared himself, at least gave such colours of clearing, that the accuser was committed to the custody of *John Holland* the Kings half-brother, till a day appointed for further trial: The night before which day, the said Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Green* are said to have come to this Fryer, and putting a cord about his neck, eyed the other end about his privy members, and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder; thereby putting him to a most tormenting death: An act not more inhumane then unadvised; for though it took away the Accuser, yet it made the accusation more suspicious.

A Fryer accusing the Duke of *Lancaster* with treason, is secretly put to a miserable death.

At this time, though a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet; but entred and won the Castle of *Berwick*; whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another; for which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier course, for with the sum of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendered into his hands again. The King upon some new displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster*, had a purpose to have him arrested and arraigned of certain points of Treason, before Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice, though he ought to be tried by his Peers: but the Duke having intimation hereof, got him to his Castle of *Ponfret*, and stood upon his guard; till the Kings Mother, (notwithstanding her indisposition of body, by reason of her corpulency) riding to and fro betwixt them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

The *Scots* win *Berwick*, but are bought out with money.

In the ninth year of King *Richard*'s Reign, the French King sent the Admiral of *France* into *Scotland*, with a thousand men of Arms, besides Cross-bows and others, to aid the *Scots* against the English; with which aid the *Scots* encouraged, enter the English borders: whereof King *Richard* advertised, himself with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, and coming to *Edenborough*, and finding all the people fled, he set fire on the houses, burnt the Church of *S. Giles*, only *Holy-Rood* house was spared at the Duke of *Lancaster*'s suit, in remembrance of the friendship he had formerly received in that house. The *Scots* by no means could be drawn to any battel; but to divert the Kings Army, they entered *Cumberland*, and besieged *Carlisle*, where by the valour of Sir *Lewis Clifford* and Sir *Thomas Musgrave* they were repelled; and hearing of the Kings Army coming towards them, and fearing to be inclosed, they drew back into *Scotland*, and the King returned into *England*. But in this mean while, the English of *Calice* took many prizes of French Ships at Sea, and many booties also by land, at one time four thousand Sheep, and three hundred head of great Cattel.

1386.

King *Richard* with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, burns some Towns, and returns.

This year the King called a Parliament at *Westminster*, where he created two Dukes, one Marquess and five Earls: *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Uncle was created Duke of *York*: *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, his other Uncle, Duke of *Gloucester*: *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, was made Marquess of *Dublin*: *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was created Earl of *Darby*: *Edward Plantagenet* Son to the Duke of *York*, was made Earl of *Rutland*: *Michael de la Poole* Chancellour of *England*, was created Earl of *Suffolk*: and *Thomas Monbray* Earl of *Nottingham*, was made Earl Marshal. Also by authority of this Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Mortimer*, and of the Lady *Philip*, eldest Daughter and Heir to *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to King *Edward* the third, was established Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and shortly after so proclaimed: but going into *Ireland* to his Lordship of *Ulster*, was there by the wilde Irish slain. This *Roger* Earl of *March* had Issue, *Edmund*, *Roger*, *Anne*, *Alice*, and *Eleanor*, which *Eleanor* was made a Nun: The two Sons died without Issue: *Anne* his eldest Daughter was married to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*; which *Richard* had Issue by the said *Anne*, a Son called *Richard*, that was after Duke of *York*, and Father to King *Edward* the fourth; also a Daughter named *Isabel*, married to the Lord *Bourchier*. Also this year *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earl of *Darby*, married the Daughter and Heir of *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, in whose right he was afterwards made Duke of *Hereford*.

Dukes and Earls created.

*Roger Mortimer* proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown.

His Issue.

This year also King *Richard* holding his Christmas at *Eltham*, *Leo* King of *Armenia* came thither to him, who in fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the *Turks* was come into *Christendome* to seek for aid: but his chief Errand into *England* was to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; but their spleens were so great against one another, that it was not in the power of his Physick to cure them.

At this time, the Duke of *Lancaster*, taking with him his wife the Lady *Constance*, and a Daughter he had by her named *Katherine*, and two other Daughters which he had by his former Wife, failed into *Spain*: he was attended in his journey with the Lord *Lucie*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-water*, *Poynings*, *Bradson*; and many other Lords and Knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms; whereof a thousand at the least were Knights & Esquires. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he should be called King of *Spain*; and the Queen likewise gave another Crown of Gold to the Dutches. He landed first at *Brest*, and freed that Cattle from the French; from thence he sayled, and arrived at the *Groyne* in *Spain*, where he remained a moneth, and then went to *Compostella*, where he stayed a while: In which time his Constable Sir *John Holland* won divers Towns. At *Monson*, the

The Duke of *Lancaster* goes with a great train into *Spain*, whom King *Richard* commands to be called King of *Spain*.

King

The King of Portugal marries a daughter of the Duke of Lancaster.

Many Lords about the Duke die of sickness.

The King of Spain's eldest son marries the Duke of Lancaster's daughter.

A Navy of 1287 Ships prepared by the French to invade England. But by William Beauchamp Captain of Callice, some of them taken and the rest distressed.

Robert Vere Earl of Oxford is created Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Poole a Merchant's son is made Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chancellor.

The King takes the Government upon himself.

The Chancellor is censured by the Parliament.

A plot to murder the Duke of Gloucester, and others that opposed the King. But stopped by Richard Exton Maier.

King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster met; where a marriage was concluded between the said King of Portugal and the Lady Philip Daughter to the Duke; which marriage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady sent into Portugal honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at Compostella all the winter: At March the King of Portugal and he entered the Confines of Castile where they took many Towns; and passing over the River of Duero entered into the Country De Campo; But the Spaniards not willing to come to a battle, but meaning to weary them out with delays; the English not used to such hot air, fell daily into many diseases: which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action, the Lord Philip water, Sir Richard Burley, a Knight of the Garter, the Lord Roynings, and Sir Henry Percy Count German to the Earl of Northumberland, also the Lord Talbot, and in all, twelve great Lords, fourscore Knights, two hundred Esquires, and of the meaner sort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Dutchess his Wife went into Portugal; and after some stay there, they failed to Bayon, in the Marches of Gascoigne, where he reited a long time after: In which mean while there were offers made for a Marriage to be had between the Duke of Berry, Uncle to the French King, and the Lady Katherine Daughter to the Duke of Lancaster: which the King of Spain understanding, he began to doubt, lest if that marriage went forward, it might turn to his disadvantage; and thereupon by earnest suit, at length concluded a peace with the Duke of Lancaster, on this wise, That his eldest Son Henry should marry the Lady Katherine, the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, and be intitled Prince of Asturias; and in consideration of this marriage, and that all claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend, It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yearly the sum of ten thousand Marks, during the lives of him and his Dutchess; and to have in hand the sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

At this time, the French had a purpose to invade England, with no less a hope then to make a Conquest: and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy: so as in the month of September, there were numbred about *Sluis*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287 Ships, besides those which were rigged in Britain by the Constable, who had caused an Inclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith inclose their Field, and so lodge at more surety: but it so fortune that the Lord William Beauchamp Captain of Callice, took too of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said Inclosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder, and other Instruments of war; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with parcels of the said Inclosure, which King Richard caused to be reared and set up about Winchelsey Town: at last the foresaid Army came into Flanders, and arrived at *Sluis*, where, after some stay, they were so distressed for victuals, that in the End of November, they were glad to be gone, and return into France.

At this time, in a Parliament, Robert Vere Earl of Oxford and Marquess of Dublin, was created Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Poole a Merchants Son, had lately before been created Earl of Suffolk, and made Chancellor of England. And now begins King Richard to enter, I may say, upon the confines of his Destiny: His gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, they were at least the occasions of his own disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to be of full age to do all himself; which was indeed to be of full age to undo himself: for the faults of his younger years might have the excuse to be but Errors; but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to hasten the pace of his destiny the faster, the ill counsel which before was but whispered in his ear, was now scarce forbore to be given him aloud: It is told him, that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controll'd, as in former times he had been; That to be crost of his will by his subjects, was to be their subject; It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the instigation of which Counsel, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to expostulate with his Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? who answering, that he was somewhat more then one and twenty; Well, then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely, as your selves at the like years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembered, that though the King may not be controlled, where he can command, yet he may be opposed, where he can but demand; as now indeed he was: for when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his wars, he was answered, That he needed no Subsidy from his subjects, if he would but call in the debts which the Chancellor owed him: and if he were so tender of him, that he could not find in his heart to do it himself, they would do that work for him: and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his goods were confiscate, and himself adjudged to die, if the King so pleased: though some write, his sentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thousand Marks, and a thousand pounds yearly beside. Upon this provocation, the opposite side seek present revenge: It is devised, that the Duke of Gloucester, as principal, and other Lords that crossed the Kings courses, should be invited to a supper in London, and there be murdered. In the execution of which plot the former Lord Maier, Sir Nicholas Brember, had a special hand: but the present Maier Richard Exton, moved to it by the King, would by no means consent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh strains, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it should not be issued, but by order from the Lords, and the Earl of Arundel was appointed to receive it. But before this time; both Houses had directly agreed, that unless

A unless the Chancellor were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertised hereof, sent to the Commons, that they should send unto Eltham (where he then lay) forty of their House to declare their mindes unto him: but upon conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, should in the name of the Parliament go, unto him: who coming to the King, declared, That by an old Statute; the King once a year might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruptions and enormities within the Realm: and further declared, That by an old Ordinance also it was Enacted, That if the King should absent himself forty days, not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and return home. At this the King is said to say, Well, we perceive our people go about to rise against us, and therefore we think we cannot do better then to ask aid of our Cousin the King of France, and rather submit us to him then to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, they wondred at this opinion of his Majesty, seeing the French King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom; and he might remember what mischiefs were brought upon the Realm in King John's time, by such a course. By these and the like persuasions, the King was induced to come to the Parliament: and soon after John Northam Bishop of Durham is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer, and in his place was appointed John Gilbert Bishop of Hereford; a Frier of the order of Preachers: Also Michael de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, is discharged of his Office of Chancellor, and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, by consent of Parliament, placed in his room. Also by Order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to have oversight, under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: of which thirteen there were three of the New Officers named; as the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Hereford Lord Treasurer, and Nicholas Abbot of Waltham Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: The other ten were, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund of Langley Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Arundel, Richard Lord Scrope, and John Lord Drevieux. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament, it was granted, that Robert de Vere, lately before created Duke of Ireland, should have and receive to his own use 30000 Marks which the French men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord Charles de Blois: but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next Easter he should pass over into Ireland, to recover such Lands as the King had there given him: so desirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the Kings presence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done, either against the Lord Chancellor, or against the Duke of Ireland, or against Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York, and received them into more favour then ever he had done before.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of March, Richard Earl of Arundel, appointed Admiral, and Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, the Earl of Devonshire, and the Bishop of Nornich, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of Flanders, that was ready to come from Rochel with wines; and meeting with them, they set upon them: and took of them to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with wines; so as wine grew so plentiful, that it was sold for thirteen shillings four pence the Tun; and the best and choicest for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in Flanders, where they relieved and fortified Bress; and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir Richard Sturrey, who continued still about the King, seemed rather to envy, then to commend: insomuch that when the Earl of Nottingham, that had ever been the playfellow, and of equal age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of Ireland with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance: and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good countenance, because not by the Duke of Ireland with any good welcome.

About this time the Duke of Ireland fought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady Isabel, one of King Edward the third's Daughters; and took to Wife one Lancaster, a Vintners daughter of Bohemia, one of the Queens maids: at which indignity, the Duke of Gloucester, that was Uncle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great displeasure; which the Duke of Ireland understanding, studied how by some means he might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester out of the way: Easter was now past, the time appointed for the Duke of Ireland's going over into Ireland; when the King with a shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into Wales; and in his company Michael de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others; who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, with divers other of that Faction: but when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of Ireland with him; and so his voyage into Ireland was clean forgotten. About the same time, Robert Tresilian Chief Justice came to Coventry, where he indicted two thousand persons. The King and the Queen came to Groby, and thither came by his Commandment, the Justices of the Realm, Robert Belknap Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, and William Borough, Knights: to whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following:

First, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament, were against the Kings Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, It was.

The Parliament requires to have the Chancellor removed.

If the King absent himself from the Parliament forty days, it may lawfully break up.

The Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellor are discharged of their Offices. Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved; all they had done, was presently again undone.

The English Admiral takes up ships all laden with Rich Wines.

1287.

The Duke of Ireland puts away his lawful wife, near a kin to the Duke of Gloucester; and marries a Bohemian maid. Which the Duke of Gloucester offended at, it is plotted to dispatch him out of the way.

Questions propounded by the King, to the Judges, against the Lords: who all answer as the King would have them.

Secondly,

Secondly, How they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made? They answered with one assent, that they deserved death; except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered, they ought to lose their lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other? They answered, That in this the King should over-rule, and if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the Kings will, impeach Officers and Justices, upon their Offences, in Parliament, or no? It was answered They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein Edward the Second was indicted in Parliament, might be sent for; by inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgment given in Parliament against Michael de la Poole were erroneous and revocable? They answered, It was erroneous and revocable: and that if the Judgment were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

In witness of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seals; in the presence of Alexander Archbishop of York, Robert Archbishop of Dublin, John Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Chester, John Bishop of Bangor, Robert Duke of Ireland, Michael Earl of Suffolk, John Ripon Clerk, and John Blake.

At this time the Londoners incurred much obloquie; For, having before been pardoned by the King of some crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his desires; and thereupon being impanelled, they indicted some Lords of many crimes informed against them. But not only the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to Nottingham: the chief cause was, to understand what power of men they could assure the King of, to serve him against the Lords: and further, that where he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should use the matter, that no Knight or Burges should be chosen, but such as the King and his Council should name. To which the Sheriffs made answer, that it lay not in their power to assemble any forces against the Lords, who were so well beloved: And as for choosing Knights and Burgeses, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their ancient liberties, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of Ireland and Gloucester being advertised, he came secretly to conference with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby; who upon consultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them, and the King, on the other part, took advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon, sent the Earl of Northumberland, and others, to the Castle of Rydd, to take the Earl of Arundel, who lay there at that time: but howsoever it fortuned, they failed of their purpose.

After this, he sent others to apprehend him: but he being warned by a Messenger from the Duke of Gloucester, conveyed himself away by night; and by morning was come to Harvington Park, where he found the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick with a great power of men about them: The King hearing of this Assembly at Harvington Park, called his Council, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done: Some were of opinion, that the King should assemble his friends, and joining them with the Londoners, give them battle; the chiefest of this mind was the Archbishop of York: Others thought best, the King should seek to appease the Lords with fair promises, till a fitter opportunity to suppress them: But the King not yet resolved what course to take, caused only order to be taken, that no Citizen of London should sell to the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or furniture of war, under a great pain. But for all this, the Lords proceeded in their course, and sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord John Lovell, the Lord Cobham, and the Lord John Devereux, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm: and further to declare, that their assembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdom: The Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and two or three other about the King, persuaded him to offer Callice to the King of France, to have his assistance against the Lords. Wherein, the King sent to the Mayor of London, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Mayor answered, that he thought it could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning: Well then (said the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Mayor went about it, he was answered, They would never fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realm: At the same time the Earl of Northumberland said to the King: Sir, there is no doubt but these Lords have always been, and still are your true

No man to be gotten to serve against the Lords.

The King would have no Burgeses chosen to the Parliament, but such as he should name, but this could not be.

The King seeks to apprehend the Duke of Gloucester, and others.

The Lords require to have some about the King delivered to them.

What power the City could make upon a sudden.

A and faithful subjects, though now dissembler'd by certain persons about you, that seek to oppress them: therefore my advice is, that you send to them, to come before your presence in some public place; and I verily believe, they will show such reasons of their doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor, and other of the Bishops there present, moved all of the Earls advise; whereupon the King sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to Westminster, on Sunday then next following: which, upon Oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellor, that no fraud nor evil practise should be used against them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambush laid to entrap them at the Mews, and thereupon stayed, so as they came not at the time appointed:

B Whereupon, the King asking why they came not according to their promise? It was answered, Because he kept not his promise; there being an Ambush of a Thousand armed men laid to surprize them at the Mews. The King hearing this, was astonished, and swore he knew of no such thing, and commanded presently the place should be searched: but it was true; an ambush was laid, but not at the Mews, but in a place about Westminster, where Sir Thomas Tryvet, and Sir Nicholas Brember had assembled them. This one action might have made the King sensible of his favourites abusing his authority; but that where affection makes the construction, all things are taken in a good sense. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant dormant, to prosecute the Kings ends without the Kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a false conduct from the King, came to Westminster; of whose coming when the King heard, he apparelled himself in his Royal Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall, before whom, the Lords upon their knees presented themselves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the Lord Chancellor making a speech, wherein he blamed them for raising of Arms, and requiring to know the cause; they answered, They had done it for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the King himself spake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by strong hand: Have not I (saith he) sufficient men to bear you down? In this behalf I make no more account of you then of the basest skulion in my Kitchen. Yet after these great words, he lifted up the Duke of Gloucester, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise, and then led them courteously to his chamber, where they sat and drank together: And finally it was concluded they should all meet again, as well these Lords, as those they accused, at the next Parliament; which the King promised to call speedily, and each party to receive there according to Justice, & in the mean time all parties to be in the Kings protection. But when the Favorite Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durst nor would put themselves to the hazard of such a meeting, and therefore the Duke of Ireland, and the rest of that faction left the Court to be out of the way: But the King not enduring their absence, appointed Thomas Molleneux Constable of the Castle of Chester, to raise an Army, & to safe conduct the Duke of Ireland to him; but they being come as far as Ruloeat-bridge, were encountered by the Earl of Derby; & the Duke of Ireland, not daring to joyn battle with him, fled, and being to pass a River, cast away his gantlers and sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his Horse the spur, leapt into the river, and so escaped; but when these things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into Holland, where being no very welcome guest, he went from thence into the Bishoprick of Utrecht, & after two or three years scrambling about in manner of a fugitive, at Lovain in Brabant he ended his life.

C man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favour, if with that favour he had not grown proud, and in that pride, injurious and insulting over others no less deserving then himself. He was valiant enough against any man but the Earl of Derby, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of Ireland, and of King Richard himself seemed to stand in fear, for neither of them durst meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by those about them.

D About this time the Duke of Suffolk doubting some plots laid to surprize him, fled over to Callice in disguise, shaving his beard, and counterfeiting himself a Poulterer, to sell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to Callice, was by the Lord William Beauchampe, Deputy of the Town, sent back into England, whom the King notwithstanding permitted to go at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid then hurt, more suspicious then he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough against the King, at least to justify their Arms, and thereupon with an Army of Forty thousand men, they came to London, where after some debate, they were received; and then the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Derby and Nottingham went to the King in the Tower to whom, after humble salutations, they shewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of Ireland, to levy an Army for their destruction: likewise the Letters which the French King had written to him, containing a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to do acts to his own disonour and the Kingdoms.

E This done, upon the Kings promise that he would come the next day to Westminster to treat further of these matters, the Lords departed, only the Earls of Nottingham and Derby, at the Kings instance, stayed all night; but before the King went to bed his mind was clean altered for keeping his promise to meet the Lords the next day at Westminster, which the Lords understanding, they sent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promise, they would choose another King, that should hearken to the faithful counsel of his Lords. This touched the King so to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, how

F They threaten to choose a new King.

The King requires the Lords, to come unto him; but they hearing of an ambush laid for them, forbore.

But upon safe conduct from the King they came, and the King received them in show kindly.

1388. It is concluded that at the next Parliament all parties should be heard.

The Duke of Ireland flies into Holland, and after two or three years dyed at Lovain.

The Earl of Derby a traitor both to the Duke of Ireland, and to the King himself.

The Lords with an Army of Forty thousand, came to the King at London, & shew their grievances.

Hereupon the King removes or puts in prison all those whom the Lords required.

The Parliament, that wrought wonders. Where all the Judges but one are arrested and sent to the Tower.

Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, hanged at Tyburn, by the Duke of Gloucester. Divers others executed.

All the Judges banished the Realm. The King bound by Oath, to stand to such order as the Lords should take.

how much it concerned the good of the Kingdom, that those Traitors so often spoken of, A should be removed from the Court: To which the King, though much against his will, yet at last condescended: And thereupon presently Alexander Nevill Archbishop of York, and Thomas Ruffoke Bishop of Chichester, and Confeſſour to the King, were expelled the Court, who not willing to come to after-reckonings, fled no man knew whither. They expelled also John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, Lord Treasurer; the Lord Zouch of Haringworth, the Lord Burwell, the Lord Beaumont, Albery de Vere, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Alderbury, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Lovel, Knights: but constrained to put in sureties to appear at the next Parliament. Also certain Ladies were expelled the Court; as the Lady Poyning, the Lady Moulting, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were also arrested, and committed to several Prisons, Sir Simon Burley, William Elmham, John Beauchamp, Steward of the Kings House, Sir John Sarr, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir James Bernays, Sir Nicholas Digworth, and Sir Nicholas Brember, Knights. Also Richard Clifford, John Lincoln, Richard Mitford, the Kings Chaplains; Nicholas Selake, Dean of the Kings Chappel, and John Blake a Lawyer.

Shortly after, the Parliament began, (called afterward, The Parliament that wrought wonders:) On the first day whereof, were arrested as they fate in their places, all the Justices (but only Sir William Shipwith:) as Sir Roger Fasthorpe, Sir Robert Belknappe, Sir John Cary, Sir John Holt, Sir William Brork, and John Alackon the Kings Serjeant at Law; and were all sent to the Tower for doing contrary to an Agreement made the last Parliament. Also in the beginning of this Parliament, Robert Vere Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevill Archbishop of York, Michael de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tresilian Lord Chief Justice of England, were openly called to answer Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundel, Henry Earl of Derby, and Thomas Earl of Nottingham, upon certain Articles of high Treason: and because none of them appeared, it was ordained by whole consent of Parliament, that they should be banished for ever, and all their lands and goods seized into the Kings hands (their intailed lands only excepted.) Shortly after, the Lord Chief Justice Robert Tresilian, was found in an Apothecaries house in Westminster; where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of Gloucester, who caused him the same day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged. On the morrow after, Sir Nicholas Brember was brought to his Answer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Axe which himself had caused to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir John Salisbury, and Sir James Bernays, lusty young men, were drawn and hanged; as also John Beauchamp Lord Steward of the Kings House, John Blake Esquire: and lastly, Sir Simon Burley, Son to the great Sir John Burley Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on Tower-hill; whose death the King took more heavily and more painfully than all the rest. Also all the Justices were condemned to die, but by the Queens intercession, they were only banished the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiscate, only a small portion of money was assigned them for their sustentation. Finally, in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he should stand unto, and abide such Rule and Order as the Lords should take: and this Oath was required also of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

In the latter end of the Kings eleventh year, the Earl of Arundel was sent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War; with whom went the Earls of Nottingham and Devonshire, Sir Thomas Piercy, the Lord Clifford, the Lord Camois, Sir William Elmham, &c divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of Britain against the King of France: but before they came, the Duke of Britain, was reconciled to the King of France; and so needing not their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unless we reckon some petty Inroads of the Scots: and that Sir Thomas Trivet dyed with a fall off his Horse: and that Sir John Holland, the Kings Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of Huntington: and that there was contention in Oxford, between the Northern and the Southern Scholars; which was pacified by the Duke of Gloucester.

In his twelfth year, Commissioners were appointed to meet at Balingham, betwixt Callice and Bulloign, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of England, France, and Scotland: and after long debating, a Truce was at last concluded, to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years. But now the King, to shew his plenary authority of being at full age, removed the Archbishop of York from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his place William Wickham Bishop of Winchester: also he removed the Bishop of Hereford from being Treasurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of Arundel likewise unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed, and the Admiralty of the Sea; was removed, and the Earl of Huntington put in his room.

About this time, the Lord John Hastings Earl of Pembroke, as he was practising to learn to Joust, was stricken about the privy parts, by a Knight called Sir John St. John; of which hurt he soon after dyed: In whose Family, it is memorable, that for many generations together, no son ever saw his father, (the father being always dead before the son was born.) The Original of this Family was from Hastings the Dane, who in the reign of King Alured, long before the Conquest, about the year 890. came with Rollo into England. But howsoever, in this John Hastings ended the then honourable Titles of the Hastings; for this man dying without issue, his Inheritances were dispersed to divers persons: The honour of Pembroke came to Francis at Court; by the Kings gift the Barons of Hastings and Welford came to Reynold Gray of Ruthin: the Barony of Aburgavenny was granted to William Beauchamp of Bedford.

About

A About this time, John Duke of Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine, receiving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as investitures of that Duchy. Also the Duke of York's Son and Heir was created Earl of Richmond.

In his thirteenth year, a Royal Juſts was Proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on Sunday next after the Feast of S. Michael: which being published, not only in England, but in Scotland, in Alsaigne, in Flanders, in Brabant, and in France, many strangers came hither; amongst others Valeran Earl of S. Poll, that had married King Richards Sister; and William the young Earl of Oſervant, Son to Albert de Bayere Earl of Holland and Hainault. At the day appointed there issued forth of the Tower, about three a clock in the afternoon, sixty Courſers apparelled for the Juſts; and upon every one an Esquire of honour, riding a soft pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of honour, (Froystard faith, threeſcore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold: These Knights being on the Kings part, had their Armour and apparel garnished with white Harts, and Crowns of gold about their necks; and so they came riding through the streets of London, unto Smithfield: the Juſts lasted divers daies; Fabian faith, four and twenty: All which time the King and Queen lay at the Bishops Palace by Pauls Church, and kept open house for all comers.

In his fifteenth year, the Duke of Lancaster went into France, having in his train a thousand horse; and met the King of France at Amiens, to treat of a peace between the two Kingdoms: but after long debate, a Truce only was concluded for a year.

About this time also, the King required the Londoners to lend him a thousand pounds: which they refused to do; and not only so, but they abused an Italian Merchant, for offering to lend it. This moved the King to some indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens, against the servants of the Bishop of Salisbury Lord Treasurer; for that, where one of the Bishops servants, named Walter Roman, had taken a horse-loaf out of a Bakers Basket, as he passed in the streets, and ran with it into his Lords house; the Citizens thereupon assailed the house, and would not be quiet, till the Mayor and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeased them. Upon complaint hereof, urged against the Citizens, by the Bishop of Salisbury Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Arundell Archbishop of York Lord Chancellor, the Mayor and Aldermen, and divers other substantial Citizens are arrested: the Mayor is committed to the Castle of Windsor, and the other to other Castles; the liberties of the City are seized into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Mayor utterly ceased; the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, first Sir Edmund Derlington, and afterward Sir Baldwin Radington; still at length, by special suit of the Duke of Gloucester, the King was contented to come to London, to so great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on horse-back, clad all in one Livery, and presented the King and Queen with many rich gifts: yet all gave not satisfaction, to have their liberties restored, till they afterwards paid ten thousand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lion: It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not be torn in pieces.

In his sixteenth year, the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester are once again sent into France, to treat of a peace: but when they could not agree with the French Commissioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; though perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of France fell newly again into his old fit of Frenlie, which called away the French Commissioners from further Treaty.

In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was set forth, That all Irish men should avoid this Realm, and return home: The occasion was, because so many Irish were come over, that Ireland in a manner was left unpeopled: infomuch, that where King Edward the third had received from thence yearly the sum of thirty thousand pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repel Rebels. Whereupon at Michaelmas King Richard went himself into Ireland, attended with the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland, the Lord Thomas Piercy Lord Steward, and divers others of the English Nobility; to whom came in the great Oseale King of Meth, Bryan of Thomond King of Thomond, Arthur Macmur King of Leynster, and Conhur King of Cheveny and Darpe: and these King Richard stayed all that Winter, and after Christmas called a Parliament; at which time also the Duke of York, Lord Warden of England, in the Kings name called a Parliament at Westminster: to the which was sent forth of Ireland the Duke of Gloucester, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occasions for supply of money; whose words so far prevailed, that a whole tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity.

In his twentieth year was a famous Enterview between the two Kings of England and France: where was set up for King Richard a rich Pavilion, a little beyond Gwyntes, within the English pales; and another the like for the French King, on this side Arge: The Distance betwixt the two Tents was beſer on either side with Knights armed with their swords in their hands, four hundred English on one side, and four hundred French on the other: the two Kings before their meeting took a solemn oath for assurance of their faithful and true meaning, to observe the sacred laws of amity one toward another, in this enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the same place where they met, there should be builded at both their costs a Chappel for a perpetual memory, which should be called, The Chappel of our Lady of Peace. On Simon and Judes day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangelists, to observe and keep them. This done, the French King brought his Daughter Isabel, and delivered her to King Richard, who

1390.  
A royal Juſts held in Smithfield, and the solemnity of it.

1392.

The King displeased with the City of London; and why: and how pacified.

The liberties of the City are seized, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

1393.

1395.  
All Irish men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

King Richard goes into Ireland.

1397.

A famous Enterview between the two Kings of England & France, and the manner of it.

King Richard marries Isabel the King of France's daughter, being but eight years of age.

The Duke of Lancasters issue by Katherine Swinford, legitimated by Parliament.

The Duke of Gloucester with unadvised words, moves the King to anger.

The Duke of Gloucester and other Lords conspire to seize upon King Richard, but are discovered.

The King by a wife, seizeth upon the Duke of Gloucester, and sends him presently to Calice, where soon after he lost his life.  
Divers other Lords committed to the Tower.

who shortly after at Calice married her, and upon the 17 of January following, she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. A match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and less profit; for the Lady being but eight years of age, there could be no hope of Issue for a long time, which was King Richard's greatest want; and as little supply of his wants otherwise, her Portion perhaps scarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, who cost him three hundred thousand Marks.

The Duke of Lancasters, in the thirteenth year of King Richard's reign, had been created Duke of Aquitaine; but when the Gascoigners would not receive him, shewing reasons why that Duke-dome ought not to be separated from the Crown of England, his Grant was revoked, and so it remained still in Demefn of the Crown.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of Lancasters caused to be legitimated the Issue he had by Katherine Swinford, before he married her; of whom Thomas Beaufort was created Earl of Somerset.

This year also, the King receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of Brittany, upon Brest, delivered up the Town unto him; and thereupon, the English souldiers that were there in Garrison, were all discharged and sent home; who, at a Feast which the King kept at Westminster, coming in companies together into the Hall; as soon as the King had dined, and was entering into his Chamber, the Duke of Gloucester asked him, if he did mark those men that stood in such troops in the Hall: yes marry (said the King) who were they? They were (said the Duke) those Souldiers, who by your rendering up of Brest have been sent home, and now must either starve or steal; and therewithal, very unadvisedly in words, taxed the King with unadvisedness of his or deed: To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Unkle, do you think me a Mergle, or a Fool, to sell my land? By S. John Baptists No: But could I refuse to render the Town, when tender was made upon the money lent, upon it? Indeed nothing could more discover the Duke of Gloucesters, either weakness if he knew not that Brest was but only a Mortgage; or in justice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, though the money were rendered, to have kept it still: but such is the course of many, to take part with the Politicks against the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjustly, when doing justly ought to be their chiefest end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter, kindled in the King such a displeasure against the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched, but by his blood. And first he complained to his other two uncles, the Dukes of Lancasters and York, of his undutiful behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall some unadvised words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might press upon them to answer for their brothers faithfulness, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incense the King farther against him.

It happened that the Duke of Gloucester had with him one day at his house, the Abbot of S. Albans, that was his Godfather, and the Prior of Westminster: and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongst other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Vision the night before? To which the Prior was loth at first to make a direct Answer; but at last, being earnestly requested, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confessed that he had a Vision indeed, which was, that the Realm of England should be destroyed through the misgovernance of King Richard. By the Virgin Mary (said the Abbot) I had the very same Vision. Whereupon the Duke presently disclosed to them all the secrets of his mind, and by their devices contrived an assembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at Arundell Castle that day fortnight; at which time he appointed to be there himself, with the Earls of Darby, Arundell, Marshall, and Warwick; also the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Abbot of S. Albans, the Prior of Westminster, with divers others: And accordingly all these met at Arundell Castle, at the day appointed: where receiving first the Sacrament, by the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be assistant each to other, in all such matters as they should determine; they resolved to seize upon King Richard, and upon the Dukes of Lancasters and York, and commit them to prison; and all the other Lords of the Kings Council, they determined should be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marshall, that was Deputy of Calice, and had married the Earl of Arundell's daughter, discovered all their counsel to the King; who thereupon, by a plot devised by his Council, took his Brother the Earl of Huntingdon with him, and rising from supper, rode that night to the Duke of Gloucesters house at Plashey in Essex. When the King came thither, the Duke was a-bed; but informed of it, cast his Cloak about his shoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings grace, with all reverence, welcome. The King courteously requested him to go and make himself ready, for that he must needs ride with him a little way, to confer of some business. The Duke presently made him ready and came down; and as soon as the King and his Company was gone a little way from the house, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marshall arrested the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was sent to Calice, where after some time he was dispatched of his life, either strangled, or else smothered with Pillows, as some write.

At the very same time was the Earl of Arundell apprehended by the Earls of Rutland and Kent: the Earl of Warwick also, when the King had invited him to dinner, and shewed him very good countenance, was taken and arrested in the place: as likewise at the same time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord John Cobham, and Sir John Cheyny. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at Nottingham, forbearing such as should appeal them in Parliament; namely, Edward Earl of Rutland, Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshall, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, John Hekland Earl of Huntingdon, Thomas Beaufort Earl of Somerset, John Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Lord Spenser, and the Lord William Scroope Lord Chamberlain: and in the mean

A mean time, the King sent for a power of Cheshire men, to keep Watch and Ward about his Person.

On the 17. of September, a Parliament began at Westminster; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as also of the hard dealing which they had used towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees, before the Earl of Arundell, for one of her Esquires, named John Calverley, who nevertheless had his head smitten from his shoulders; and all the answer she could get, was this: Madam, pray for your self and your Husband, and let this suit alone. Those that set forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were John Bushie, William Bagot, and Thomas Green. The cause of assembling the Parliament was shewed, that the King had called it for reformation of divers transgressions against the peace of this Land,

by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundell, Warwick, and others. Then Sir John Bushie, Speaker of the Parliament, made request on behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be punished according to their deservings; and specially the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then late next the King, whom he accused of high Treason. When the Archbishop began to answer, Sir John Bushie besought the King, that he might not be admitted to answer, lest by his great wit and cunning he might lead him away to believe him. And here Sir John Bushie in all his talk did not attribute to the King titles of honour due and accustomed, but such as were fitter for the Majesty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Archbishop was constrained to keep silence, Sir John Bushie proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, that the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundell and Warwick, should be revoked.

The King for his part protested that they were drawn from him by compulsion, and therefore besought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof: whereupon, the Bishops first gave their sentence, that the said Pardons were revokable, and might be called in; but pretending a scrupulosity, as if they might not with safe consciences be present where Judgment of blood should pass, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The temporal Lords likewise gave their sentence, that the Pardons were revokable: only the Judges and Lawyers were not of this opinion. But howsoever the Archbishop of Canterbury is hereupon condemned to perpetual Exile, and appointed to avoid the Realm within six weeks. Also the Earl of Arundell is by the Duke of Lancasters, who fate that day as High Steward, condemned of Treason, and on the Tower-hill beheaded. There went to see the execution, divers Lords, amongst whom was the Earl of Nottingham, that had married his Daughter, and the Earl of Kent, that was his Daughters Son: to whom, at the place of his execution he said, Truly it would have befemed you rather to be absent, then here at this business; but the time will come ere long, that as many shall marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at mine. After his death, a fame went, that his head was grown to his body again: whereupon, the tenth day after his burial, his body by the Kings appointment was taken up, and then found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was brought forth, and charged with the like Treasons; but by the intercession of the Duke of Lancasters and other Lords, after confession of his fault, was only confin'd into the Isle of Man. Likewise the Lord Cobham, and Sir John Cheyny were only banished, or (as Fabian saith) condemned to perpetual Prison. The Parliament after this was held at Shrewsbury; where,

for the love the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of the Shire of Cheshire, he caused it to be Ordained, that from thenceforth it should be called and known by the name of the Principality of Cheshire; and herewith intituled himself Prince of Cheshire. At this Parliament also, called the Great Parliament, he created five Dukes, and a Dutches; one Marquess, and four Earls. The Earl of Darby was created Duke of Hereford; the Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk; the Earl of Rutland Duke of Albermanle; the Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey; the Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Excester; and the Lady Margaret Marshall Countess of Norfolk, was created Dutches of Norfolk. The Earl of Somerset was created Marquess of Dorset; the Lord Spenser was made Earl of Gloucester; the Lord Nevill, Earl of Westmerland; the Lord Scroope, Earl of Wiltshire; and the Lord Thomas Piercy Lord Steward of the Kings house, was made Earl of Worcester: and for the better

maintenance of their estate, he divided amongst them a great part of those lands that belonged to the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundell and Warwick. Also in this Parliament, the Judges gave their opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before those be first determined, that it is Treason in them that do it. And in this Parliament, the King brought it so about, that he obtained the whole power of the Parliament to be conferred upon certain persons, namely, John Duke of Lancasters, Edmund Duke of York, Edmund Duke of Aumerle, Thomas Duke of Surrey, John Duke of Excester, John Marquess Dorset, Roger Earl of March, John Earl of Salisbury, and divers others, or to any seven or eight of them: and these, by virtue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things, which concerned generally the things of the whole Parliament, to the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous example in time to come. A general pardon was also granted far all offences, to all the Kings subjects, but only to fifty, whose names he would not express, but reserved them to his own knowledge, that when any of the Nobility offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted; and so keep them still within his danger. And for the more strengthening the Acts of this Parliament, the King purchased the Popes Bulls, containing grievous censures and curses to them that should break them. And now the heads of the opposite Faction having lost their heads, and all things as well settled as could be desired, the King was secure, as thinking himself safe; and he had indeed been safe, if

Sir John Bushie Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine titles to the King.

The Lords spiritual and temporal, give their opinions one way, and the Judges and Lawyers another.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is banished.

The Earl of Arundell is beheaded.

A miracle reported of him after his death, but found a fable.

Cheshire made a Principality.

Dukes and Earls created.

What Articles are first to be handled in Parliament. The whole authority of Parliament confirmed upon certain persons.

A general Pardon, but only to fifty, and why.

1398.

Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Duke of Hereford, accused each other. Whereupon a Combat is agreed upon between them, and in what manner.

But the King interposeh and banisheth the Duke of Norfolk for ever; the Duke of Hereford for six years.

The delinquencies of great men punished only with banishment; and the danger of it.

The Duke of Hereford is solicited to return into England.

1399.

He lands with three ships at Ravenspurre in Yorkshire. He pretends his coming to be only to claim the inheritance descended upon him from his Father.

Time and Fortune were not Actors in Revenge, as well as men; or rather, if a superiour power did not enterpose, whose ways are as secret as himself is invincible.

It now fell out, (though writers differ what it was fell out) for some write, that *Thomas Mowbray* accused the Duke of *Hereford*; others, that *Henry Duke of Hereford* accused *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, for speaking words founding highly to the Kings dishonour; to which the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to answer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King, that he lyed falsely. Whereupon a Combat was agreed upon between them: the King laboured to make them friends; but not prevailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the place to be at *Conventry*: where at the day and hour appointed, the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted on a white Courser, barded with green and blew Velvet, imbrodered sumptuously with Swains and Antilopes of Goldsmiths work, approached the Lifts; Of whom the Marshal, being the Duke of *Suffrey*, demanding who he was? he answered; I am *Henry of Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, that am come hither to do my endeavor against *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, as a Traytor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm, and me: Then incontinently he threw upon the holy Evangelists, that his quarrel was true and just, and thereupon required to enter the Lifts, where in a Chair of green Velvet he fate down and reposed himself. Then came the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Horse barded with Crimfon Velvet, imbrodered richly with Lyons of Silver, and Mulberry-trees, & when he had taken his Oath before the Constable the Duke of *Aumerle*, that his quarrel was just, he entered the Lifts, and fate him down in his Chair of Crimfon Velvet, curtained about with white and red Damask. Then the Marshal viewed their Spears, to see that they were of equal length; and the Heralds proclaimed, on the Kings behalf, they should mount on Horseback, and address themselves to the Combat. But when they were far forward, and had their Spears in their Rests, the King cast down his Warder, and the Heralds cryed Stay, Stay. Then the King caused their Spears to be taken from them, and deliberated with his Counsel, what was fit to be done in so weighty a cause. After two long hours it was at last concluded, that *Henry Duke of Hereford* should within fifteen days depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten years were expired, upon pain of death; And that *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk*, should likewise avoid the Realm, and never return into England, upon the like pain. It is observable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of *Norfolk*, the very same day twelve months, in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Glocester* to death at *Callice*, whereof he was then Governor. When these Judgments were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them swear, that the one should never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence to *Venice*, where after some time he dyed with sorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the King, had four years of his Banishment released; and then went to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*, where, of the French King he was so kindly received, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the French King, if King *Richard* by messengers had not hindered him. The Duke might have made his banishment, in manner of a visitation, if he had gone into *Spain*, for there he had two sisters married, the one to the King of *Portingale*, the other to the King of *Spain*; to whom his coming would have been most welcome, but he chose rather to make his stay in *France*, as the place where he might soonest have intelligence out of England: and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his father, the Duke of *Lancaster*; and heard withal that King *Richard* had seized into his hands, all the lands descended upon him, contrary to his promise.

It was a Custom in those dayes, to punish the delinquencies of great men by banishment out of the Realm; a Custom not more grievous to the Subject, then dangerous to the Prince; for by this course, they had means to work so closely in their mines of Revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly seen then at this time, in the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*: For they in their banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King *Richard's* government, fell at last to consult by what means he might best be removed, seeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their consultation about it, as if Fortune her self meant to do their work for them, Solicitations came from many parts of England, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke heared before by the Archbishops instigation, and now set on fire by this solicitation, gives Fortune no leisure to alter her minde, by delaying the time, but without further deliberation prepares to be going: and taking with him the Archbishop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Beaufort* Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt* Esquires, and about some three score other persons, as many as he could readily get; in three ships which the Duke of *Brittain* lent him, he put to Sea; where hovering about the coast a while, to mark the countenance of the shores, he landed at last, about the beginning of July, at *Ravenpurre* in *Yorkshire*: which no sooner was known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Ross*, *Darcy*, and *Baumont*; and shortly after, at *Doncaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his son Sir *Henry Percy*, with the Earl of *Westmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common sort; of whom though some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forsooke to pretend that, for any cause of his coming, but made a solemn protestation that he came only to take possession of the inheritances descended upon him from his father, which King *Richard* most unjustly,

1399.

Many Lords repair to him, and all the Kings Castles are surrendered to him. The L. Scroope Treasurer of England, with Sir *Henry Green* and Sir *Henry Bussie* have their heads smitten off.

King *Richard* being in Ireland, had no notice in six weeks of the Dukes arrival in England. Hearing it, he prepares presently to return; but is otherwise counselled by the Duke of *Aumerle*. He sends the Earl of *Salisbury* before, and promitteth to come himself within six days.

The Earl provides an Army of forty thousand, but when the King came not at this time, they all disbanded and went away.

The King coming over, and finding the Army disbanded, falls to despair, and secretly the next night gets him to *Conway* Castle.

The Duke of *Lancaster* offers conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of *Northumberland* undertakes upon his Oath should be performed.

Hereupon the King goes to meet the Dukes but is entrapped in an Ambush, and carried to *Flint* Castle.

Duke;

ly, and contrary to his promise, had seized into his hands: for this was a reason had no objection: the other he reserved, till his power should not need to regard objections. And indeed, no show-bat ever gathered greatness so fast by rolling, as his Forces increased by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkeley*, he had got a mighty Army; and within three days after, all the Kings Castles in those parts were surrendered to him. The Duke of *York* left Governor of the Kingdom, used his best means to raise Forces to resist him, but found few willing to bear Arms against him: whereupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Dukes coming was but only to take possession of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to *Berkeley* to him, to have there some communication about it. At *Berkeley* at that time was arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burleigh* Knights; *Lawrence Dren*, and *John Golefer* Esquires. From *Berkeley* the two Dukes went forward toward *Briflow*; where in the Castle were the Lord *William Scroope* Earl of *Wiltshire* and Treasurer of England, Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Bussie*, who were taken, and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the day after arraigned before the Constable and Marshal, found guilty of Treason for misgoverning the King and the Realm; and presently had their heads smitten off. Sir *John Russell* also was taken there; but he feigning himself to be out of his wits, escaped for that time.

All this while King *Richard* was in Ireland, where he performed Acts in repressing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongst other of the Great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaster's* son *Henry*, he there for his towardsness in service, knighted him; by which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own absence out of England had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now passed after the Dukes arrival in England; in all which time King *Richard* had no notice of it, by reason the windes were contrary to come forth of England: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hostile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return instantly into England; and had done it, but that the Duke of *Aumerle* his principal Counsellour (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors, or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all means perswaded him to stay so long till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King *Richard's* ill luck to hearken to this ill counsel: but yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into England, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six days at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: but the six days passed, and no news of the King: which made the souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisbury's* perswasion, they were contented to stay for some days longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen days after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*; and landed at *Barklow* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Cheshire* men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing: but when he heard that all the Castles from the borders of *Scotland* unto *Briflow*, were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principal Counsellours had lost their heads at *Briflow*; then, *solvuntur frigore mentis*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licensed every man to be gone, and so shift for himself. The souldiers beought him to be of good cheer, swearing they would stand with him to the death: But this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury* determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better stay. Here the Earl of *Worcester* Steward of the Kings house, broke his white staffe, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who understanding that King *Richard* was returned out of Ireland, he left the Duke of *York* at *Briflow*, and came back with his power to *Berkeley*, and from thence the next day came to *Glocester*, and then to *Rosse*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: on the Sunday following he went to *Lymster*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh*, and Sir *John Leigh*, and many other, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolphe*, forth of Ireland: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his son and heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Glocester's* son and heir (whom King *Richard* had left in custody in Ireland) with all speed to come into England; but the Duke of *Glocester's* son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, dyed of the Plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King; who upon safe conduct coming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of *Lancaster* of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as a humble subject obey him in all dutiful services. Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earls Oath, that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the

1399.

Duke: but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Fereby*, and *James D'Artois a Gascon*, who still wore a white Heart, the Cognizance of his Mother King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the walls where he stood, went down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and as it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this, the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first gate, he there stayed, till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlisle*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroope*, who bore the sword before him, came forth, and sat down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him bowing his knee; and coming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the King took him by the hand, and lift him up, saying, Dear Cousin, you are welcome. The Duke humbly thanking him, said, My Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present, is (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my person, my Lands, and Heritage: whereto the King answered, Dear Confin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception. After this, coming fourth of the Castle, the King called for Wine; and after they had drunk, they mounted on Horseback, and rode to *Chester*, the next day to *Nantwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, and then to *Lichfield*, and there rested Sunday: after that they rode forthward, and lodged first at *Coventry*, then at *Dayntree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunstable*, then at *S. Albans*, and so came to *London*: In all which journey they suffered not the King to change his apparel, but made him ride still in one suit of rayment, and that but a simple one, though he in his time, was exceeding sumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at Thirty thousand Marks: And in this sort he was brought the next way to *Westminster*, and at Thirty thousand Marks to the Tower, and committed to safe Custody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the name of King *Richard*; in which many heinous points of Misgovernment were laid to his charge, and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles, the chief were these:

That he had wastfully spent the Treasure of the Realm.

That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel to be put to death.

That he had borrowed great sums of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one penny ever paid.

That he had said, The Laws of the Realm were in his head, and in his breast: by reason of which fantastical opinion, he destroyed Noble-men, and impoverished the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament at his pleasure.

That most Tyrannously he said, That the lives and goods of all his subjects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the state of the Kingdom; they being busied about the same Commission, he went about to apprehend them of high Treason.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at *Shrewsbury*, to condescend to his way, for the destruction of divers of the Lords.

That he caused his fathers own brother, the Duke of Gloucester, without Law to be attached and sent to Callice, and there without reason, secretly murdered.

That notwithstanding the Earl of Arundel at his arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death.

That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men, to make war upon his Lords; and suffered them to rob and spoil, without prohibition.

That though he had made Proclamation that the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their charge.

That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords purveyors, to be again intolerably fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all Kingly honour, and Princely Government: And thereupon, the King being advised by his own servants, rather voluntarily to resign the Crown, then by compulsion to be forced to it; on the Monday before the nine and twentieth day of September, in the year 1399. he made a solemn resignation, before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that purpose: and an instrument of his resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himself, and then subscribed it; and withal, made it his suit, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his successor, and King after him; and for a sign of his desire hereof, he took his signet Ring of Gold from his finger, and

The Dukes reverence to the King in coming to him.

But yet is basely carried away and committed to the Tower.

Articles delivered to the Parliament against King Richard.

He is by Parliament deposed.

He voluntarily resigns his Crown to the Duke of Lancaster.

and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaster*; that never man who had used a Kingdom with such violence, gave it over with such patience, or rather such willingness, that he seemed rather to affect it, then that he was any way forced to it. This resignation of King *Richard* being shewed to the Parliament, both Houses gave their assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the fenecement of his deposing, which was done by the Bishop of *Asaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

And now it is able to be observed, what a wonderful concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and against King *Richard*, happened together, whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been possible for him to compass his design as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept six weeks from hearing of the Dukes arrival, he had not given him so large a time for raising of Forces; and so more easily might have resisted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Dukes arrival, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not stayed so many daies longer, then he promised, he had found an Army ready to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a stop to the Dukes proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battle, as his followers themselves would have had him to do, he could not chuse but have made a better end of his business then now he did. But when all is done, there is notwithstanding the blows of Fortune; or to say better, No resisting the Decree of Heaven; but seeing that Decree is an Abyssus to us, and may perhaps be conditional; we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our utmost endeavours to divert it: that it may truly be said, King *Richard* lost his Crown, more by his own Treason, then by the Treason of any other.

### Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, in a Parliament held at *Glocester*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants, upon every sack of Wool a Mark, for this present year; and for every pounds-worth of Wares, brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, six pence of the buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, a Subsidy was granted to be levied of the great men of the Realm, to the end the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks; every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Miter, as much: every Monk, three shillings four pence: also every Justice, Sheriffe, Knight, Esquire, Parson and Vicar, were charged after a certain rate; but no Commons of the Laity. Also this year, in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; but with this condition, That from thenceforth, which was in *March*, 1380. till the Feast of *S. Michael*, which should be in the year 1381. there should be no more Parliaments: but yet was not observed. In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kind of Subsidie was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six shillings eight pence; and as much of every Nun; and of every man or woman, married or not married, being sixteen years of age, (beggars only excepted) four pence. In his fifth year, a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants, of certain Customs of their Wools which they bought and sold, called a *Malercot*, to endure for four years. In his seventh year was granted him one Moity of a Fifteenth by the Laity; and shortly after, a Moity of a Tenth by the Clergy. In his ninth year, half of a Tenth, and half of a Fifteenth by the Laity. In his eleventh year, there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth year at a Parliament, was granted of every sack of Wool, forty shillings, whereof, ten shillings to be applied presently to the Kings use; the other thirty to remain in the hands of Treasurers, towards the charges of wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted, of six pence in the pound; whereof, four pence to the use last mentioned; the other two pence to be at the Kings pleasure. In his fifteenth year, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the charges of *John Duke of Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth year, a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth year, the Clergy granted him a Tenth, to be paid that year. In his one and twentieth year, upon pretence of having aided the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundell* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Country to seal, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth year, a Fifteenth and a half was granted; and for the Customs of Wools, fifty shillings upon every sack, of *English* men born, and three pounds of *Strangers*.

### Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

IN his second year, in a Parliament at *Glocester*, it was enacted, That Merchant-Strangers might buy and sell in Grofs, or by Retail, within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was Ordained, that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Abby of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary with purpose to defraud their Creditors. That their lands and goods should be liable to their debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Mayor of *London*, upon suggestion that the Fishmongers used great deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it Enacted, That from thence

A Subsidie granted where the Commons are spared.

A Malercot what it was.

Blank Charters committed to be sealed by Gentlemen, that he might charge them afterward at his pleasure.

thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any provision of Victuals should be admitted Maioir of the City: but in the Parliament next following, were restored to their liberty again, saving that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customes should be tried at the Maiors Court. In his eleventh year, King Richard created John Beauchamp of Holt, Baron of Kederminster, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made; for before this time, Barons were always made by calling them to Parliaments by the Kings Writ. Till this time, women used to ride astride as men do.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the second year of this Kings reign, there came messengers from the new elected Pope Urban, to require the Kings aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismatics, that had elected another Pope, whom they named Clement: which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through perswasion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Urban's request was granted, and Clement rejected. In his fourth year, John Wickliffe set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such sort as the Church of Rome did then teach. In his sixth year, Henry Spenser Bishop of Norwich received Bulls from Pope Urban, to grant all privileges of the Crusado to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope Clement; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition, agreed, that it should go forward; and thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Ferington, the Lord Henry Beaumont, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Tryvet, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 25000 Franks, and the Army to 3000 Horse, and 15000 Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into Flanders, won the Towns of Graveling, Dunkirke, and Newport; but at last encountered by a mighty Army of the French, he was put to the worst, and returned into England. In the twelfth year of this Kings reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this year Thomas the late Earl of Lancaster, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time also the Wickliffe marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of Norwich. In his thirteenth year Proclamation was made, that all beneficed men abiding in the Court of Rome, should return into England by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices; and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewise. Also about this time a Statute was made, that no Ecclesiastical person should possess Manours, Houses, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatsoever at the Fee of the King, without the Kings License and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year, the Wickliffes were persecuted, and excommunication pronounced against them by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this Schism of the two Popes, the French Clergy wrote in behalf of Clement their Pope, and sent it into England; the Clergy of England on the contrary wrote in behalf of Pope Urban, and so nothing was agreed.

### Works of Piety in his time.

IN the twentieth year of this Kings reign, William Bateman Bishop of Norwich builded Trinity Hall in Cambridge. In the third year of his reign, John Philpot Maioir of London, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them seven pence the week for ever; and as any of those thirteen persons dieth, the Maioir appointeth one to succeed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, King Richard caused the great Hall at Westminster to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, Simon Archbishop of Canterbury, slain by the Rebels upon Tower-hill, built the West-gate of Canterbury, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. Thomas Fitz-Alan, or Arundell, being Bishop of Ely, built the great Garth-house of Ely house in Halburn; and being after Bishop of Canterbury, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the West-end of his Church there, called to this day, Arundell Steeple, and bestowed a tunable ring of five Bells upon the same.

### Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, so great a mortality afflicted the North parts of England, that the Country became almost desolate. In his sixth year, on the 24 day of May, there happened so great an Earth-quake, or (as some write) a Water-shake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one against the other. In July, in the year 1389, whilst the King was at Shrewsbury, there swarmed in his Court such multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmishing with one another; that in the end they were swept away with brooms by heaps, and bushels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in March, first there were terrible Winds; afterward followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a bushel of Wheat was sold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was sold for six pence, and Wool was sold for two shillings a stone. In his fourteenth year, on Christmas day, a Dolphin was taken at London-bridge, being ten foot long, and a monstrous grown Fish. In his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likeness of fire appeared in the night in many places of England; which when a man went alope, went as he went,

Barons first made by Letters Patents.

Divers Lords and others undertake the Crois.

Thomas late Earl of Lancaster, Canonized for a Saint.

The Wickliffes persecuted.

Trinity Hall in Cambridge by whom founded.

Arundell Steeple in Canterbury by whom built.

The price of Wheat and Wool in a dearth. A Dolphin taken at London-bridge. A strange Exhalation.

A and stayed, as he stayed; sometimes like a Wheel, sometimes like a Barrel, sometimes like a Timber-log; but when many went together it appeared to be afar off. Also in a Parliament time, there was a certain Image of Wax made by Necromancy (as was said) which at an hour appointed, uttered these words:

The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lift up aloft; the feet shall be lift up above the Head; and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the Marvellous Parliament; not long before the Parliament that wrought wonders. In his one and thirtieth year, a River not far from Bedford, suddenly ceased his course, so as the channel remained dry by the space of three miles; which was adjudged to signify the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almost through all England, all Bay-trees withered, and afterwards grew green again; which was supposed to import some strange event. About the year 1280, the making of Guns was found by a German, which may well be reckoned amongst casualties, seeing it was found by casualty; for this German having beaten brimstone in a Morter to powder, and covered it with a stone; it happened, that as he struck fire, a spark chanced to fall into the powder; which caused such a flame out of the Morter, that it raised a stone a great height; which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the powder with some other ingredients, and so finished that deadly Engine. The first that used it were the Venetians against the Inhabitants of Genoa.

An Image of wax, made by Necromancy, spake certain words.

All Bay-Trees withered: and after grew green again.

Guns found about this time by a German.

### Of his Wives.

C King Richard in his time had two Wives, the first was Anne Daughter to the Emperour Charles the Fourth, and Sister to the Emperour Wenceslaus; who lived his Wife ten years, and dyed without Issue at Sheem in Surry, in the year 1392. whole death King Richard took too heavily, that he caused the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced, as though to revenge himself upon the place, could ease his mind, and mitigate his sorrow. His second Wife was Isabel Daughter to Charles the sixth King of France; she was married to him at eight years of age, and therefore never co-habited. After King Richard's death she was sent home, and married afterward to Charles Son and Heir to the Duke of Orleans.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

D HE was the goodliest personage of all the Kings that had been since the Conquest; tall of stature, of stouthead and strong limbs, fair and amiable of countenance; and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautiful Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, then in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous disposition, apt to believe, and therefore easie to be abused. His greatest transgression was, that he went with his friends ultra vias; where he should have gone but usque ad aras. His greatest imbecility, that he could not distinguish between a flatterer and a friend. He seemed to have in him both a French nature and an English; violent at the first apprehension, calm upon deliberation; He never shewed himself more worthy of the Government, then when he was deposed as unworthy to govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not so dear unto him, as a private quiet life; which if he might he have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

### Of his Death and Burial.

K King Richard shortly after his Relinquishment, was conveyed to the Castle of Leeds in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret; where the common fame is, that he was served with costly meat, like a King, but not suffered once to touch it, and so died of forced famine. But Thomas Walsingham referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himself, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King Richard's doings, saith, that King Henry sitting one day at his Table, said sighing, Have I no faithful friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This speech was specially noted by one Sir Piers of Exton; who presently with eight persons in his company went to Pomfret, commanding the Esquire that took the Assay before King Richard, to do so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King Richard sitting down to dinner, was served without Assay, whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his duty? Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by Sir Piers of Exton, who is newly come from King Henry. When King Richard heard that word, he took the Carving knife in his hand, and stroke the Squire on the head, saying, The Devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee together: And with that word Sir Piers entered the chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King Richard perceiving this, put the Table from him, and stepping to the foremost man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and flew four of those that thus came to assail him; but in conclusion, was felled with a stroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir Piers gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be scarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without shewing any warrant, should be admitted to do such a fact. Sir Piers having thus slain him, wept bitterly: a poor amends for so heinous a trespass. King Richard thus dead his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all save the face, & then brought to London, where it lay at Paul's three days together, that all men might behold it, to see he was dead: The Corps was after had to Langley in Buckinghamshire, and there buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers:

Starved.

Murdered.

Preachers : but afterward by King Henry the Fifth, it was removed to *Westminster*, and there honourably entombed, with Queen Anne his Wife ; and that beautiful picture of a King, sitting Crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Quire in *St. Peter's at Westminster*, is said to be of him : although the *Scots* untruly write, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary and virtuous life in *Scotland*, and there dyed, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Fryers at *Strling*. He lived three and thirty years, reigned two and twenty and three moneths.

## Men of Note in this Kings time.

Men of Valour in his time were so many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task ; and to leave out any would be an injury : yet to give an instance in one, we may take John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, whose valour was no less seen abroad than at home : In France, in Germany, in Spain ; in all which places, he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men, we may name these : *William Thorne* an *Augustine* Fryer of *Canterbury*, an Historiographer : *Adam Merimouth*, a Canon of *Pauls Church* in *London*, who wrote two Historical Treatises ; one intitled *Chronicon 40. annorum* ; another, *Chronicon 60. annorum*. *William Packington* sometimes Secretary to the Black Prince, an excellent Historiographer : *William Badbye* a Carmelite Fryer, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster : *John Bourge*, Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge* : *William Solade*, a Monk of *Buckfast Abbey* in *Devonshire* : *John Thoribye*, Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, and a Cardinal : *William Berton* Chancellour of *Oxford*, an Adversary to *Wickliffe* : *Philip Pepington* Abbot of *Leicester*, a Defender of *Wickliffe* : *Walter Brit*, a Scholar of *Wickliffe*, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments : *John Sharp*, a great adversary to *Wickliffe*, who wrote many Treatises : *Peter Pateshall*, a great favourer of *Wickliffe* : *Marcel Ingelmo*, an excellent Divine, one of the first Teachers in the University of *Heidelberg* : *Richard Wishee* a learned Priest, and an earnest follower of *Wickliffe* : *John Swafham* Bishop of *Bangor*, a great adversary to the *Wickliffe* : *Adam Efton*, a great Linguist, and a Cardinal : *John Trevisa*, a Cornish man, and a secular Priest, who translated the Bible ; *Bartholomew De Proprietatibus Rerum* ; *Polichronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*, and divers other Treatises, *John Mow*, an English man, but a Student in *Paris* ; who compiled in the French Tongue, *The Romant of the Rose* ; translated into English by *Geoffrey Chaucer*, and divers others.

The Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geoffrey Chaucer, by whom composed.

## Maires and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
Sir Nicholas Brembar was Maior.  
Nicholas Twisford, Andrew Pikeman, Sheriffs.  
In his second year,  
John Philpot was Maior.  
John Buscham, Thomas Cornwallis, Sheriffs.  
In his third year,  
John Hadley was Maior.  
John Hellsdon, William Barra, Sheriffs.  
In his fourth year,  
William Walworth was Maior.  
Walter Doget, William Knighthode, Sheriffs.  
In his fifth year,  
John Northampton was Maior.  
John Rotu, John Hind, Sheriffs.  
In his sixth year,  
John Northampton continued Maior.  
Adam Bomme, John Sely, Sheriffs.  
In his seventh year,  
Sir Nicholas Brembar was Maior.  
Simon VVinchcombe, John More, Sheriffs.  
In his eighth year,  
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Maior.  
Nicholas Exton, John French, Sheriffs.  
In his ninth year,  
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Maior.  
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.  
In his tenth year,  
Nicholas Exton was Maior.  
VVilliam Standon, VVilliam More, Sheriffs.  
In his eleventh year,  
Nicholas Exton continued Maior.  
VVilliam Venor, Hugh Falsfasse, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
Nicholas Twisford was Maior.  
Thomas Aussen, Adam Carlehan, Sheriffs.  
In his thirteenth year,  
VVilliam Venor was Maior.  
John VValcot, John Love, Sheriffs.  
In his fourteenth year,  
Adam Bomme was Maior.  
John Francis, Thomas Vivont, Sheriffs.  
In his fifteenth year,  
John Hind was Maior.  
John Shadworth, Henry VVamere, Sheriffs.  
In his sixteenth year,  
VVilliam Standon was Maior.  
Gilbert Masfeld, Thomas Nevington, Sheriffs.  
In his seventeenth year,  
John Hardley was Maior.  
Drew Barintin, Richard VVhitington, Sheriffs.  
In his eighteenth year,  
Sir John Frosste was Maior.  
VVilliam Bramstone, Thomas Knolles, Sheriffs.  
In his nineteenth year,  
Sir VVilliam More was Maior.  
Roger Ellis, VVilliam Seuenoke, Sheriffs.  
In his twentieth year,  
Adam Brown was Maior.  
Thomas VVilford, VVilliam Parker, Sheriffs.  
In his one and twentieth year,  
Sir Richard VVhitington was Maior.  
John VVoodcocke, VVilliam Assham, Sheriffs.  
In his two and twentieth year,  
Sir Drew Barintin was Maior.  
John Wade, John VVamere, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

## Of his coming to the Crown.



After the Resignation of King Richard, and the sentence of his Deposing, openly read in Parliament ; Henry Duke of Lancaster riseth up from his seat ; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his forehead and breast, he said, In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost : I Henry of Lancaster claim the Crown of England, as descended by right line from King Henry the third. And having thus spoken, he sat down again. Upon this, the Archbishop conferred with the Lords ; and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would joyn with the Lords, in choosing Henry of Lancaster for their King : who all with one voice cried, Yea, Yea : whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royal Seat ; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, cap. 9. *Vir dominabitur in populo* : wherein he declared what a happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdom and Valour, and shewed the Duke of Lancaster to be such a one ; and as much the defects in both, of the late King Richard. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election ; and testified to them, that he meant not to take advantage against any mans estate, as coming in by Conquest ; but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawful succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation ; and accordingly, upon the 13 day of October following, the very day wherein the year before had been banished, he was Crowned at Westminster, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Rights and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oyl which a religious man had given to Henry the first Duke of Lancaster, together with this Prophecie, That the Kings anointed with this Oyl, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming to the hands of King Richard, as he was looking amongst his jewels, going then into Ireland, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of Canterbury told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice : whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to Flint, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King Henry, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the Bath, whereof four were his own Sons, Henry, Thomas, John, and Humphrey, all then alive ; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices, as belonging to their Tenures, to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers : The Earl of Northumberland he made Conitable of England ; the Earl of Westmerland was made Lord Marshal ; Sir John Serle, Chancellor ; John Newbery Esquire, Treasurer ; and Sir Richard Clifford was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal : The Lord Henry his eldest Son, being then about thirteen years of age, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and

Anno Dom.  
1399.  
King Henry claims the Crown as descended from King Henry the third.

He is Crowned the very day wherein the year before he had been banished.

Anointed with a special Oyl.

Q

Earl

Earl of Chester, and soon after also Duke of Aquitain : and the Crown was by Parliament Entailed A to King Henry, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

After this a Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King Richard were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year were wholly repealed ; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours ; whereupon Richard Earl of Warwick was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of Arundel was recovered his Inheritance, and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King Richard, were then fully restored to their liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of Westmerland the County of Richmond ; and to the Earl of Northumberland the Isle of Man, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entered into England. And now was the time for shewing of spleens : Sir John Bagot then prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of Armerle for speaking words against the Duke of Lancaster, now King : also the Lord Fitzwater accused him for the death of the Duke of Gloucester : The Lord Morley, appealed the Earl of Salisbury of Treason : and one Hall accused the Duke of Excester, for conspiring the death of John of Gaunt the Kings Father : but King Henry having entered the Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm ; and therefore laying aside the ones Accusations, he accepted of the others Excuses, and received the Duke of Armerle, and the Duke of Excester into as much favour, as if they had never been accused.

Accusations against many, but coarived at by the King.

King Henry acquaints foreign Princes by what Title he came to the Crown.

And to qualify the hard opinion which foreign Princes might conceive of King Richard, depoling, he sent Ambassadors into divers Countreys, to make it known by what title, and by what favour of the people he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of Rome he sent John Tiptot, C vant Bishop of Hereford, Sir John Cheyny Knight, and John Cheyny Esquire. Into France he sent Walter Sherlow Bishop of Durham, and Thomas Piercy Earl of Worcester : Into Spain he sent John Trevor Bishop of Asaph, and Sir William Perre : and into Germany he sent the Bishop of Bangor, and certain others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done, or were easily perswaded that all was done well : only Charles King of France was so discontented with this indignity offered to his son in Law King Richard, that by violence of his passion he fell into his old pangs of Frensie ; but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it ; wherein many Lords of France shewed themselves forward, but specially the Earl of St. Paul, who had married King Richard's half sister : yet having prepared an Army in readines, when afterward they heard of King Richards death, they dissolved it again, as considering the time was then past. The Aquitains also, and specially the Citizens of Bourdeaux, as being the place where King Richard was born, were mightily incensed : but Sir Robert Knolls Lieutenant of Guyen, and afterward Thomas Piercy Earl of Worcester, being sent to them by the King, so perswaded them, that with much adoee they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament, what should be done with King Richard, (for he was not as yet murdered) : whereupon Thomas Aderke Bishop of Carlisle, a learned man and wife, and who had never given allowance to the depoling of King Richard ; now that he was in place of freedom of speech, he rose up, and said :

"My Lords, The matter now propounded is of marvellous weight and consequence ; wherefore there are two points chiefly to be considered : the first, Whether King Richard be sufficient, B "put out of his Throne : the second, Whether the Duke of Lancaster be lawfully taken in. "For the first, how can that be sufficiently done, when there is no power sufficient to do it. "The Parliament cannot, for of the Parliament the King is the head ; and can the body put down the Head ? You will say, But the Head may bow it self down ; and so may the King resign. "It is true ; but what force is in that which is done by force ? and who knows not that King Richards Resignation was no other ? But suppose he be sufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of Lancaster to be lawfully in ? If you say by Conquest, you speak Treason ; for what Conquest without Arms ? and can a Subject take Arms against his lawful Sovereign, and not be Treasoner ? If you say, by Election of the State, you speak not reason ; for what power hath the State to elect, while any is living that hath right to Succeed ? but such a Successour is not the Earl of Lancaster, as descended from Edmund Crouchback, the elder son of King Henry the Third, though put by the Crown for deformity of his body ; For who knows not the falseness of this allegation ? seeing it is a thing notorious, that this Edmund was neither the elder brother, nor yet crook-backed, (though called so for some other reason) but a goodly personage, and without any deformity. And your selves cannot forget a thing so lately done, who it was that in the fourth year of King Richard was declared by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, in case King Richard should die without Issue. But why then is not that calm made ? because Silent leges inter arma ; what disputing of Titles against the stream of Power ? But howsoever it is extreme injustice, that King Richard should be condemned, without being heard, or once allowed to make his defence. And now, my Lords, I have spoken thus at this time ; that you may consider of it before it be too late ; for as yet it is in your power to undo that justly, which you have unjustly done.

Much to this purpose was the Bishops speech ; but to as little purpose as if he had gone about to call back Yesterday : The matter was too far gone ; and scarce a person there present, that had not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done. Yet against this speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting ; It passed in the House as but one mans opinion : And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much severity against any Member

The Bishop of Carlisle's bold speech in behalf of King Richard, and against King Henry.

A Member of that Parliament which had so lately shewed so much indulgence towards him ; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their liberty of speech with more moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marshal, and committed to prison in the Abbey of S. Albans, but afterward without further censure set at liberty, till upon a conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party, he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King Richard, and Edward Mortimer Earl of March, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their behalfs to undo them both : and indeed King Richard was soon after made away : the Earl secured himself by retiring far off, to his Lordship of Wigmore ; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entering the Lists of Aspiring : But although the Divine Providence, for causes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the House of Lancaster ; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the House of Clarence recovered its right in King Edward the Fourth ; that we may know it is but staying the leisure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Person, or by Proxie.

But did King Richard more hurt then good.

1400.

But whether incited by this speech of the Bishop, or otherwise out of the rancour of envy in some, and malice in others ; it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards King Henry ; and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of Westminster. This Abbot was a kind of a Book-statemans, but better read in the Politicks of Aristotle then of Solomon ; who remembering some words of King Henry, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of Derby ; That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much, and fearing, lest being now King, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, then to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward ; and thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords ; as namely, John Holland Duke of Excester, Thomas Holland his brothers son, Duke of Surrey, Edward Duke of Armerle, John Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Spenser Earl of Gloucester, John Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Blunt, and Maundlin one of King Richards Chappell ; who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their spleens against King Henry one with another, they resolved at last, both to take away the Kings life, and of the way how to do it. The devise was this : They would publish a solemn Jufts to be holden at Oxford, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his presence ; and there, in the time of acting the Jufts, when all mens intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murdered. This devise was resolved on : Oaths for secrecy were taken ; and Indentures sextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them : sealed and delivered : The Jufts are proclaimed, the King is invited, and promiteth to come ; secrecy of all hands kept most firmly to the very day : But though all other kept counsel, yet Fortune would not, but the discovered all ; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of Armerle was riding to the Lords at Oxford, against the day appointed, he took it in the way to go visit his Father the Duke of York ; and having in his bosome the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father as they sat at dinner chanced to spy it, and asked what it was ? to whom his son answering, It was nothing that any way concerned him ; By S. George faith his Father, but I will see it ; and therewithal snatching it from him, read it ; and finding the Contents, and reviling his son for being now the second time a Traitor, before to King Richard, and now to King Henry, he commanded his Horses to be instantly made ready, and with all the speed he could make, rode to Windsor, where the King then lay : but the younger years of his son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him ; where locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter, pretending some special reason, he went up to the King, and falling on his knees, asked his Pardon, The King demanding, for what offence ? he then discovered the whole Plot : which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his son. This, though it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtful ; and thereupon lays aside his journey to see the Justings of others in jest, and takes care that he be not justled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the mean time the confederate Lords being ready at Oxford, and hearing nothing of the Duke of Armerle, nor seeing any preparation for the Kings coming, were certainly perswaded that their Treason was discovered : Whereupon falling into consideration of the case they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their safety ; To which purpose, the first thing they did was to apparel Magdalen in Princely Robes, a man as like to King Richard in countenance and personage, as one man lightly can be to another ; and to give forth that he was King Richard escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their proceedings : The next thing was to dispatch messengers to the King of France, and require his assistance. This done, they set forward in Battel-array towards Windsor, against King Henry ; but finding him gone to London before they came, they then deliberate what course to take : Some advised to set King Richard at liberty before their counterfeit Richard should be discovered : Others thought best to follow the King to London, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither ; but as men amazed, marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to Colbrook ; by which time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand, and was marching towards them : but they not thinking so well of their cause, that they durst put it to the trial of a battel ; or perhaps staying for aid out of France ; withdrew themselves back to Sunning near to Reading, where the young Queen

A Conspiracy of Lords, begun in the house of the Abbot of Westminster.

Which was to invite the King to a Jufts at Oxford, and there to seize upon him.

How discovered.

The Lords provide an Army, but are by the King disappointed.

By what accident.

Magdalen the counterfeit King Richard is hanged and quartered.

Another Treason practised against the King.

1402.

Owen Glendour stirreth up the Welsh to rebel.

Queen lay: to whom their coming gave some flashes of comfort, but quenched before they were thoroughly kindled: and from thence they march to *Cicester*; where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took up their lodging in one *Inne*; the Duke of *Excester* and the Earl of *Glocester* in another: And now a strange Accident, beyond the reach of all consultation, gave a period to their Delign; for who would think that a private company durst oppose those Lords having their Army so near them? yet the Bayliffe of the Town upon intelligence (no doubt that these Lords were up in Arms against the King,) taking with him a company of Townsmen, in the night assaulted the *Inne* where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay; who thus assaulted made shift to defend themselves till three a clock in the afternoon; but then, being in danger to be taken, a Priest one of their company, set divers houses in the Town on fire, thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords, to save their houses: but this inflamed them the more; and so hotly they pursued their assault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earl to death; who dying that night their heads were stricken off and sent up to *London*. With them also were taken, Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who were sent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of *Excester* in the other *Inne*, hearing of this assault, fled out of the backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the rescue, but the souldiers having heard a clamour, and seeing fire in the Town, supposing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden fear dispersed themselves and fled; which the Duke seeing, he also, with Sir *John Shelley*, fled into *Essex*, where wandering and lurking in secret places, he was at last apprehended as he sat at supper in a friends house, and led to *Plafsey*, and there shortly after beheaded, the place, where by his counsel and countenance, the Duke of *Glocester* formerly had been apprehended: that we may observe how the Divine Providence, in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes use of the very circumstance of place where the injuries are done. The Earl of *Glocester* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken and beheaded at *Briflow*. *Magdalen* the counterfeit King *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered; with Mr. *Fereby*, another of King *Richard's* Chaplains. Diven other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of mean persons, were in other places put to death; that so much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cause, hath scarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose house the plot was contrived, hearing of these misfortunes, as he was going between the Monastery and his Mansion, fell suddenly into a Palsie, and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. About this time also, a strange piece of Treason is reported to have been practised against the Kings life: that there was found in his bedcloaths an Iron with three sharp pikes standing upright; that when the King should have laid him down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But seeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it; it seems to have been but an idle rumour not worth believing.

But now that the hot *English* blood was well allayed, the *Welsh* blood springs up as hot: For now, *Owen Glendour* an Esquire of *Wales*, brought up at the Innes of Court in *London*; partly out of a desire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived in a suit for lands in controversy between the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* and him, but chiefly out of an humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw the *Welshmen* to a general defection, telling them, that the *English* being at variance amongst themselves, now was the time to shake off their yolk, and to resume their own ancient Laws and Customs. To whose persuasions the *Welsh* men hearkening, made him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army: sets first upon his old Adversary *Reynold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and takes him prisoner; yet with promise of releasement, if he would marry his daughter, which offer though the Lord *Grey* at first not only refused, but scorned, yet out of necessity at last he was contented to accept; when notwithstanding his deceitful Father in law trifled out the time of his enlargement till he dyed. But the *Welshmen* growing confident upon this success, break into the borders of *Herefordshire*, making spoil and prey of the Countrey as freely as if they had leave to do it; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had formerly withdrawn himself to his Castle at *Wigmore*; and having assembled the forces of the Countrey, and joining battel with them, was taken Prisoner, and then fettered and cast into a deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought if *Glendour* had as well known how to use his victory, as to get it, he might at this time have put the *English* yolk into a great hazard to be shaken off; but he having killed 1000. of the *English*, thought he had done enough for that time, and so giving over the pursuit, retired. The inhumanity of the *Welsh* women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carcases of the *English*, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts and noses; whereof the one they thrust into their mouths, the other they pressed between their buttocks. Many noble men, specially his Kinsmen the *Pierces* solicited King *Henry* to deliver *Mortimer*; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sisters in Heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd Competitors.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the *Welsh*, because the King was now employed in a more dangerous service with the *Scots*; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the Kingdom (as it was always their custom to do) had made an In-ride into the County of *Northumberland*, and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of *Wark*; took and spoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the *English* invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the *Orkneys*: Then the *Scots* set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logan*; but before he came to any action, he was encountred, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts,

as often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations; but at last it brake out into an open war upon this occasion: *Robert King* of *Scots* had offered to match his Son *David* with a Daughter of *George* Earl of *Dunbarre*, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward, would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money; but married his son to a daughter of *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglas*: Upon which indignity, *George* of *Dunbarre* flies into *England* to King *Henry*, and with his aid, makes divers incursions into *Scotland*: Whereupon *Robert King* of *Scots* sent to King *Henry*, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him *George* of *Dunbarre*. King *Henry* answered, that he had given him a safe conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, King *Robert* might do in that what he thought best. Upon this answer, the King of *Scots* presently proclaimed warr against him; but King *Henry* as ready in that matter as he, stayed not for King *Robert's* invading of *England*; but himself with a puissant Army invaded *Scotland*, burning Castles and Cities, and not sparing Churches, and Religious Houses. About the end of September, he besieged the Castle of *Maydens* in *Edinburgh*; where Prince *David*, and the Earl of *Dowglas* were: At which time, *Robert Duke* of *Albany*, who in the King of *Scots* sickness managed the business, sent an Herald to King *Henry*, proteſting upon his Honour, that if he would stay but six daies, he would give him battel, King *Henry* rewarded the Herald, and stayed; but six times six daies passed, but neither Duke of *Albany*, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, victuals grew ſcant, and which was worst, a mortality began in the *English* Camp; For which causes, King *Henry* removed his siege, and returned into *England*. As soon as he was gone, Sir *Patrick Heburne* a *Scottishman*, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of *Lough-deane*, he invaded *Northumberland*, making great spoil, and loading his souldiers with prey, and prisoners; but in the Retreat marching looſly, and licentious, was ſet upon by the Earl of *Northumberland* Vice-Warden, at a Town called *Nesbie*, where *Heburne* himself, and all the flower of *Lough-deane* were slain; Sir *John* and *William Cucklurne*, Sir *William Buſſe*, *John* and *Thomas Habbington*, Esquires, and a multitude of common souldiers taken prisoners. On the *English* part few slain, and none of any rank or quality: in revenge whereof *Archibald Dowglas* with an Army of twenty thousand entred *Northumberland*; but in a place called *Hamildon*, were encountred by the *English*, under the leading of *Henry Lord Percy*, surnamed *Hospurre*, and *George* Earl of *March*, who put them to flight; and after the slaughter of ten thousand of them, took five hundred prisoners; whereof the chief were *Mordack* Earl of *Fife*, (son of the General, who in the fight lost one of his eyes) *Thomas* Earl of *Murray*, *Robert* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Arboll* and *Mentith*; and amongst the slain, were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gordon*, Sir *John Levison*, Sir *Alexander Ramsay*, and three and twenty other Knights.

In this mean time, *Glendour* of *Wales* had solicited the King of *France* for aid, who sent him twelve hundred men of quality, but the winds were so contrary, that they lost twelve of their Ships, and the rest returned home. The *English*, deriding this ill success of the *French*, so exasperated the *French* King, that presently after he sent twelve thousand, who landed safely, and joyned with the *Welsh*, but as soon as they heard of the *English* Armies approach, whether mistrusting their own strength, or suspecting the *Welsh* mens faithfulness, they ran to their Ships and disgracefully went home.

King *Henry's* Ambassadors lately sent into *Britain* to fetch the Lady *Jane de Navarre* Dutcheſs of *Brittain*, the relict of *John de Montford* surnamed the Conquerour; with whom the King by Procurators had contracted Matrimony; in the beginning of February returned with her in safety: The King met her at *Wincheſter*, where the seventh of February the marriage was solemnized.

About this time some affronts were offered by the *French*: *Valerian* Earl of *S. Paul*, with seventeen hundred men, landed in the *Ile* of *Wight*, where he burnt two Villages and some few Cottages; but hearing the people of the Island to have assembled, he made haſte to his Ships, and returned home. Also *John* Earl of *Clermont* (the heir of *Bourbon*) won from the *English* the Castles of *S. Peter*, *S. Mary*, and the *New-Castle*: The Lord *de la Bret*, won the Castle of *Calafin*; places of great consequence to the *English*.

And now to make King *Henry* fenſible that a Crown can hardly ever sit easie upon the head, if it be not set on right at first; a new Conspiracy is hatching against him: The *Pierces*, Earls of *Northumberland* and *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hospur*, began about this time to fall off from King *Henry*; their reason was, first, because the King at their request refused to redeem their kinsman *Mortimer* from *Glendour's* slavery; and then because he denied them the benefit of such prisoners as they had taken of the *Scots*, at *Hamildon*, or *Nesbie*; whereupon they went of themselves, and procured *Mortimer's* delivery, and then entred into a League offensive and defensive with *Glendour*; and by their Proxies, in the house of the Archdeacon of *Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and seals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all *England* and from *Severn* and *Trent*, South and Eastward, was assigned for the portion of the Earl of *March*: All *Wales* and the Lands beyond *Severn* Westward, were assigned to *Owen Glendour*; and all the remainder of Land from *Trent* Northward, to be the portion of the Lord *Piercy*. In this, as *Glendour* perswaded them, they thought they should accomplish a Propheſie; as though King *Henry* were the Mould-warp cursed of Gods own mouth; and they were the Lyon, the Dragon and the Wolf which should divide the Land among them. In this mean time King *Henry*, not acquainted with this Conspiracy, caused a Proclamation to be made, intimating that, the Earl of *March* had

The Peace between England and Scotland, how it brake out into open war.

The French aid Owen Glendour, but without success.

King Henry marries the Lady Jane de Navarre, the relict of John Montford surnamed the Conquerour.

Another conspiracy hatching against King Henry: and why.

Articles framed by the Lords against King Henry and sent unto him.

1403.

King Henry with an Army encounters the Lords: where Henry Hotspur is slain; the Earl of Worcester taken prisoner, with divers others.

King Henry slays 36. of his Adversaries with his own hands.

The Earl of Worcester beheaded.

Owen Glendour lurking in the woods, is slain.

1404.

The Duke of Orleans sends a challenge to King Henry: and how he answers it.

voluntarily caused himself to be taken Prisoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their custody, might pretend some colour for their Conspiracy: and therefore he had small reason to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the *Pureites* assited with a company of *Scots*, and drawing to their party the Earl of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *York*, and many other, purposed to joyn with the Captain of the *Welsh*, but first they framed certain Articles against the King, and sent them to him in writing. That he had falsified his Oath given at his landing, swearing that he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown. That most traitorously he had taken Arms against his Sovereign Lord, imprisoned him, and then most barbarously caused him to be murdered. That ever since the death of King *Richard*, he had unjustly kept the Crown from his kinsman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occasion he had imposed divers Taxes upon the people. That by his Letters he procured Burgesses and Knights of the Parliament to be chosen; for which causes and many other, they defied him, and vowed his destruction, and the restoring of the Earl of *March* to his right. King *Henry* could not but know that all these Articles against him were true, yet seeing the knowing it hindered him not from seeking to get the Crown when he had it not; it could less hinder him from seeking to keep it now that he had it; and if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a King, he was likely to be more able, being now a King, to keep it from private men; and as for any objections that Conscience could make, he had enough to answer them all: For, if his Title were good against King *Richard*, by his Resignation, it was good against *Mortimer* by his swearing Allegiance; and upon these grounds, with a mind as confident as if all circumstances were of his side, he raised an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means joyn with the *Welsh*, and about *Shrewsbury* on Saturday *S. Mary Magdalens Eve* he encountered them, in which fight though the *Scots* and *Henry Hotspur* shewed much valour, yet the victory rested on the Kings side; *Hotspur* himself was slain, the Earl of *Worcester* was taken prisoner, together with *Sir Richard Vernon*, *Sir Theobald Trussell*, the Baron of *Kinderton*; and the rest fled. On the Kings part (besides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had that morning revolted from the Conspirators) were slain, *Sir Hugh Shierley*, *Sir John Clifton*, *Sir John Cockayne*, *Sir Nicholas Cusell*, *Sir Walter Blunt*, *Sir John Calverley*, *Sir John Massie* of *Puddington*, *Sir Hugh Mortimer*, and *Sir Robert Gausell*, all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with *Sir Thomas Wendsley*, who dyed afterwards of his wounds; of common souldiers about sixteen hundred, but of the Conspirators above six thousand, whereof 36 the King slew with his own hands; but was once unhorsed by *Dowglas*, who in his presence slew *Sir Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that day in all things atired like to the King; for which exploit, *Dowglas* (being after the fall of his horse taken prisoner) was by the Kings command carefully attended, and without ransom set at liberty: In this battel, the young Prince *Henry*, though wounded in the face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting till. After this victory the King caused publick thanks to be given to God, and then caused the Earl of *Worcester* to be beheaded, and many others of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London Bridge*: And then the King sent his Son *Henry Prince of Wales*, with his whole Army into that Country; but before his coming, *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company; and lurking in the Woods was there famished; many of his associates were taken and put to death. Whilst the Prince was in *Wales*, *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and submitted himself to the King, protesting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treason and Rebellion; whose excuse the King received for the present with gentle language, the rather for that he had the possession of *Berwick Castle* and other places of strength in his power, but yet he wiped not off the score of his misdemeanors out of his mind.

And now with the fourth year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King *Henry* the fourth: those that follow are but such accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The *Britains* under the leading of the Lord of *Castile*, spoiled the Town of *Plimouth*, in revenge whereof, the *Western-men*, under command of *William Wilford*, set forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oyl and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again the *French* landed a thousand men in the *Ile of Wight*, where they got together a great booty of Cattel; but the *Islanders* coming upon them took away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carkates for a booty to the Island. Yet the *French* would not leave so, but a while after, as having gotten new spirits, they cast Anchor before the *Ile of Wight*, and require no less then to have the Island into their possession, but a resolute answer of the *Islanders* frightened them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of *Orleans*, brother to the *French King*, in a vaunting style, sent a challenge to King *Henry* to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company; to which the King answered, That for his own valour it had sufficiently been tried, and for this challenge of the Dukes, neither the Person nor the Cause were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this refusal of the Kings, divers taunts and jeers were bandied between them, till at last the Duke in great passion, falls upon *Vergie* a Town in *Guyen*, but after three months assailing it, being valiantly defended by *Sir Robert Antfield* and three hundred *English* men, he was glad to give over with loss, and return into *France*. Presently upon this, the Admiral of *Britain*, accompanied with the Lord *Du Castille*, and thirty sail of Ships, attempted to land at *Dermouth* in *Devonshire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *Du Castille*, and two of his brothers, and four hundred of his men were slain, besides two hundred

A hundred taken prisoners; of whom, the Lord *Baquerile* Marshal of *Britain*, was one. After this five hundred men of arms, five hundred Cross-bows, and a thousand *Flemings*, under the conduct of the Earl of *S. Paul*, laid siege to the Castle of *Marck*, three leagues from *Callice*; but first by *Sir Philip Hall* Captain of *Callice*, and after by *Sir Richard Aston* Lieutenant of the *English* pale, they were forced to retire and flee: The Earl of *S. Paul* escaped to *S. Omers*, but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken Prisoners. After this, *Thomas Duke of Clarence*, the Kings second Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, with competent Forces entered the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt four Ships riding at anchor, and returned to the relief of *Callice*, besieged at that time by the *French*; and in the way took three Carricks of *Genova* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*. And these were the troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was assembled at *Coventry*; which by some was called, the Lay-mens Parliament, because the Sheriffs were appointed, that none should be chosen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgesses for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill in the Laws of the Land.

But now at home, the Reliques of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *York*, *Thomas Monray* Earl Marshal, the Lords, *Hastings*, *Fawconbridge*, and *Bardolf*, with divers others, conspired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorkwood-Downes*, and there bid defiance to King *Henry*. Articles of Grievances were framed, and set up in all publick places, which drew multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now, *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmerland*, with the Lord *John* the Kings third son, the Lord *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Humphreys*, make head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Forest of *Galltree*, they fate down right against the Archbishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and *Westmerland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more then theirs, he used this policy: he sent to the Archbishop, demanding the reason why he would raise Forces against the King? who answering, that his Arms were not against the King, but for his own defence, whom the King upon the instigation of Sycophants, had threatened: withall he sent him a scrowl of their grievance, which *Westmerland* read, and seemed to approve, & thereupon desired a conference with him: The Archbishop more credulous then wife, perswaded the Earl Marshal to go with him to the place appointed to confer: the Articles, are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Westmerland* seeming to commiserate the souldiers, having been in armour all day, and weary, wished the Archbishop to acquaint his party, as he would do his, with this their mutual agreement; and so shaking hands, in most Courtly friendship drank unto him, whereupon the souldiers were willed to disband, and repair home: which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of horse, which in a colourable manner had made a shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned; and being come in sight the Earl of *Westmerland* arrested both the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal, and brought them both Prisoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who passing from thence to *York*, the Prisoners likewise were carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded. At *Durham* the Lords *Hastings* and *Fawconbridge*, with two Knights, were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolf*, fled first to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David Lord Flemming*: whereupon the King gave summons to the Castle of *Berwick*, which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting and discharging of a Piece, they presently yielded without compolition: and here *William Graystock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinksop*, Knights, and five other were presently put to execution, and many others committed to several Prisons. About this time, *James* son and heir of *Robert King of Scotland*, a child of nine years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was sailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windsor*, the 30 of *March*, 1408. and the King sent them to the Tower of *London*.

*Northumberland* and *Bardolf*, after they had been in *Vales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a power against King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*, and after a year with a great power of *Scots* entered *England*, and came into *Yorkshire*, making great spoil and wast as they passed: but *Sir Thomas Rokeby* Sheriff of *York*, levying the forces of the County, upon *Bramham-moor* gave them battel; in which *Northumberland* was slain, *Bardolf* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. About this time also, *Sir Robert Humphreys* Vice-Admiral of *England*, with ten men of war entered *Scotland*, burnt their *Galley*, and many other ships over against *Beth*, and brought away with him fourteen tall ships laden with corn and other staple commodities, which at his return he sent into the Markets round about, and thereby brought down the prices of all things; and purchased to himself the name of *Mend-market*.

The Prince had been a Student in *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford*, under the tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellour of that University, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, and lately made a Cardinal, by the title of *Ensebius*. From *Oxford*, the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Worcester* was made his Governour: but coming afterward to be at his own disposing, whether being by nature valorous, and not yet well stayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill companions, and emboldned by the opinion of his own greatness; he ran into many courses so unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is said, he lay in wait for the Receivers of his fathers Rents, and in the person of a Thief set upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his companions was arraigned for felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the Kings Bench bar, and offered to take the Prisoner away by force; but being withstood by the Lord Chief Justice, he stepped up to him, and struck him over the face: whereat the Judge nothing abashed,

1405.  
Another conspiracy against King Henry.

But by a policy of the Earl of Westmerland defeated.

The Archbishop of York and Monray Earl Marshal beheaded.

1408.

The Earl of Northumberland slain.

1410.

Sir Robert Humphreys called Mend-market and why.

Prince Henry's disorderly courses.

He strikes the Lord Chief Justice, who commits him to the Fleet.

In what manner the Prince presents himself to his Father.

The K. makes his son John Duke of Bedford, and his son Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; also, Sir Thomas Beauchamp made Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundell Duke of York.

1412.  
King Henry takes upon him the Crusado.

shed, rose up and told him, that he did not this affront to him, but to the King his father, in whose place he sat; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the Fleet. You would have wondered to see how calm the Prince was in his own cause, who in the cause of his companion had been so violent: for he quietly obeyed the Judges sentence, and suffered himself to be led to Prison. This passage was not a little pleasing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of such courage, and a Son of such submission: but yet for these and such other pranks, he removed him from being President of the Council, and placed in it his third son John. This made the Prince so sensible of his fathers displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavoured to do by a way as strange as that by which he lost it; for, attiring himself in a garment of blew Sattin; wrought all with Elyt-holes of black silk, at every hole the needle hanging, by which it was sowed, and about his arm a thing in fashion of a hounds collar, studded with SS. of Gold, he came to the Court at Westminster; to whom, the King (though not well in health) caused himself, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in presence of but three or four of his Privie Counsel, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his unwonted habit and coming? who answered, That being not only his subject but his son, and a son so tenderly always regarded by him; he was worthy of a thousand deaths, if he should intend or but imagine, the least offence to his sacred Majesty, and therefore had fitted himself to be made a sacrifice: and therewithall reached his dagger, holding it by the point to his father. For (said he) I desire not to live longer, then I may be thought to be, what I am and shall ever be, Your faithful and obedient Vassal. With this or the like Answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his sons neck, and with many tears embracing him, confessed that his ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, that from thenceforth no reports should cause any disfaffection towards him. The King about this time, made his son John Duke of Bedford, and his son Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; he made also Sir Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundell he created Duke of York.

The rest of King Henry's daies, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home, unless perhaps he might be troubled in mind for having shed so much English and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or else to the end he might joyn Valour and Devotion in one action together, which hitherto he but used singly; he took upon him the Crusado, and at a Council in White-Friers, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to Jerusalem: But it was otherwise Decreed in Heaven; and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his life in Jerusalem, as shall be shewed hereafter.

### Of his Taxations.

IN the very beginning of his reign, it might pass in stead of a Taxation, that he found in King Richards Coffers, in money and jewels, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth year, an extraordinary Subsidie was granted him; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and of every one that had twenty shillings a year in land, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a Precedent, and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh year, the Clergy granted a Tenth and a half, and the Commons two Fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year wherein there was no Parliament kept, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventh year, a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole year, in which a Subsidie was at last granted; so sharp, that even Priests and Friars who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

### Of Laws and Ordinances made in his time.

Controversies in Religion first punished by burning.

IN this Kings daies, burning and execution by fire for controversies in Religion was first put in practise.

Also in the first year of his reign, an Act was made, that no person of what degree soever, should after that day alledge for his excuse, any constraint or coarcting of his Prince, for doing of any unlawful act; and that such excuse, after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, that no Lord, nor other might give any Liveries to any but their household and menial servants. In his twelfth year, the King caused a new coyn of Nobles to be made, which was of less value then the old Noble by four pence.

Also that all Rypiers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts, should sell their fish in Cornhill and Cheapside themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

Also this King instituted the Dutchy Court, which he did in honour of the House of Lancaster, to the end, the Lands belonging to the Dutchy, might in all following times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his sixth year the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent Procefs to the Sheriffs, that they should chuse no Knights nor Burgesses, that had any knowledge

The Dutchy Court instituted by King Henry.

A knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called, the Lay-mens Parliament. In his seventh year, the Mayor of London for preservation of fish, obtained, that all Wears which stood between London and seven miles beyond Kingstone: as also, such as stood between London and Gravesend, should be pulled up and taken away.

The Lay mens Parliament called.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

BY reason of discord between John of Gaunt, and Wickham Bishop of Winchester; the Bishop either in durance, could not, or in fear, durst not come to the Parliament house, at a time when the King required a supply of money; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, that without their brother, the Bishop of Winchester's presence, they neither can nor will consult of any thing, he is presently sent for, and by the King secured. After this, the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent Procefs to the Sheriffs that they should chuse no Knights or Burgesses that were Lawyers, and was therefore called the Laymens Parliament: And shortly after another Parliament was called, and named the unlearned Parliament, either for the unlearnedness of the persons, or for their malice to learned men: In which the Commons presented a Petition to the King and the upper House; desiring that the King might have the Temporal possessions of the Bishops and Clergie, the value whereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenance for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred Hospitals for maimed Souldiers. They craved likewise, that Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops Prison; and that the Statute made in the second year of the King against Lollards, might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition; and in person commanded them from thenceforth, not to presume to trouble their Brains about any such business, for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good state as he found it. In the twelfth year of his reign certain learned men in Oxford, in their Sermons maintained the opinions of Wickliffe: but the Bishops and Doctors of the University, inhibited and condemned them. In his time was a great Schism in the Church, by reason of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an assembly of Cardinals and Bishops, a third man was elected, named Alexander the fifth, who had been trained up at Oxford.

The unlearned Parliament. The temporal possession of the Clergy required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schism in the Church, by two Anti-Popes.

### Works of Piety done in his time.

KING Henry founded a Colledge at Battlefield in Shropshire, where he overcame the Lord Henry Percy. In his third year, the Conduit upon Cornhill was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir Robert Knolls made the Stone-bridge of Rochester in Kent; and founded in the Town of Pomsfret a Colledge and an Hospital; he also re-edified the body of the White-Friers Church in Fleetstreet, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the Ancestors of the Lord Grey of Codnor. In the eighth year of his reign, Richard Whittington Mayor of London erected an house or Church in London, to be a house of Prayer, and named it after his own name, Whittington Colledge; with lodgings and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also builded the Gate of London, called Newgate, in the year 1420. which was before a most loathsome prison: he builded also more then half of S. Bartholomews Hospital in West-Smithfield, and the beautiful Library in the Gray-Friers in London, now called Christs Hospital. He also builded a great part of the East-end of Guildhall, and a Chappel adjoining to it, with a Library of itone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this time in works of Piety, was William Wickham Bishop of Winchester; his first work was the building of a Chappel at Tichfield, where his Father, Mother, and Sister Perrot were buried: Next, he founded at Southwick in Hampshire, near the Town of Wickham, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of Southwick, a Chauntry, with allowance for five Priests for ever: He bestowed twenty thousand marks in repairing the houses belonging to the Bishoprick; he discharged out of Prison in all places of his Diocess, all such poor prisoners as lay in execution for debt, under twenty pounds: he amended all the high-ways from Winchester to London, on both sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of March, 1379. he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent structure in Oxford, called New-Colledge; and in person laid the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood Neims-Colledge, built by Alover, at Neims intreaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called New-Colledge. In the year 1387, on the 36. of March, he likewise in person laid the first stone of the like foundation in Winchester, and dedicated the same, as that other in Oxford, to the memory of the Virgin Mary. The Grocers in London purchased their Hall in Cunnynhope Lane for 320. marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the tenth of May. King Henry founded the Colledge of Eodringhey in Northamptonshire; to which King Henry the fifth gave land of the Priories of Monk Aiens, by him suppressed.

John Gower the famous Poet, new builded a great part of S. Mary Overies Church in Southmark, where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new market in the Poultry, called the Stocks, was builded for the free sale of forein Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year, the Guildhall of London was begun to be new edified; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this Kings time, John Colepepper, one of the Justices of the common Pleas founded a Free-school with competent yearly maintenance in West Peckham in Kent.

The Conduit in Cornhill begun to be built.

Whittington Colledge, by whom founded. Newgate by whom builded.

William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, his works of piety.

He builded New Colledge in Oxford.

Also the like Colledge in Winchester.

John Gower the famous Poet his work of piety.

The Stocks in the Poultry builded.

Guildhall in London begun to be builded.

Casualties

## Casualties happening in his time.

The Devil appears in the likeness of a Gray Fryer.

A snow that continued four months.

IN his third year, in the Moneth of *March*, appeared a blazing star; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North: fore-shewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after, in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the same year, at *Danbury* in *Essex*, the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Fryer; who entering the Church, put the people in great fear, and the same hour, with a peevish of whirlwind and Thunder, the top of the steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel scattered abroad. In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the Banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cattel without number. Also this year, the Town of *Roylstone* in *Hartfordshire* was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a winter, and such abundance of snow, continued *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

## Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and heirs of *Humphrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*; she dyed before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was *Joan*, Daughter to *Charles* the first King of *Navarre*, she being the widow of *John de Montford* surnamed *Streamy*, or the Conquerour, Duke of *Britain*; who dyed without any issue by King *Henry*, at *Havering* in *Essex*, the year 1437. In the fifteenth year of King *Henry* the sixth, and lyeth buried by her husband at *Canterbury*. He had four sons and two daughters; Of his sons, *Henry* his eldest was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father, King of *England*. His second son was *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*; who was slain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and dyed without issue. His third son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married first with *Anne* daughter to *John* Duke of *Burgundie*; and secondly with *Jacoba* daughter of *Pier* of *Luxembourg*, Earl of *S. Paul*, but dyed also without issue. His fourth son was *Humphrey*, by his brother King *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glocester*, and was generally called the good Duke; he had two Wives, but dyed without issue, in the year 1446. and was buried at *S. Albans*; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in *S. Pauls* Church. Of King *Henry* the fourths daughters; *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis* Barbatous, Palatine of the *Rhene*, and Prince Elector; *Phillippe* his younger Daughter, was married to *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

Concerning his body; he was of a middle stature, slender limbs, but well proportioned. Concerning his Mind; of a serious and solid disposition, and one that stood more upon his own legs than any of his Predecessors had done: in cases of difficulty, not refusing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirm, but not better his own. He was neither merry nor sad, but both: beat pleased when he was opposed, because this was like to do him good, by sharpening his invention: most angry when he was flattered, because this was sure to do him hurt, by dulling his judgment. No man ever more loved, nor less doted upon a wife, then he: a good husband, but not uxorious; that if there be reins to that Passion, we may know he had them. It was thought, he affected the Crown, not so much out of Ambition as out of Compassion, because the oppressions of his Country he could not so well help being a subject, as a King; for otherwise we may truly say, he was a looser by the Crown, being not so great for a King, as he was before for a Subject: The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever since been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why else would he take upon him the *Crusado*, having been told by a skillful Soothsayer, that he should die in *Jerusalem*? but it seems, he did not believe him.

## Of his Death and Burial.

He dies of an Apoplexy.

IN the forty sixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a spirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Crusado*, and great provision was made for his journey to *Jerusalem*: but alas, his journey to *Jerusalem* required no such provision; for being at his Prayers at *S. Edward's* shrine, he was suddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Westminster's* house; where recovering his senses, and finding himself in a strange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbots house, in a Chamber called *Jerusalem*: Well then (said he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jerusalem* where a Soothsayer told me I should dye. And here he dyed indeed, on the 20 day of *March*, in the year 1413. when he had lived six and forty years, reigned thirteen and a half. It is worth remembering, that all the time of his sickness, his will was to have his Crown set upon his bolster by him; and one of his fits being so strong upon him, that all men thought him directly dead; the Prince

coming

A coming in, took away the Crown: when suddenly the K. recovering his senses, missed his Crown; and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down said, Sir, to all our judgements, and to all our griefs, you seemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right: but seeing to all our comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully then I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your self. Well (saith the King sighing) what right I had to it, God knows. But (saith the Prince) if you dye King, my sword shall maintain it to be my Right against all opposers. Well (saith the King) I refer all to God: but I charge thee on my Blessing, that thou administer the Laws indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do Justice, or be sparing of Mercy: And then turning about, said, God bless thee, and have mercy on me: and with those words, gave up the ghost. His body with all Funeral pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly buried.

His admonitions to the Prince.

## Of Men of note in his time.

OF men of Valour in his time, of whom there was store, I shall need to say no more then what hath already been said in the body of the story: only I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knolls*, who born of mean parentage, made himself famous over all Christendome; and dying at a Manour of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White Friars in *London*, which himself had re-edified. But for men of learning, I must set in the first place, *William Wickham*, a man of no learning, yet well worthy to hold the place: In relating of whose life, I must have leave to expatiate a little. His fathers name was *John Long*, or as some say, *Perot*; but as *Cambrian* proverb, *Wickham*; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Parish Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampshire*, where he taught children to write: in which quality his son *William* proved so excellent, that *Nicholas Wodall*, Countess of *Winchester* Cattle, took him from his father, and kept him at School, first at *Winchester*, afterward at *Oxford*, till himself being made Surveyor-general of the Kings works, he sent for this *William* to serve him as his Clerk; who in short time grew to expert in that employment, that *Adam Tortleton* Bishop of *Winchester*, commended him to the King, who employed him presently in surveying his Fortifications at *Dover*, and *Quinborough* Castles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Winchester* Cattle, and his houses of *Henly* and *East-Hamstead*. And here first envie rose up against him; for having caused to be engraven on a stone of a Wall at *Winchester* Cattle, these words; *This made William Wickham*: Some that envied his rising, complained to the King of his insolency, as arrogating to himself, that excellent piece of building to be done at his charge; but *Wickham* called before the King about it, made answer, that his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent construction could it import, that *Wickham* made that building, but that the same building made *Wickham*, as being a means of the Kings great favour towards him. This answer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour; and being now entered into the Ministry, was first made Person of *S. Martins* in the Fields, then Minister of *S. Martins le grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provost of *Vells*, and Rector of *Manyben* in *Devonshire*; so as at one time he had in his hands so many Ecclesiastical livings, that the value of them, in the Kings Books, amounted to eight hundred seventy six pounds thirteen shillings: besides which, he was honoured with many Temporal places of great profit and respect, as to be his principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and some other Offices. After which, the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, means was made to the King to bestow that place upon him: And here, the second time, did envie rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for such a dignity: whereupon the King made stay of granting it: but when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, that what he wanted in personal learning, he would supply with being a Founder of learning; This so satisfied the King, that he bestowed the place upon him. After this, he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*; and here the third time did envie rise up against him; for the King requiring of his subjects a supply of money. It was answered, that he needed no other supply, then to call his Treasurer to account: This blow struck deep upon the Bishop: for he was presently charged to give account for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds; and whilest he was busied in preparing his account, all his Temporalities, upon importunity of *John of Gaunt*, were seized into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*, and himself upon pain of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case, he dismissed his train, and senteth copies abroad of his account, if it might be received; but was hindered by the working of *John of Gaunt* against him; upon this ground (as was thought). Queen *Philip* wife to King *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told *Wickham*, that *John of Gaunt* was not the lawful issue of King *Edward*, but a supposititious son: for when she was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a son; she exchanged that daughter, with a Dutch woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, that if the said *John of Gaunt* should at any time, either directly, or indirectly attempt the Crown, or that rightfully, through want of issue, it should devolve unto him; that then he should discover this matter, and make it known unto the King, and Council. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John of Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his supposed mother, advising him not to seek higher then a private state; for else he was bound by oath to make it known

William Wickham his parentage, and rising.

John of Gaunt said to be a supposititious son.

known to all the World: Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the son of John of Gaunt not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of Carlisle, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that Wickham was a Temporizer, or that John of Gaunt was a most patient man, to suffer the affront of such an indignity, with less than the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an enemy, but by making Alice Pierce his friend: by whose means, after two years, he was restored to all his livings; and afterward K. Edward being dead, and Alice Pierce banished; by the means of a greater friend then Alice Pierce (his full purse) he obtained in the second year of K. Richard, a general pardon under the Great Seal of England; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and died in the fourth year of this King Henry the fourth, being then of the age of above 80 years, and lieth buried in the Church of S. Swithins in Winchester, in a monument of his own making in his life time; leaving for his heir Thomas Perrot, the son of his sister Agnes, married to William Perrot.

Roger Walden, who died in the ninth year of this King: he was at first a poor Scholar in Oxford; and the first step of his rising, was to be a Chaplain in the Colledge there of S. Maries; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of York; and after this, a high step, to be Treasurer of England; and yet a higher after that, upon the banishment of Thomas Arundell, to be Archbishop of Canterbury: But being now at the top, he came down again; for in this Kings time, Thomas Arundell being restored to the Archbishoprick, Walden was not only put out of that place, but was called to account for the Treasurership: and though he shewen his *Quietus est*, yet all his Temporalities were seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Archbishop Arundell, he was made Treasurer of Callice, and after promoted to be Bishop of London.

The next place after these, is justly due to Geoffry Chancer, and John Gower, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of English Poets in all the times after: Chancer died in the fourth year of this King, and lieth buried at Westminster: Gower, in this Kings ninth year, and was buried at S. Mary Overies Church in Southwark. And now come others to be remembered, who lived and died in this Kings time: Hugh Legate, born in Hartfordshire, a Monk of S. Albans, who wrote *Schulies* upon Boetius de Consolatione, Nicholas Gorham, born also in Hartfordshire, a Dominick Friar, and the French Kings Confessor, though an Englishman. Walter Disse, so called of a Town in Norfolk, where he was born, Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster. Lawrence Holbeck, a Monk of Ramsey, who wrote an Hebrew Dictionary. John Cotton Archbishop of Armagh: Richard Scroope brother to William Scroope Lord Treasurer of England, made Archbishop of York; and writing an invective against King Henry, lost his head. William Thorpe, an earnest follower of John Wickliffe, for which he was committed to Saltwood Castle, where he died. Stephen Patrington, born in Yorkshire, and Robert Mafcalc, a Carmelite Fryer of Ludlow; both of them Confessors to King Henry the fifth. Boston a Monk of the Abbey of Bury in Suffolk; who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. John Purvey, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of Rome, and compelled to recant. Thomas Rudborne Bishop of S. David, who wrote a Chronicle. Nicolas Riston who considering the strife between the then Anti-popes, wrote a book, *De tollendo schismate*. Robert Wansham a Monk in Dorsetshire, who wrote a book in verse, *Of the Original and signification of Words*. Robert Wimbledon an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde rationem Villicationis tue*.

#### Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
Sir Thomas Knolls, was Maior.  
William Waldern, William Hende, Sheriffs.  
In his second year,  
Sir John Francis, was Maior.  
John Wakel, William Ebor, Sheriffs.  
In his third year,  
Sir John Shadworth, was Maior.  
William Venor, John Ermingham, Sheriffs.  
In his fourth year,  
John VValcote, was Maior.  
Richard Marlow, Robert Chicheley, Sheriffs.  
In his fifth year,  
Sir VVilliam Aycham, was Maior.  
Thomas Falconer, Thomas Poole, Sheriffs.  
In his sixth year,  
John Hinde, was Maior.  
VVilliam Louth, Stephen Spilman, Sheriffs.  
In his seventh year,  
Sir John VVoodcock, was Maior.  
Henry Barton, VVilliam Cromer, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir Richard VVhittington, was Maior.  
Nicolas VVatson, Geoffry Brooke, Sheriffs.  
In his ninth year,  
Sir VVilliam Stondon, was Maior.  
Henry Pontfract, Henry Halton, Sheriffs.  
In his tenth year,  
Sir Drew Barentine, was Maior.  
Thomas Buck, VVilliam Norton, Sheriffs.  
In his eleventh year,  
Richard Marlow, was Maior.  
John Law, VVilliam Chicheley, Sheriffs.  
In his twelfth year,  
Sir Thomas Knolls, was Maior.  
John Penne, Thomas Pike, Sheriffs.  
In his thirteenth year,  
Sir Robert Chicheley, was Maior.  
John Rainwell, VVilliam Cotton, Sheriffs.  
In his fourteenth year,  
VVilliam VValdren, was Maior.  
Ralph Lovenham, VVill Sevensoke, Sheriffs.

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## THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE FIFTH.



**H**ENRY of Monmouth (so called from the place in Wales, where he was born) eldest son of King Henry the fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of England, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessours: and afterwards on the ninth of April, in the year 1412. he was Crowned at Westminster, by Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Rites and Solemnities in such case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of Saul, *That as soon as Samuel had anointed him King, he had a new heart given him*, and he became another man then he was before: So was it with this King Henry; for presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his old Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him; strictly charging them, not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, until such time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners; and lest any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent means whereby to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the Scots and Welsh; that in times of change they would commonly take advantage, to make Inroads upon the borders; he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such Incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking; and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalities of the Clergy; and the Bishops fearing how it might take in the Kings ears, thought it best to divert him; by striking upon another string which they knew would be more pleasing to him; which was to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of France. And thereupon Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury, in a long narration, deduced the Kings right from Isabel daughter to Philip the fourth, married to King Edward the second; from whom it descended by direct line to his Majesty, and no hindrance of enjoying it, but pretension of the *Salique* laws; which (said he) was neither according to the law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation; and though his Predecessors by reason of other incumbences forbore to prosecute their Claim, yet he being free from all such incumbences, had no less power then right to do it, This indeed struck upon the right string of the Kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more then true glory, so in nothing more then in warlike actions. Hereupon, nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of France. First therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-Luces*, and quarters the three Flower Deuces, as the Kings of France then bare them; and that he might not be thought to steal advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Embassadors to Charles the sixth then King of France, requiring in peaceable manner the surrender of the Crown of France; which if he would yield unto, then King Henry would take to Wife his Daughter *Katharine*; but if he refused to do it, then King Henry would with fire and sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The Ambassadors sent, were the Duke of Excester, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord Gray, the Lord High Admiral,

Anno Dom.  
1412.

King Henry hath homage sworn to him before he was Crowned.

Being once Crowned, he discharged all his disorderly companions.

A Subsidy granted him without asking.

The Bishops shew him his right to the Crown of France.

He quarters in his Arms the three Flower Deuces.

He sends Ambassadors into France to claim the surrender of the Crown, and

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The King of France returns Answer by his Ambassadors.

The Dauphin of France sends King Henry a Tonne of Tennis Balls in derision, and King Henry's Answer.

A Treason discovered against King Henry.

Richard Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scroppe, L. Treasurer, and Thomas Grey Earl of Northumberland put to death.

1415.

King Henry passeth with an Army into France.

His Devotion.

His strict discipline.

The French Army, how marshalled.

and the Bishop of Norwich, with five hundred Horse: who coming to the Court of France, were at first received and feasted, with all the honour and shew of kindness that might be; but as soon as their message was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were sent away with as little complement, as they were before received with honour; only told, that the King would speedily make answer to the King their Master by his own Ambassadors; and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of Vendôme, William Barotier Archbishop of Bourges, Peter Fresnel, Bishop of Lysleaux, with others, were arrived in England, almost as the English were returned. But being come, the Archbishop of Bourges made a long Oration in the praise of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady Katherine, and 50000 Crowns with her in Dower, besides some Towns of no great importance: To which King Henry by the Archbishop of Canterbury made Answer; That these offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his demands, he would never desist from that he intended: and with this Answer the French Ambassadors were dismissed. It is said, that about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of France his sickness, managed the State) sent to King Henry a Tonne of Tennis Balls, in derision of his youth, as fitter to play with them, than to manage Arms; which King Henry took in such scorn, that he promised with an Oath, it should not be long ere he would toss such Iron balls amongst them, that the best Arms in France should not be able to hold a Racket to return them. And now all things are prepared and in a readiness for the King's journey into France, his men shipped, and himself ready to go on Shipboard; when suddenly a Treason was discovered against his person, plotted by Richard Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scroppe of Malham, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Gray Earl of Northumberland, and procured by the French Agents. These being apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Treason, and the money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this Richard Earl of Cambridge, second Son of Edmund of Langley, did Richard afterward Duke of York claim and recover the Crown from the Lancastrian Family. This execution done, and the wind blowing fair, King Henry weighs Anchor; and with a Fleet of 1200 Sails, (Grafton saith, but Enguerrant saith, 1600; attended with six thousand Spears, and 24000 Foot, besides Engineers and labourers; he puts to Sea, and on our Lady Eve landed at Caux; where he made Proclamation, that no man upon pain of death should rob any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed; and from thence passing on, he besieged Harfleur; which when no succour came within certain dayes agreed upon, the Town was surrendered and sacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of Exeter Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant, Sir John Falstaff, with a Garrison of 1500 men. It is said, that when King Henry entered Harfleur, he passed along the streets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. Martin; where with great devotion, he gave most humble thanks to God for this first achieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of Soame, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of St. Maxens, where 30000 French appearing, he pitched his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the order of Knighthood to John Lord Ferrers of Groby, Reynold Grayfisk, Pierce Tempest, Christopher Morisby, Thomas Pickering, William Huddleston, Henry Mortimer, John Husbalt, Philip Hall; but not perceiving the French to have any mind to fight, he marched by the Town of Amiens to Bowes, and there stayed two dayes expecting battel, and from thence marched to Corby; where the Peasants of the Countrey, with certain men of Arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right wing of the English, which was led by Hugh Stafford Lord Bourchier, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by John Bromeley of Bromeley, a Commander in the Lord Staffords Regiment, who with his own hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same; with sigle whereof, the English were so encouraged, that they presently routed the French, and put them to flight: which valiant exploit, the Lord Stafford recompensed, by giving to Bromeley an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands in Staffordshire. After this, the King marched towards Calice, so strictly observing his Proclamation against Church-robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a silver Pixie out of a Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Souldier also to be hanged: which point of Discipline, both kept the rest from offending in that kind, and drew the people of the Countrey, underhand to relieve his men with all things necessary. The French King hearing that King Henry had passed the River of Soame, by advice of his Counsel (who yet were divided in opinion) sent Montjoy the French King at Arms to desire King Henry, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King Henry, though his Army was much infected with Feavers, whereof the Earl of Stafford, the Bishop of Norwich, the Lord Molines and Burnell, were lately dead, yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his message; and first having cleared a passage over a Bridge, where of necessity he was to pass, on the 22 of October, he passed over with his Army: At which time the Duke of York that led the Rereward, had discovered the Enemy to come on apace, whereof he sent word to the King; who thereupon made a stand, and appointing his Officers what course to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the battel should begin. The French Army was divided into three battels; in the first were placed eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and fifteen hundred Crossbows, the wings consisting of two thousand two hundred men at Arms; this battail was led by the Constable of France himself, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Ewe, Richmond, and Vendôme, the Lord Dampier, the Lord Admiral of France,

the Admiral Bouciguale, and others. The middle Battail wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of Barre, and Alanson, and by the Earls of Varmont, Salings, Blamont, Granipepe, and Rouffy. In the Rereward, were all the remainder of the French forces, guided by the Earls of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauconbridge, and the Lord Lunrey, Captain of Ardey. The Frenchmen thus ordered, being six times, some say ten times, as many as the English, (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing, but of the booty they should get: In the mean time King Henry having made choice of a piece of ground half fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had reited the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his battel; but first he appointed an ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a watch-word given, should discharge their whole flight upon the whole flank of the enemies horse: The Vant-guard consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of York, who out of an heroic courage made suit for that place; with whom were joynted the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The main battel was led by the King himself, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men; with him were the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, the Earl Marshall, Oxford, and Suffolk. The Rereward was led by Thomas Duke of Exeter, the Kings Uncle, consisting of all sorts of weapons; the horsemen, as wings guarded the companies on both sides. The King to prevent the fury of the French Cavalry, by the direction of the Duke of York, appointed divers stakes studded with iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed Pioners to attend to remove them, as they should be directed: These things thus ordered, publique Prayers were humbly made, and the on-set was presently given by the French horsemen; whereupon Sir Walter Orpington, according to direction, caused the Bow-men behind the hedges, to let fly their Arrows; which so galled the French horses, that either they cast their Riders, or through their unruliness, so opened their Ranks, that the right wing of the English horse had way to come in upon the French foot; and withall, the French horse disorderly retiring, they were miserably trodden down and disfranked by their own company: Upon which, the King with his main battel came on with such resolution, that himself in person charged the Duke of Alanson, by whom he was well-near unhorsed; but afterward, having first slain two of the Dukes men, he charged the Duke again, and with his sword beat him from his horse; whom the Kings Guard, notwithstanding the King cried out to the contrary, slew outright: and with his fall, the main battel of the French first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly cast away their weapons and fled. But then certain of the French horsemen that first ran away, led on by Robert Bondile and the Captain of Agincourt, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from souldiers, by fighting with boyes, set upon the Pages and Lannettes that were left in the Camp; who gave such a lamentable shriek, that King Henry verily thought some fresh forces had been come: whereupon he caused all the arrows that were sticking in the field, to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again used; amongst which the Duke of Yorks body was found, miserably hacked and defaced: the sight whereof, together with danger of a second Charge, made King Henry give order, the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some principal men, whom he caused to be bound back to back, and so left: For which fact, though done in cold blood, yet the King could not justly be taxed with cruelty, seeing the number of the prisoners was more then of his own souldiers; and nothing could give assurance of safety, but their slaughter. But all was not yet done: for the Earls of Marle and Fauconbridge, with six hundred men at Arms, who had stood still all day, began now to stir, and gave a brave charge upon King Henry's Army; but being but few, and their horses galled with the stakes, they had only the honour to dye bravely; and indeed they slew more of the English, then the whole Army had done before. And now at last, the King being satisfied by the scouts, that no Enemy was more to be seen, he asked what the place was called; and being told, Agincourt; Well then (said he) this shall be from henceforth called the battel of Agincourt: and presently he caused the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; causing the Clergie there present, to sing the Psalm of David, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one, at the verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneel down, and the horsemen bow their bodies: and then singing *Te Deum* and other holy Hymns, they marched to the enemies Camp, where the souldiers had liberty given them to take the spoil.

A great Victory no doubt, but yet a victory by which the English gained not one foot of ground in France, more then they had before; and which Monshetle attributeth not so much to the valour of the English, as to the indifferetion of the French, who had so straightened the vant-guard of their Army, and pent them up so close together, that they had not room to draw out their swords; so true is that saying, *Quos deus vult perdere, dementat*. The next day, after the Battel, French Heralds came to ask leave to bury their dead, and had it, and the English Heralds, appointed to make search, made return that there were slain of the French above ten thousand, whereof a hundred twenty six were of the Nobility bearing Banners; of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, seven thousand eight hundred seventy four, whereof five hundred were knighted the night before the battel; and of common souldiers, about sixteen hundred. Amongst the slain of the Nobility, were Charles le Brets High Constable, Jaquet of Chastillon, Admiral of France, the great Master of France, the Master of the Cross-bowes, the Dukes of Alanson, Brabant, and Barre; the Earls of Nevers, Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandpre, Rouffy, Fauconbridge, Foy, and Lestresack: There were taken Prisoners, Charles Duke of Orleans, John Duke of Bourbon, the Lords Danvers, Fosseux, Hamiers, Roy, Camy, Fauconrt, Nael, Bouciguale; to the number in all

Six times as many as the English.

King Henry's Army how marshalled.

A policy.

The Duke of York slain.

The prisoners taken were all slain: how justified.

This battel was fought at Agincourt.

1416.

His devotion after the victory.

An error of the French in ordering their battel, cause of the overthrow.

The number of French slain in this battel.

And who of the Nobility.

The small number of the English that were slain.

The Dauphin with grief dyeth.

The Emperour Sigismund comes into England.

1417.

Harflew besieged by the Earl of Arminiack.

Five hundred French ships sunk by the English.

Harflew rescued by the Duke of Bedford.

The Emperour enters League defensive and offensive with King Henry.

King Henry with a great Army passeth in person into France, and besiegeth Tongue Castle, and takes it.

of fifteen hundred. On the English part were slain, Edward Duke of York, and the Earl of Suffolk, and not full six hundred in all; but (saith Caxton) not above six and twenty in all; and *Paulus Emilius* saith, besides the two Lords, only two Knights, and but ten private fouldiers in all: a Miracle rather than a Victory. But not only K. Henry was the death of the French Lords before named, in the field with his sword; but of another great Prince, at home, with his Victory; for *Lewis* the Dauphin, eldest son of *Charles* the sixth, King of France, presently upon it, without any other cause apparent, fell sick and died. Yet King Henry, to make his enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory; at his return into England with his Prisoners, which was on the sixth of November following, he presently gave strait order, that no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more then of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe return; but without words of either disgracing the French, or extolling the English. At his entrance into London, the City presented him with a thousand pounds, and two Balcons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were brought into England, and the Dukes buried at *Frodringham* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earls at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire*.

About this time the Emperour *Sigismund* Cousin-german to King Henry, having been first in France, came accompanied with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Embassador from the French King, into England; for whom there were thirty great ships sent from the King to wait him over: but approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their swords drawn, stepped up to the knees in water, saying to him, That if he came as the King's friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any jurisdiction, they would resist him: whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperial Authority; and is thereupon admitted to land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward together with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and fate in their Cels at the solemnity of the Feast. A principal cause of the Emperours coming, was to mediate a peace between England and France; wherein he had brought King Henry to a good degree of inclination; till news came of the besieging of *Harflew* by the French, and of the Earl of *Arminiack* setting upon the Duke of *Excester*, being Governor there: and then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he disliked they should treat of Peace with their swords in their hands, as all wise men would do; but that to great of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to do acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty, and not to be tolerated with any patience.

And now the Earl of *Arminiack* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admiral of France brought up the whole Navie of the French, with intent whilst the Earl should assail it by land, to have entred the Town by the waters side: but of this purpose, the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Excester* prevented them. As soon as King Henry had intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being dissuaded by the Emperour, he sent his brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundell*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the rescue of *Harflew*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seine*: whereupon, *Norbon* the French Admiral set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven: and here began a fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, until the English having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the French, and taken three great Carricks of *Genova*, won the Harbour, and at last, though with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harflew*, and made the Earl of *Arminiack* glad to raise his siege. Upon the news hereof, the Emperour desisted from mediating any further for peace with France; and entering into a league defensive and offensive with King Henry, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the 19 of October he departed towards Germany, whom King Henry accompanied to *Callice*, whither the Duke of *Burgundie* came to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the mean time the French had hired divers Carricks and other great Ships of the *Genovese* and *Italians*, which joyning with the French Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seine*, under the command of *Jaques* Baltard of *Bourbon*, to hinder all succours from coming to *Harflew*; but John Earl of *Huntington* (son to the Duke of *Excester* beheaded at *Chichester*) being sent to scowr the coasts, encountered with him, and after a long fight, took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the half years pay of the Fleet, and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the twenty third of July, in the fourth year of his reign, the King himself, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk* and *Somerset*, the Lords *Ruffe*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Serpes*, *Matrevers*, *Bowchier*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Ferrers* of *Charlsey*, *Fanhope*, *Grey* of *Cadnor*, Sir *Gilbert* *Umphreville*, Sir *Gilbert* *Talbot*, and an Army consisting of twenty five thousand five hundred twenty eight fighting men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pyoners, took shipping at *Rosfworth*, and upon the first of August landed in *Normandy* near to the Castle of *Tongue*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of August had it yielded to him, at which time the Earl of *Salisbury*, took the Castle of *Alvervillers* which the King gave to him and to his heirs, being the first land given by the King in France.

At the winning of *Tongue*, the King made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence Marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from falling out, he cast up a Mount; and

A and then making many assaults, but finding them to do little good, he caused his Pyoners to undermine the walls: which being done, upon the fourth of September, he offered the Besieged their lives, if they would submit: which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a general assault, whilst many of his men entred the City under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first: and they coming upon the backs of those that defended the walls, easily overcame them; and then the whole Army entred without resistance. The next day, the King caused all the principal men of the Town to come before him at their Senate house; where some of them, for their stubborn refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined: the spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the souldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while; but being advertised that the King had sworn to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender; he gave twelve Hostages, that if it were not relieved before the twentieth of September, he would then give it up; which not coming he performed: and so the King had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

And now *Charles* the new Dauphin, being but seventeen years of age and bare of money, had got into his possession all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which he incensed her against him, that to do him a spite, she placed the Duke of *Burgundie* in chief authority about the King, who by reason of his infirmity, was unable himself to manage the State; and the Duke having now the Sword in his hand, meant first to repress the growing boldness of the Dauphin, and afterward to repel the common Enemy: and the Dauphin likewise, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling greatness, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adversary; and thus while private respects were preferred before publick, whilst the Duke and the Dauphin had their first intentions one against another, not looking after King Henry, but in the second place, after their own turns served, an easie way was left for King Henry's proceedings, and he went on at his pleasure with small opposition. He sent the Duke of *Clarence*, who took in the City of *Bayeux*, as likewise the Duke of *Gloucester* the City of *Lisieux*; whilst himself remaining still at *Caen*, put out of the City the natives that were impotent or young infants, to the number of 1500. and in their places put English people, and finding a great mass of Money and Plate, deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same upon proof, to be respectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign; which moderate and just dealing won him more hearts then the force of his arms had won him knees, specially with the *Normans*, who are easier to be drawn with gentleness and love, then forced by violence and compulsion. From hence the King Marched the first of October to *Corfys* Castle, which within three dayes yielded. The fourth of October he came to *Argentan*, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewise surrendered. The Town of *Alanson* endured eight dayes siege, but in the end did as other their neighbour Towns had done. From *Alanson* the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent to *Fayles*, to view the strength thereof, whom the King presently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of January, then to yield up the Town: no relief coming, the Town was yielded up, and soon after upon the like terms, the Castle. From hence the King returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made; That if the Inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day assigned, he would then grant their Lands to his souldiers: and thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence* during life, the Vicounties of *Auge*, *Orver* and *Pontieu*, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at *Bayeux*, whilst his Navie still kept the Seas, and daily took many French ships, but on the sixteenth of July, such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton*; and yet, with all their diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with Merchandize were in the very Haven drowned. In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* besieged the strong Castle of *Damfront*: the Duke of *Clarence* took *Conrton* and *Burney*; and many other being taken, as *Chambais*, *Bechelounyn*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevener*, *Avoyillers*, *Bagles*, in all of them he placed Captains and Garisons, and particularly in *Fresny*, Sir *Robert* *Brent*, lately made Viscount: The Duke of *Gloucester* also, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord of *Cadnor*, took in all the Isle of *Constantine*, except *Chereburg*, and then returned to the King, but was sent back to take in that City also; which after some time, when no relief came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendered; although by this time the Duke of *Burgundie* and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled and began to joyn their Forces to make resistance. And now the Duke of *Excester* the Kings Uncle, with a supply of fifteen thousand men out of England, came to the King, who presently took in the City of *Encreux*; and the Earl of *Ryme*, the strong Castle of *Mille le Vesco*.

The next thing attempted, was the siege of *Roan*, a City strongly fortified, both with walls and ditches; and to which there was no convenient passage, but by the City of *Lovies*: to this City therefore he first lays siege, which when relief came not within a time agreed on, was surrendered; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a stone-bridge, which hindered the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded: For this, King Henry devised floats of wicker covered with beatts hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his quarter passed the River, and then laid siege to the Town on that side; and for the other side, he had other devices made with hogheads and pipes, fastned to firpoles and Barges, with which he passed his men over at pleasure; and in the mean time he caused divers of his souldiers that could swim, to make shew of

Difference between the Duke of *Burgundie* and the Dauphin makes easie way for King Henry's proceeding.

1418.

King Henry's liberal dealing with the Citizens of *Caen*.

King Henry besiegeth *Roan*, His policies in the siege.

of passing the River three three miles off another way, with which the French men being deluded, drew all their forces thither, and by this means the Fort being left unfurnished of sufficient guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the soldiers were taken to the Kings grace. The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of Excester was sent, and with him *winifor* the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Town; who not only gave proud answers, but also made a fally forth, though with the loss of thirty of their men. Upon this obstinacy of theirs, the King presently orders his siege; his own quarter was the *Charente*, the Duke of Clarence at *S. Gerways*, the Duke of Excester at Port *St. Dennis*, and every great Commander had his quarter assigned; so as the City was besieged round, and a great chain of Iron set upon pikes, and a strong wooden Bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of *Kilmarney* with sixteen hundred *Irish*, came to the King, and had their quarter assigned them, who behaved themselves with great valour. The Kings Cousin german, the King of *Portugal*, sent likewise a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, which stopped all passage of succour to *Roan*; many policies and practices were used against the City, but none prevailed, till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 21000 persons at the beginning of the siege, and the siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity; that the Citizens drank nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and such like. Great numbers of the poorer fort were thrust out of the City, who not suffered to pass the English Army, miserably perished; only upon *Christmas-day*, in honour of Christs birth, the King relieved and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out, but not others that were put out the second time, but suffered them to perish.

In this distress, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight days was granted them; the eight days ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves; they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on; then they crave four days more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates, and Governours of the City that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of January, the City was surrendered, and the Inhabitants themselves, and all their goods were yielded to the Kings mercy; the Duke of Excester was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entered with his soldiers. The next day after being Friday the twentieth of January, the King himself made his entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, and others, and was by the Clergy conducted to our Lady Church; where after publick thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgeses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their possessions; whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendered. In this time of the Kings lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Hunfey*, *Munster de Villiers*, *Ewe*, and *Newcastle*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon*, and *Namur*; and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* seeing the great successes of King Henry, could think of no better way for his own safety, then to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their meeting; at which time, King Henry for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascogne* Captain *le Buff*, Earl of *Longueville*, Sir *John Gray* Earl of *Tankerville*, and the Lord *Boncher* Earl of *Ewe*. Upon the last of May, King Henry accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Gloucester*, and *Excester*, his Uncle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March*, and *Salisbury*, and a thousand men at Arms, entered the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The French Queen (her Husband being taken with the frenzy) with the Duke of *Burgogne*, and the Earl of *St. Paul*, and a company of Ladies; amongst whom, as a bait to intangle the Kings affection, was the Kings Daughter, the beautiful Lady *Katherine*; with whose sight, though the King was marvelously taken, yet he made no shew thereof; till other things should be agreed upon; but the *Dauphin* having made means to the Duke of *Burgogne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, that he would have both the Lady, and all his other Demands, or else drive the King of *France* out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom: Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dauphin, and upon this, the sixth of July, Articles of their reconciliation are signed and sealed; In the mean time, the Earl of *Longueville* surprized the Town of *Pontboise*, but had scarce been able to make good the surprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his succour; from thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed two days; but perceiving no shew of fally to be made, he returned to *Pontboise*; whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Cattle of *Vaynon Villiers*; and on the last of August, the Castles of *Gisors* and *Galyard*, and *Dumilly*; so that now all *Normandy* (Moun *St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him, ever since the year 1207.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a reconciliation with the Duke of *Burgogne*, yet inwardly bearing a spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his destruction; which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Monstreyn*; where the Duke though humbling himself in reverence to the Dauphin on his knee, was most barbarously murdered; which act, was so much the less to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like kind, upon the like interview, he had caused *Levis* the Duke

But nothing prevailed till at last famine.

Roan is yielded up to King Henry.

1419.

1420.

A meeting for reconciliation appointed between the two Kings of England and France.

The Duke of Burgogne treacherously murdered by the Dauphin.

A of *Orleanse* to be murdered. But though this barbarous act might justly incense *Philip* Earl of *Carlois* the Duke of *Burgogne*; Heir to seek revenge; yet as a wife and politic Prince, he forbore for the apy present, to make shew of color or dilttemperature; and considering with himself, that difference between the Dauphin and him, would but give King Henry the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propose an overture of peace between the two Kings; And to that end, Ambassadors are sent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgign*, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propositions, unless the Lady *Katherine* would joyn in them, whose innocence he knew would never abuse him. Whilst these things are in agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresnes*, and the Earls *Marshall* and *Huntington* entered into *Mayn*, who approaching *Meun*, was encountered by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they slew five thousand, and took two hundred prisoners; for which, news he brought to *Roan*, whither King Henry was come so solemnize the Feast of Christs Birth, thanksgiving to God, was publicly made; and in the instant thereof, arrived other Ambassadors from the King and Queen of *France*, and a letter from the Lady *Katherine* to King Henry, was secretly by the Bishop of *Arras* delivered; The conclusion of all was, that the King of *England* should speed himself to *Troyes*, there to be espoused to the Lady *Katherine*, and to have assurance of the Crown of *France*, after the decease of the present King *Charles*; Whereupon with a Guard of fifteen thousand choice soldiers, accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville*, *Ewe*, and *Ewe*; the King of *England* came to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, upon the 18. day of May, where he was met by the Duke of *Burgogne*, and divers of the French Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dukes of *Burgign*, and the Lady *Katherine*, gave him Princely entertainment; and after some intercoure of complement between the Princes & the Ladies, King Henry tendered to the Lady *Katherine*, a Ring of great value, which she (not without some blushing) received; and afterward, upon the twentieth day of May, she was affianced to him in *St. Peters* Church, and on the third of June following, the marriage was solemnized; and therewithal King Henry was published to be the only Regent of the Realm and Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*, the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in *England* and in *France*, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were sworn to observe them; and in particular the Duke of *Burgogne*.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by, his succession in the Crown, which the Genius of *France* will not long endure, a while it must; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down; and thereupon, on the fourth day of June, King Henry with the French King, James King of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Duke of *Burgogne*, the Prince of *Orange*, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of French, English, Scotch, Irish, and Dutch, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh day, laid siege to the Town of *Seins*, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four dayes siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who was newly come out of *England*, with large supplies of men and money, to *Montfresan*; which was taken by *Escalado*, only the Castle held out till; during the siege whereof, King Henry, created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heralds over the English men, and intrusted him *Garter*; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided; for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Mounseur *Guitrey*, the said Captain, twelve of his friends were executed; whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight dayes together, would not grant so much as a parley; so that after six weeks siege, they were enforced, (their lives saved) simply to yield. From thence the King marched to *Meun* upon *Seins*, and belleged it the thirtieth of July, the Captain whereof was *Barbusin* a *Gascogne*, no less politic then valiant, who countermined some, and stopt other Mines made by the English, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King Henry; yet at last through Famine and Pettilence was forced to yield; but being suspected to have had a hand in the murder of the Duke of *Burgogne*, he was sent prisoner to *Paris*; and presently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgign* and his Dutcheis, with a Royal Train came thither, where the French King was lodged in the house of *S. Paul*, and the King of *England* in the Cattle of *Lomvre*. And here the three States of *France* anew under their hands and seals in most authentick manner, ratified the former Articles of King Henries Succession in the Crown of *France*; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of *England*, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at *Westminster*.

And now King Henry began to exercise his Regency, and as a badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coyn which was called a *Salute*, to be made; whereupon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly stamped; he placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Excester* with five hundred men, to the Guard of *Paris*; He awarded our Proccels against the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble-Table at *Paris*, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the murder of the Duke of *Burgogne*, and by the sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realm.

After this, the King making *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his Lieutenant General of *France* and *Normandy*; on the 6. of January, with his beloved Queen *Katherine* he left *Paris*; and went to *Amiens*, and from thence to *Callice*; and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and afterward

King Henry affianced to the Lady Katherine, daughter of France, and heir apparent of the Crown.

King Henry with an Army of six hundred thousand marcheth against the Dauphin.

Garter King of Arms when first created.

King Henry makes a new Coin in France called a Salute.

1421.

A Coronation  
feast all of fish.

ward through London to Westminster, where the Queen upon St. Matthews day, the fourth of February, was Crowned; the King of Scots sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Kings Uncle the Bishop of Winchester being on the right hand. All were served with covered messes of Silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observance of the Lent season.

After this, the King took his progress through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for administering of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at Leicester, where they kept their Easter.

The Duke of  
Clarence by  
treachery slain;  
with divers  
others.

In the mean time, the Duke of Clarence making a Road into Anjou, came to the City of Amers, where he knighted Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowland Wyder, Sir Thomas Beauford his natural Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised that the Duke of Anjou intended to intercept his passage; whereupon he sent the Scout-master, Andrew Fagosa, a Lombard, to discover the face of the Enemy; who being corrupted, brought report that their number was but small, and those but ill ordered, that if he presently charged there could be no resistance. The Dukes Credulity caused him to draw all his Horses together, and leaving his Bows and Bills behind, which were his chiefest strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy; but the Traitor leading to a straight, whereby his appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat, nor flee; he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set spurs to his Horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but overlaid with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himself, with the Earl of Tankerville, the Lord Rosse, the Earl of Angus, Sir John Lumley, Sir John Vere, and above two thousand English slain; The Earls of Somerset, Suffolk, and Pearch, Sir John Berkley, Sir Ralph Nevil, Sir William Boni, and 60. Gentlemen were taken prisoners: The body of the Duke of Clarence, was by Sir John Beauford his base Son, (the Duke dying without other Issue) convey'd into England, and buried at Canterbury besides his Father: and this disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at Beverley when he heard of his brothers death, and presently thereupon dispatched away Edmund Earl of Mortaigne into Normandy, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his high Court of Parliament to Westminster, requiring aid by money, to revenge his brothers death, which was readily granted, and the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of Bedford with an Army consisting of four thousand men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the middle of May he followeth himself, and safely arriving at Calice, halted to relieve the Dauphin with seven thousand men had besieged; but hearing of the Kings Changers, which the Dauphin with seven thousand men had besieged; but hearing of the Kings coming, was retired to Tours. The King of Scots, with the Duke of Gloucester, about the eighth of July besieged Dreux; which agreed, if it werenot relieved by the twentieth of that month, then to surrender it; no relief coming, it was surrendered. The King pursued the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprized the Town of Bagency, where place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprized the Town of Bagency, where all that craved it, he took to mercy, as likewise he did at Romgemont; from thence he went to Orleans, and from thence to Vignes St. Ton, and from thence to Paris; where having fitted himself with supplies, he went and fate down before Menise in Brye, which after some opposition, he also took; and thereby had possession of all the Fortresses in the Isle of France, in Lorraine, in Brye, and in Champaigne.

1422.

Queen Katherine is brought to bed of a son at Windsor; and King Henries Prophecetical speech of him. King Henry with over-hasty journeys in France, falls sick and dies.

His exhortations to his Lords at his death.

Upon St. Nicholas day, in the year 1422. Queen Katherine was brought to bed of a Son at Windsor, who was by the Duke of Bedford and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and the Countess of Holland Christened by the name of Henry; whereof, when the King had notice, out of a Prophecetick rapture he said; Good Lord! I Henry of Monmouth shall small time reign, and much get, and Henry born at Windsor shall long time reign and lose all, but Gods will be done.

About this time the Dauphin laid siege to Cosney, which the King was intente to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of Burgoyne's; and therefore tendred it more then if it had been his own; and making over hasty journeys, he over-heat himself with travel; and coming to Senlis, found himself so ill at ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his Brother the Duke of Bedford to prosecute his design, which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his approach, retired into Berry; whereof in mockage he was after called the King of Berry. But the Kings Fever and Flux increasing, he was removed to Boys de Vincens; where growing worse and worse, within a few days he dyed. But somewhat before his departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of Bedford Lieutenant General of Normandy, and Regent of the Kingdom of France, and his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, he had made Protector of England, and of his Sons person. Exhorting all to be true and faithful to the Duke of Burgoyne, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be loyal to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve what he by his valour, and Gods assistance had won; and never to conclude contract of amity with the Dauphin or Duke of Anjou, until they had submitted themselves to the Kings Grace. And so giving God thanks for all his favours and blessings bestowed upon him, in the midst of saying a Psalm of David, he departed this life; who might have justly prayed God with David, Take me not away in the midst of my dayes, for he dyed about the age of five or six and thirty years, which in Davids account is the midst of the number of the days of mans life: but though he dyed in the midst of his days, yet he dyed in the fulness of his Glory; and of whom it may be said, --- Jamq; arce positus, Ridet anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis: When he had reigned nine years and five months.

### Of his Taxations.

IN his first year, an incredible sum of money was given him by the Clergy; to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalities: And in the same year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth year was granted him, towards his wars in France, two whole Tenths of the Clergy; and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of Beauford his Uncle for a great sum of money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Maior of London, for renthousand Marks. In his ninth year a Parliament at Westminster, for revenge of the Duke of Clarence death, two Tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth of the Laity, which because the half of the business could not stay the usual course of collection, the Bishop of Winchester brought in presently twenty thousand pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same year also the Duke of Bedford in the Kings absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his wars, one Fifteenth to be paid in such money as was at that time current. These are all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Atchievements, by which it appears what great matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

King Henry pawneth his Crown to raise money.

### Of Lawes and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

HE ordained the King of Heralds over the English, which is called Garter. In his ninth year, in a Parliament holden at Westminster, it was ordained that no man should offer Gold in payment, unless it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

No gold to be offered in payment unless it were weight, and thereupon weights ordained.

An Act made in the thirteenth year of King Richard the second, which disabled the Alien Religious to enjoy any Benefices within England, was in the beginning of this Kings Reign put in execution: and further, this King excluded also the French from all preferment Ecclesiastical; and those Priors Aliens Conventual, who had institution and induction, were bound to put in security, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed, the Counsell and secrets of the Realm.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the beginning of his Reign, the Wickliffes increased greatly, of whom Sir John Oldcastle was chief; who by marriage of a kinswoman of the Lord Cobham of Cooling in Kent, obtained that Title: this Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at London accused for maintaining of Wickliffes doctrine: whereof the King being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himself to the censure of the Church: But Sir John Oldcastle told the King, that he owed his subjection only to his Majesty; and as for others, he would stand for the truth against them, to the uttermost of his life. Upon this, he was served by Process to appear in the Archbishops Court; and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy, and afterwards in a Synod at Rochester, was by the Archbishop pronounced to be an Heretic; who then enacted that Decree, That the holy Scriptures ought not to be translated into the English Tongue: But mark the judgement that fell upon his own tongue, whose roots and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew to big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speak, nor swallow down meat, but in horror lay languishing, till at last starved by famine, he dyed. In the mean time, Sir John Oldcastle wrote his Belief, and presented it himself to the King; which the King would in no wise receive, but suffered him, in his presence and Privy Chamber to be summoned; who appearing before the Archbishop, after divers examinations, he was condemned of Heresie, and committed to the Tower of London, from whence shortly after he escaped, and got into Wales. The King by his Proclamation, promised a thousand Marks to any that should bring him in: but so much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the Kings offer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiscovered: At last he was taken in the Borders of Wales, within a Lordship belonging to the Lord Powys, who brought him to London, before the Duke of Bedford Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the Tower to St. Giles field, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after consumed with fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his first conviction, four years before, it was rumoured, that twenty thousand men in Arms were assembled in St. Giles field; whereupon the King, at midnight, himself in person went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir John Oldcastle, but without any intent against the King: yet was Sir Roger Aston, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in Smithfield; and all the Prisons in and about London were filled with them.

Sir John Oldcastle censured for maintaining Wickliffes doctrine.

A judgement of God upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, for denying the Scriptures to be translated into English.

Sir John Oldcastle condemned of Heresie: is hanged in St. Giles field, in a chain by the middle.

In his third year, the order of Church service throughout England, was changed from the use of Pauls to the use of Salisbury, to the great disliking of many in those daies.

IN

In a Council  
holden at Con-  
stance, England  
ranked before  
Spain.  
John Huffle  
burned.  
Three Anti-  
Popes put  
down, and a  
fourth esta-  
blished.

Penance en-  
joyed for fri-  
ving in the  
Church.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at Constance, whither he sent Ambassadors, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of Salisbury, Bath, and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior of Worcester: In which Council it was decreed, that England should have the title of the English Nation, and should be accounted one of the five principal Nations in rank before Spain; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all Wickliff's positions condemned: Also John Huffle, and Hierome of Prague (notwithstanding the Emperours safe conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schism of Anti-Popes, which had continued the space of nine and twenty years, was reformed: Benedict the 13. had been elected by the Spaniard; Gregory the 12. by the French; John the 24. by the Italians: And now elected by this Council, begun in February, 1414. and continued above three years, wherein were assembled, besides the Emperour, the Pope, and the Palgrave of Rhein, four Patriarchs, twenty seven Cardinals, seven and forty Archbishops, one hundred and threescore Bishops, Princes and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thousand; The aforesaid elected Popes were all put down, or else resigned; and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected Otho Colonna by the name of Martin the fifth.

In this year also, fell out an Accident, which shews the strict observance of Ecclesiastical censures in those daies. The wives of the Lord Strange, and Sir John Trussell of Warrington in Cheshire, striving for place at a Sermon in St. Dunstons Church in the East, their husbands being present, fell themselves to striving in their wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both sides, some slain, and many wounded: The delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church suspended; and upon examination, the Lord Strange being found guilty, was by the Archbishop of Canterbury adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parson of St. Dunstons went before, after whom followed all the Lords servants in their shirts; after them went the Lord himself, bare-headed, with a Wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady, bare-footed; and then last, came the Archdeacon Reynold Renwood: in which order they went from Pauls, where the sentence was given, to St. Dunstons Church; where at the re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Vessels with water, and according to the sentence, offered to the Altar an ornament of the value of ten pounds; and the Lord a Pixe of silver of five pounds. A Penance, no doubt, which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the Discipline of the Church had in those daies allowed it: but it seems the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in use.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at Leicester, a hundred and ten Priories alien were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in France; and their possessions were given to the King: but by him, and King Henry the sixth, were afterward given to other Monasteries, and Colleges of learned men.

### Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

His King re-edified his Royal Manour, which was then called Sheene, now Richmond, and founded two Monasteries not far from it; the one of Carthusians, which he named Bethlehem; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of St. Bridget, which he named Sion: He also founded the Brotherhood of Saint Giles without Cripple-gate in London. In the second year of his reign, Moor-gate neer to Colmansstreet was first made, by Thomas Faskener Maier of London, who caused also the ditches of the City to be cleaned, and a common Privy that was on the Moore without the wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon Walbrook, into the which Brook he caused the water of the City to be turned by grates of Iron, in divers places. In his sixth year, Williams of Sevenoak Maier of London, founded in the Town of Sevenoak a Free School, and thirteen Alms-houses. This man was found at Sevenoak in Kent, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Christened and brought up bound Prentice in London, and came at last to be Maier of the City. Also Robert Chicheley Maier of London gave liberally to the Alms-houses founded by his brother Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury, at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, where they were born. But Henry Chicheley the Archbishop founded two Colleges in Oxford; one called Bernard Colledge, renewed by Sir Thomas White, and named St. Johns Colledge, the other called All-Souls, which continueth to this day as he left it. Also John Kempe Archbishop of Canterbury, converted the Parish-Church of Wyke in Kent, where he was born, into a Colledge of Secular Priests.

### Casualties happening in his time.

In the fifth year of his reign, a great part of the City of Norwich was burnt, with all the houses of the Friars Preachers, and two Friars of that Order. In his third year, on the Feast of the Purification, seven Dolphins came up the River of Thames, whereof four were taken.

Seven Dol-  
phins in the  
River of  
Thames.

### Of his Wife and Issue.

He married Katherine the Daughter of King Charles the sixth of France, who was his Queen two years and about three moneths, married at Troyes in Champagne the third day of June, 1420. and afterward February the fourteenth Crowned at Westminster: She surviving King Henry, was re-married to Owen Tudor an Elg of Wales, who pretended to be descended from Cadwallader the ancient King of Wales, though some write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whose meannefs of estate was recompensed by the delicacy of his personage; so absolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumstances; by him she had three Sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son Owen took the habit of Religion at Westminster, the other two were by King Henry the sixth (their half-brother) advanced in honour: Edmund was created Earl of Richmond, and marrying the sole heir of John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, was Father by her, unto Henry the seventh, King of England, the only heir of the House of Lancaster. Jasper her second Son was first created Earl of Pembroke, and after Duke of Bedford, but dyed without lawful Issue. This Queen, either for devotion, or her own safety, took into the Monastery of Bermondsey in Southwark, who dying the second of January, 1436. she was buried in our Ladies Chappel within St. Peters Church at Westminster, whose Corps taken up in the reign of King Henry the seventh, her Grand-child, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable structure) and her Coffin placed by King Henry her Husbands Tombe, hath ever since remained, and never since re-buried, where it standeth (the cover being loofe) to be seen and handled of any that will. By her King Henry had only one Son, named Henry, who succeeded him in the Kingdom.

Owen Tudor  
marries King  
Henries widow.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was tall of stature, lean of body, and his bones but small, but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black haired, and very beautiful of face, swift in running, so as he with two of his Lords, without bow or other engine, would take a wild Buck or Dow in a large Park: He delighted in Songs and Musical Instruments, insomuch that in his Chappel amongst his private Prayers, he used certain Psalms of David translated into English Meeter by John Lydgat Monk of Bury. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of Aeneas: Quo iussit alter, Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis; For he seldom fought battel where he got not the victory; and never got victory whereof he gave not the glory to God, with publick Thanksgiving. He was a better man, a King, then a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orb, and therefore no marvel if he were something exorbitant. He was of a merciful disposition, but not to the pretence of widom; as thinking wife cruelty to be better then foolish pity. He was no less politick then valiant, for he never fought battel, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by stratagem as by force. He was so temperate in his diet, and so free from vain glory, that we may truly say, he had something in him of Caesar which Alexander the Great had not, that he would not be drunk, and something of Alexander the Great, which Caesar had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great affecter of Glory, but not of the Glory the blatt of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the sails of Time. He dyed of full years, though not full of years: if he had lived longer, he might have gone over the same again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not small to Clergy men, insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

King Henry  
called the  
Prince of  
Priests.

### Of his Death and Burial.

Some say he was poysoned, which Polydore Virgil saith was much suspected. The Scots write that he died of the disease called St. Piacre, which is a Palsie and a Cramp: Enguerant saith that he died of St. Anthonies fire: But Peter Basset Esquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a Pleurisie, which at that time was a sickness strange and but little known. Being dead, his body was embalmed and clofed in lead; and laid in a Chariot Royal richly apparelled in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from Boys de Vincennes to Paris, and so to Roan, to Abbeville, to Callice, to Dover, and from thence through London to Westminster, where it was interred next beneath King Edwards the Confessour; upon whose Tombe Queen Katherine caused a Royal picture to be laid, covered all over with silver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of massive silver: all which at that Abbies suppression were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner uses. He died the last day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five moneths, lived eight and thirty years; though some say, two years fewer.

of

## Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of valour in his time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true saying, *Regi ad exemplum*; and men of learning likewise in such numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First *Alayn de Lyn*, a Carmelite Fryer in that Town, who wrote many Treatises; Then *Thomas Osterlorne* a Franciscan Fryer who wrote an History of England; Then *John Segnerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monks and Priests as Poets for writing of filthy Verses. *Robert Rose* a Carmelite Fryer in *Norwich*, who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wickliffe*. *Richard Cayster* born in *Norfolk*, a man of great holiness of life, favouring (though secretly) the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*; *William Wallis* a Black Fryer in *Lin*, who made a Book of Moralizations upon *Ovids Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor* a Priest and Master of Art in *Oxford*, a stedfast follower of *Wickliffe*s Doctrine, and burnt for the same at *Smithfield* in *London* the last year of this Kings reign. *Bartholomew Florarins*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarins*; who wrote also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the profession of the Fryers Mendicants. Also *Titus Livius de Foro Livis*, an Italian born, but seeing he was resident here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

## Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
Sir *William Cromar* was Maior.  
*John Sutton*, *John Michael*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Sir *Thomas Falconer* was Maior.  
*John Michael*, *Thomas Alen*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Sir *Nicholas Potton* was Maior.  
*Williams Cambridge*, *Alen Everard*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir *Henry Barton* was Maior.  
*Richard Whittington*, *John Coventrie*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir *Richard Marlow* was Maior.  
*Henry Read*, *John Gedney*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*William Sevenoke* was Maior.  
*John Brian*, *John Barton*, *John Parneft*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Maior.  
*Robert Whittington*, *John Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
*William Cambridge* was Maior.  
*John Butler*, *John Vells*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Sir *Robert Chicheley* was Maior.  
*Richard Goffeline*, *William Vveston*, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH.



Here hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together, it might be rightly said; *Pulcherrima Proles; Magnanimi Heroes; nati melioribus Annis*. For King *Edward* the Third had many Sons, not inferior in valor to the many Sons of King *Priamus*, not excepting his valiant Son  *Hector*, having fo equal a match for him as *Edward* the Black Prince, who wanted but an *Homer*, to have been an *Achilles*. Then *John* of Gaunt likewise had divers Sons, men as valorous as any that age afforded. Then *Henry* the Fourth had four Sons, of so heroical disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King *Henry* the Fifth to be his eldest.

And now that in him the Heroical nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in King *Henry* the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mothers side; who though in her self, she was a Princess of a noble spirit, yet being the issue of a crazie Father, what marvel, if she proved the Mother of a crazie Issue? and yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts in their Kind, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man praiseworthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metal than the soft temper of King *Henry* the Sixth was made of: and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text; *Va Genti cuius Rex est puer*; *Woe to that Nation whose King is a Child*, for he was not above eight moneths old, when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom; although that Text perhaps is not meant fo much of a child in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a child in abilities of ruling; whereof, though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply: of which, in this King, we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a child in years, so long his Kingdoms were kept flourishing by the Providence of his careful Uncles; but as soon as he left being a Child in years, and yet continued a Child in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things *In pejus ruere, & retro sublapsa referri*, all things went to wrack both in France and England. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of *Nilus*, in King *Henry* the Sixth.

*Henry* called of *Windsor*, because born there, the only child of King *Henry* the Fifth, as yet scarce nine moneths old, succeeded his Father, and was proclaimed King of England on the last of *August*, in the year 1422. by reason of whose Infancy, King *Henry* his Father had before, by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their consent confirmed, the Regency of France to *John Duke of Bedford*, the Government of England, to *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, the Guard of his Person to *Thomas Duke of Excester*, and *Henry Beauford* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor; wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, lest it should prove a spur to aspiring, and withall stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest fourm of authority: and indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

Anno Dom.  
1422.

King Henry but eight moneths old when his father died.

John Duke of Bedford is appointed Regent of France, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester Guardian of the Kings person.

Assistants to the Duke of Bedford.

The Dauphin Crowned King at Poitiers, and called Charles the seventh.

What assistance he had.

King Henry is proclaimed in Paris King of England and France.

1423.

The Duke of Bedford marries the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Parisians aspiring are repelled by the Regent.

Tho. Montacute Earl of Salisbury defeats a great Army of the French.

1424.

James the first King of Scots, after 18 years imprisonment, is released, and the manner of doing his Homage.

The Regent gives the French a great overthrow at Vernoye.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, was to keep that by the sword, which King Henry the Fifth by his sword had gotten, wherein he had many and great assistants, specially the two brothers of France, Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and John Lord Talbot; and amongst the French themselves, the Duke of Burgoyne, a friend no less powerful, then firm unto him. The Dauphin also (now Crowned King at Poitiers, and called Charles the seventh of France, his father being newly dead, within a little more then a month after King Henry) had likewise great assistants, the Duke of Alanson, and many other Peers of France, and of the Scots many, and some perhaps of the English that took part with him; by means whereof the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The first act of the Duke of Bedford's Regency, was an Oration which he made to the French in Paris, which wrought this good effect; that King Henry is proclaimed King of England and of France, and such French Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first act of hostility was performed by the new King of France, who sends the Lord Granville to Pont Melun, who surprized it, putting all the English Souldiers to the sword; but the Regent sending thither Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, so strongly beleaguered it, that the Lord Granville not only surrendered it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of England. From thence the Earl marched to Seyne, which he took by assault; and put all the Souldiers (except the Captain Sir William Maryn) to the sword.

At this time the Regent, the Duke of Burgoyne, John Duke of Britain, and his Brother in law the Earl of Richmond, (who revolted afterward to the new King of France, and was by him made Countable of France) met at Amiens; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it, to the offensive and defensive respectively: and to make the friendship the more firm, the Regent married Anne the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne at Troyes. In this mean time the Parisians taking advantage of the Regents absence, conspired to have let in the new King into Paris; but the day before the night appointed for his admission, the Regent with his power entered; apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publick execution. That done, he furnished all the Forts, and places of strength with English men, and sent Sir John Falstaff, who took in Pacye, and Comfay, two strong Castles; whilst himself with his Forces took in Traynels, and Bray upon Seyne.

The Countable of France the mean while with the new Kings forces, laid siege to Cravant in Burgoyne; but the Regent sent thither the Earl of Salisbury, who set upon the French, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, slew about 1800 Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thousand common Souldiers, Scots, and French, took prisoners the Countable himself, the Earl Ventadour, Sir Alexander Alerdyn, Sir Lewis Perigoyne, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the English part, were slain Sir John Gray, Sir William Hall, Sir Gilbert Halfall, Richard ap Iddocke, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earl led his forces to Montargis, and fate down before it, which after five monthes siege he took, whilst the Duke of Suffolk took in the two strong Castles of Corvey, and le Roche.

Whilst these things are done in France, in England the Protector ransomed and enlarged the young King of Scots, James the first; who by the space of eighteen years had been kept a Prisoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the Scots out of France, taking Homage and fealty of him for the Crown of Scotland, in these words; I James Stuart, King of Scots, shall be true and faithful to you Lord Henry, King of England and France, the Superior Lord of Scotland, and to you I make my fidelity for the said Kingdome, which I hold and claim of you, and shall do you service for the same, so God me help, and these holy Evangelists; and therewithall, with consent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife, Jane Daughter to the deceased Duke of Somerset, and Cousen german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. Mary Overies in Southwark; yet all this courtelie could keep him afterward from being unfaithful, and unthankful.

And now the Protector sent over to the Regent ten thousand well furnished souldiers with which fresh succour he won many Towns and places of strength: which the French seeing, and finding themselves too weak by plain force to withstand the English, they sought by subtilty to compass their ends; and first, they work upon the inconstancy of the Duke of Britain, and his Brother Arthur, by King Henry the fifth created Earl of Teyny, whom by gifts and promises they suborned, perfidiously to deliver over into their possession, the Castles of Crotroye, and Terney; but the English before the French Garrisons were settled, fell upon Crotroye and recovered it; and that done, the Regent besieged Terney, and by secret mining, and violent Batteries so shook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time: whereupon the Duke of Alanson with sixteen thousand French came to the rescue, but perceiving the English to be prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to Vernoye, and swore to the Townsmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and rescued Terney; which they believing, rendred up Vernoye to him: but the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of some fresh Companies of Scots come to his succour he came to a battell in the field, where the English, with the loss of two thousand one hundred common souldiers, and two of the Nobility, the Lord Dudley, and the Lord Charleton; got the honour of the day, and slew of their enemies, five Earls, two Viscounts twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the French, besides two thousand seven hundred Scots lately arrived, and took Prisoners the Duke of Alanson himself, the Lord of Heryns, and divers other French, and Sir John Turnbull, and two hundred Gentlemen,

A men, besides common Souldiers. This battel was fought the eight and twentieth day of August, in the year 1424. and thereupon Vernoye was presently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of Salisbury with ten thousand men, taketh in the strong Town of Amiens, the Town of St. Sufan, the Fort of St. Bernard, and others; from thence he went to Anjou, where he performed such Heroick Acts, that his very name grew terrible in all France; as for instance the new High-Countable perfidious Richmond, with forty thousand men laid siege to the good Town of St. James in Benyon, the Garrison whereof consisted but of six hundred English, who being driven to some extremity, fallied forth, crying Saint George, a Salisbury; which word of Salisbury, so frightened the French, thinking he had been come to rescue them, that casting away their weapons, they ran all away, saving some few that yielded themselves Prisoners, leaving all their Tents, four-ten Pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour and some Treasure behinde them. After which, other Castles, as that of Beaumont, of Vicount, Tenney, Gilly, Ofce, Rusey, Vassick, and many more were taken in by Sir John Mountgomerie, and Sir John Falstaff; so as once again the French are glad to betake themselves to their old course of fraud; they compounded with a Giscoign Captain for delivery of Alanson to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he sent the Lord Willoughby, and Sir John Falstaff to prevent it, who encountering with Charles de Villiers, that with two hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, took and slew them all, except some few Horse which saved themselves by flying. After which, the Earl of Salisbury took in and demolished above forty Castles and strong Piles, for which there was publick thanksgiving to God in London.

C Whilst these things were done in France, an unkinde variance fell out between the Protector, and his Brother the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor: for appealing whereof, the Regent having substituted the Earl of Warwick Lieutenant General in his absence, came into England, where in a Parliament he compounded all differences between them: in honour whereof, King Henry kept a solemn feast; at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four years old; and then the King presently inveilt with that dignity, many of his servants; and Edmund Mortimer, the last Earl of March, at this time dying, his Inheritance descended to Richard Plantagenet son and heir to Richard Earl of Cambridge beheaded at Southampton, who was now created Duke of York, and was afterward Father to King Edward the fourth: and at this time also, John Mowbray, son and heir to Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, banished before by King Richard the second, was restored to the Title of Duke of Norfolk. And now all things peaceably settled in England, the Regent with the Bishop of Winchester, returned into France; where, at the intercession of the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Alanson was ransomed for two hundred thousand Crowns: and the Bishop of Winchester returned to Calice, where he was inveilt with the Dignity and Hat of a Cardinal, which his brother the Regent put upon his head.

In the fourth year of this Kings reign, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, called of the common people, the Parliament of Bars, because being commanded to lay by their Swords; servants took great bars to follow their Lords and Masters to the Parliament.

About this time, the Duke of Gloucester, Protector, took some blemish in his honour, by marrying another mans wife, Jacqueline Countess of Haynault, Holland and Zealand, who was married before to John Duke of Brabant yet living, and had lived with him ten monthes as his lawful Wife, but at that time upon some discontent, gone from him, intending to be divorced: at which injury offered to the Duke Brabant, the Duke of Burgoyne, being his Cousin, took so great offence, that first by friendly Letters he admonished the Duke of Gloucester of it, & that not prevailing, they grew to terms of challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed; but in the mean time, the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of Burgoyne, who conveyed her to Gaunt; from whence, by friendship of a Burgonian Knight, in mans apparel, she escaped into Holland, and there made a defensive war against her husband the Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of Burgoyne: To her aid, the Duke of Gloucester sent the Lord Fitzwater, with a power of a thousand men: but she being discomfited by the Duke of Brabant, and the Pope also pronouncing the first marriage legal, the Duke of Gloucester deserted her, and then took for a second Wife Eleanor Daughter of the Lord Cobham of Sterborough, his old Mistress, and the Lady Jacqueline, after the death of John Duke of Brabant, married a mean Gentleman; whom the Duke of Burgoyne imprisoned, and brought her self to live in much trouble.

And now in France, the Countable with forty thousand men besieged the Town of St. James de Benyon, and having made a breach fit for assault, whilst his Captains stood straining of courtesie, which of them should first enter, Sir Nicholas Burdet with all his forces fallied forth, crying aloud, A Salisbury, A Suffolk; whose names struck such a terror into the besiegers, that they stood like men amazed, of whom six hundred were slain, two hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken prisoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Countable was glad to quit the place, and give over the siege.

At the same time also, the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Scates, with seven thousand besieged Ponteford many weeks together; but Provision waxing scant, the Lord Scates with three thousand men went a foraging into the Enemies Country; and in his return with plenty of provision, was encountered with six thousand French, of whom he slew many hundreds, took above a thousand prisoners, and then returned safe into the Camp.

About this time also Sir John Falstaffe besieged the strong Town of Graville, which after twelve dayes, offered to render it self by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and

The Earl of Salisbury doth great acts in France.

His very name defeated an Army of forty thousand.

The French use fraud; but to their own hurt.

King Henry at four years old dubbed Knight by the Regent. Richard Plantagenet created Duke of York, father to King Edward the fourth.

The Bishop of Winchester made a Cardinal.

An. Reg. 4. 1425.

The Duke of Gloucester marries another mans wife, and the trouble that grew about it.

Forty thousand French frightened away, with crying, A Salisbury.

The L. Scates defeats an Army of French.

Pledges put to death for not having promise kept.

Pledges delivered: but before the day came, they within the Town had viſtalled and manned the place, and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refused to render the Castle according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the sight of them within the Castle, and there openly put to death.

And now a conspiracy of the Clergie and Magistrates in *Mauits* so prevailed, that the Marshals of *France* with five hundred men, about midnight came to the Townwals; where the Guard of *English*, by those that seemed their friends, were suddenly massacred, and setting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon the Alarum given, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the surviving *English* withdrew to the Castle, wherein they were sharply assailed by the *French*, who yet had more mind to ransack houses, and to make good cheer: whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captain *Goffe*, whom he had sent to discover the state of the *French*, he secretly gave notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who thereupon sallied forth of the Castle at a time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops, and on both sides crying, *St. George*, a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careless *French*, who lost four hundred of their best men, the rest were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conspirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fifteen Friars, condemned and put to execution.

Whilst these things went on prosperously in *France*, a great dyſaster fell out in *England*; for the right Noble *Thomas Beauford* (son of *John of Gaunt*, and *Katherine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes *King Henry* his heir, and at *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, ended his life; whose place was presently supplied by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earls place in *France* by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who thereupon with five thousand men came to *Orleanse*, and besieged the City, and won from the *French* the great Fort. But here happened another great dyſaster; for from an high Tower in this Fort, the Beliegers observed the passages of the Townsmen; when the Noble Earl of *Salisbury*, intending to inform himself of the State of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a window of the Fort, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, a great shot from the Town striking the barres of the window, the splinters thereof were driven into his head and face; of which wounds, within eight dayes he dyed. This was now a second weakening to the *English* party: but in his place the Earl of *Suffolk* succeeded, to whom the Regent sended Sir *John Falstaff* with fresh supplies; whom the Lord *De la Brets*, nine thousand strong indeavours to intercept: but Sir *John* resolving to abide the charge, placeth his carriages behind, the Horse next, and the Foot before, lining his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching stakes behind the Archers, who having discharged their first volley retired behind the stakes: on which the *French*, forgetting their former defeat by that course, ran and goaded their Horses; by which their Vaward being disordered, the battail made a stand: which Sir *John* perceiving, cryeth out, *St. George! they flie!* at which words they fled indeed, and lost two thousand five hundred of their men, with the Lords *De la Brets*, and *William Stewart*; eleven hundred were taken Prisoners: with whom, and a rich booty, they came to the Camp before *Orleanse*: And this Battel because most part of the carriage, was *Herring* and *Letten* stuffe, was by the *French* men called the Battel of *Herrings*. But the besieged having notice of this defeat, they offered to submit themselves to the Duke of *Burgoin*, who was contented to receive them, so as the Regent would consent: But the Regent consented not; and therefore in the mean time, the besieged made means to the Duke of *Alanson*, who furnished the Town with fresh Forces and Provision; which put such spirits into the Citizens, that they made a sally out, slew six hundred *English*, and adventured upon the *Basile*, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who repelled them with great slaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of *Suffolk* gave over his siege; and dispersed his Army into their Garisons.

And now the wheel of Fortune began to turn to the *French* against the *English*, which once for a going, was not ealie to be stayed. And first, the Duke of *Alanson* took by assault the Town of *Largaux*, and in it the Earl of *Suffolk* and one of his brothers, and slew Sir *Alexander Pole* another of his Brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold blood, by reason of a contention amongst the *French*, to whom the Prisoners should belong. Presently upon this, another great blow was given to the *English*: for the Lord *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, going to fortifie the Town of *S. Meaux*, were encountered by the said Duke of *Alanson*, and *Arthur of Brittain*, with three and twenty thousand men, with whom the *English* Lords interchanged some blows; but oppressed with multitude, were all three taken prisoners, all fore wounded, twelve hundred of their company slain, and the rest hardly escaping to *Mium*, where they fortified themselves the best they could against future assaults.

These were great blows given to the *English* fortune in *France*; *Salisbury* slain, and now *Talbot* taken prisoner, which though they made her a little to totter, yet there must be greater blows given before she will fall. And indeed, these dyſasters were seconded by the perfidious surrender of many Towns and strong Holds to the *French* King; who now encouraged by these successes, marcheth into *Champaign*, where by compulsion he took *Troyes* the chief City of that Province; *Challons* rebelleth, and enforceeth their Captain to yield it up: by whose examples the Citizens of *Rhemes* do the like, where the *French* King is anew Proclaimed, and with accustomed Ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns submit themselves to him, and revolt from the *English*. Vpon this, the Duke of *Bedford* (to make the *French* know, that all the *English* strength consisted not only in *Salisbury* and *Talbot*) with ten thousand *English*, besides *Normans*, marched out of *Paris*, and sent letters of defiance to the *French* King, affirming, that

An Army of  
French defeat-  
ed with crying  
a *Talbot*.

Tho. Beaufort  
Duke of Exce-  
ter dies.

1428.

The noble  
Earl of *Salis-  
bury* unfortun-  
ately slain.

Sir *John Fal-  
staff* defeats  
the *French* by  
politick order-  
ing his Army.

The *English*  
side begins to  
go down.

The Duke of  
*Suffolk* taken  
Prisoner.

The Lords  
*Talbot* and  
*Scales* taken  
prisoners.

The *French*  
King recovers  
many Towns.

The *French* K.  
Crowned at  
*Rhemes*.

The Regent  
persecuteth the  
*French* King.

A that deceitfully and by unjust means he had stoln many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of *England*; which he was come to justify by battel, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of *France* making a slight answer; the Regent marched apace toward him, and as fast the King of *France* marcheth away: The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near to *Senlys*: there both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only some light skirmishes passed between them; and a night or two after, the *French* King fled with his Army to *Bray*: which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from *Paris*, of whose fidelity he had no great assurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time, the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared forces to assist Pope *Martin* in *Bohemia*, the Regent borrowed them of him for a present expedition, and with them marched into *Campaigne*, where he found the *French* King encamped upon the Mount *Piball*; whose number being twice as many as the Regent's, yet by no provocations could be drawn to battel; but secretly fled to *Crispis*; whereupon the Regent also returned to *Paris*.

Whilst these things are done in *France*, in *England*, upon *St. Leonards* day the 6. of *November* 1429, King *Henry* not yet eight years old, was with great solemnity Crowned at *Westminster*: at whose Coronation were made six and thirty Knights of the Bath, and after the solemnity, a feast; and if any man desire to know much Cookery, he may read in *Fabian*, all the dishes of meat that were served at that feast.

About this time, in *France*, a strange Impostor ariseth; a maid called *La Pucelle*, taking upon her to be sent from God, for the good of *France*, and to expel the *English*: and some good indeed she did; for by her subtle working, the King was received into *Campaigne*, and many Towns were rendered to him; whilst the Lord *Longeville* took by surprize the Castle of *Aumale*, and slew all the *English* that were in it. But all these were but petty acquets to the King of *France*: there is a knot of friendship between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoin*, which must be broken, or he will never be able to compass his designs. He therefore labours by all means possible to disunite them; wherein he so little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoin* acquaints the Regent with all the practices, who thereupon, with many thanks, exhorteth him to continue firm, of which he should never have cause to repent him: and because *Normandy* was a principal part of the *English* strength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reasons persuades them, as their Ancestors had alwaies been, to be faithful to the Crown of *England*.

D In this time of the Regent's absence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his forces thither; using all means possible, by *Escalado*, Battery, and burning the gates, to enter the City: but was so withstood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to found retreat, leaving his slain and maimed souldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*, who being hurt in the Leg, and almost stifled with myre in the ditch, was by a fervant of the Duke of *Alanson* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the submission of the Inhabitants of *Lignye*. Some other Services were performed on both sides, by the Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *Thomas Kyriell*, for the *English*; by the bastard of *Orleanse* and Sir *Stephen le Eſe*, for the *French*; but of no great importance: till at last, the *Pucelle*, (who a little before had caused an *English* Captains head to be cut off, because he would not humble himself to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John of Lutsem-  
burgh* taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoin*, who sent her to the Regent, and he to the Bishop of the Diocese, who judicially proceeding against her as a Sorceress, and deceiver of the King and his subjects, she was (after many delays of promise to discover secret practices, and lastly of her feigning to be with child) publicly burnt at *Roan*.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the *French* King had furthered his designs, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: whereupon he is sent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was by his uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinal of *Eusebius*, not yet above nine years old, with all usual ceremonies Crowned King of *France*, receiving the oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the *French* Nobility that were present, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this, Pope *Eugenius* laboured a reconciliation between the two Kings, but could effect nothing, but only a Truce for six years: which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the eleventh of *February*. But the six years Truce was scarce openly Proclaimed, when the *French* had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles and places of strength, justifying their actions, affirming, That what was politically obtained without blowes, was no infringement of the Truce: and afterwards they perfidiously conveyed two hundred men into the Castle of *Roan*, with intent to have surprized it; but being discovered, they were all taken, and either ransomed, or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent (whose Wife, the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoin*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jaqueline* the Earl of *S. Paul*'s daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his ransom, cometh, bringing with him seven hundred tried souldiers; and with them the Regent takes the field, where the *French* Army lay, but the *French* slunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battel.

About this time, the Duke of *Bowbon*, taken at the battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen years imprisonment, paying eighteen thousand pounds for his Ransome, the same day he was enlarged died at *London*.

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very small cause: There had been sparks of unkindness between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoin*, which brake out into a flame upon

The *French*  
King declineth  
battel.

Anno Reg. 8.  
1429.

King *Henry*  
Crowned at  
*Westminster*.

*La Pucelle* be-  
gins to show  
her self.

*La Pucelle* ta-  
ken and burnt  
at *Roan* for a  
Sorceress.

An. Reg. 10.  
1431.

King *Henry* is  
Crowned King  
of *France* in  
*Paris*.

A Truce abin-  
ded.

The Regent  
and the Duke  
of *Burgoin*  
fall at vari-  
ance, and for  
what.

upon this occasion: A time and place was appointed, where they should meet to compound A some differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was St. Omers, a Town in Burgoyne: When the time came, they stood upon this nice point, Which of them should first come to the place; as thinking that he which did so, should thereby acknowledge himself to be the meaner person. The Duke of Richmond thought he had no reason to do it, seeing he was Regent of France, and therefore superiour to any subject in the Kingdom: And the Duke of Burgoyne thought he had no reason to do it, seeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himself the Sovereign Lord. Upon this nice point they parted without meeting; and the unkindness grew afterward to so great hatred, that the Duke of Burgoyne chose rather to be friends with him that had murdered his father, then ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of Bedford. Thus was one great branch of assistance lost off from the English which had been a great means before to make it flourish: and it was not so much, that the assistance was taken from the English, as that it was added to the French: for after this, the Duke of Burgoyne brought more assistance to the new King of France, then ever he had done before to the King of England. By which we may see, when the Divine providence hath a work to effect, what slight occasions it oftentimes takes to effect the work.

Great blowes had been given before in France, to the English fortune by the enemy, but now a blow was given to it by Destiny, which made the Enemies blowes the more incurable; for now the wife, valiant, faithful Regent of France, Duke of Bedford, Anjou, and Alanson, Earl of Mayne, Harcourt, Dreux, Richmond, and Carlisle, and Viscount Beaumont, upon the fourteenth of September 1435, ended his life at Paris, which was in a manner the ending the life of the English fortune in France: all former blowes had been upon inferior members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortal; and indeed the English fortune in France, never after lifted up its head, but very weakly. He was buried in our Ladies Church at Roan, whereat the Nobility of Normandy much repined, who would have had their own Territory honoured with his Sepulchre: yet see the levity of these men, who a few years after in the reign of Lewis the Son of Charles, would have had his Monument to have been demolished, as being dishonourable, such an Arch-enemy to France, should be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province: But Lewis answered, God forbid, I should give way to so dishonourable an act, to disquiet his dead bones, who living, would have disquieted us all, and it favours of too much baseness to insult upon a dead Lyon.

But yet in these dyasters, there might have been some reparation by a good Successor, had not Envy and Ambition bred disturbance: the Duke of Somerset desired the Succession, but the Duke of York obtained it; which bred such an envy in the Duke of Somerset towards him, that he laboured nothing so much as to cross his designs, and was a means to hinder the Duke of York's going to his charge so long, that the Parisians had time to think of freeing themselves from the English servitude; and thereupon the City after it had remained seventeen years in the possession of the English, yields to the Constable, and upon composition expels all the English; and which was worse, many other Towns followed this example of Paris, for what Town would not willingly do as Paris did, the epitome as it were of all France? and which they stick not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but Paris. Even the Normans, who had always been most firm to the English, yet had run the same course, if the Lord Talbot had not kept them in awe, with the slaughter of five thousand of them that way inclined. And now after these great losses, we must be content to play smaller games, cast at Castles and Forts, and some small Towns, like the struggling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining; And this was now our case in France. The new Regent with eight thousand Souldiers arrived at Harflew, and from thence marcheth to Roan, where he won the reputation of justice and uprightness, notwithstanding all the calumnations of the Duke of Somerset: when the revolted Duke of Burgoyne pretending title to the Town of Callice, approacheth it with an Army of forty thousand men, takes the poor Bastile of Oye, and slaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The Piccards besieged the Castle of St. Mark, took it, and demolished it; from thence they begin Callice with a siege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of Burgoyne sent the Lord Croy to besiege the Castle of Gynsuet, but were repelled there also. In the mean time Pembrook the Herald brought a defiance to the Duke of Burgoyne from the Duke of Gloucester the Protector, that he would give him battle if he would abide it; to whom the Duke of Burgoyne answered, he should be sure to find him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Council, and whilst they are debating what is best to be done, the Callicians make a fall, take the Bastile which they had builded, by force, and slew eightscore of the Burgoyneans, which so terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of Burgoyne, and make both him and the Lord Croy to quit their quarters, and in such haste to be gone, that they left a great part of their best Ordinance, and all their Provision for the relief and help of the besieged; and it seems they had reason so to do, for the next day being the seven and twentieth of July, the Duke of Gloucester landed at Callice, with five and twenty thousand good fighting men, who finding the enemy recoiled, foraged all the Countrey thereabout, and for the space of six weeks harrowed all the parts of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault; and then returning by St. Omers, Arde, and Guisnes, arrived at Callice.

And now we must look a little home, for the D. of York returning into England, finds the Castle of Roxborough besieged by the King of Scots, with thirty thousand men: but he hearing of the Earl of Northumberland's approach, and the Dukes return, incontinently fled. And now again

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France dies in Paris.

1435.

The noble disposition of King Lewis of France.

The Duke of York is made Regent of France, which the Duke of Somerset envying hinders his proceedings all he can.

1436.

Paris expels all the English and by their example many other Towns likewise.

The Duke of Gloucester the Protector sends defiance to the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Duke of Gloucester lands at Callice with 25 thousand fighting men.

A to France, where the Town of Harflew was sold to the French, but the Duke of Somerset, and the Lord Talbot besetting it both by sea and land, though the Earl of Ewe, and the battard or Orleanse and Bourbon, with four thousand men came to relieve it, yet upon composition, it was surrendered.

And here we may have leave to speak of a private matter; for about this time the Dutchess of Bedford married Sir Richard Woodville, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small means, which though it offended her friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her mother of many children by him; and amongst the rest, of the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards married to King Edward the fourth. Also about this time James King of Scots, who before had been eighteen years Prisoner in England, and afterward released, with a Wife of a Noble house, a great Dower, and many honourable Presents, yet proved ungrateful, was murdered in his bed-chamber by night, whose murderers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to France; when the Duke of Burgoyne could neither by force nor policy take Callice, he attempted a ridiculous practise, to cut a ditch that should drown both the Town and Countrey; but after much labour and expence, his design like a vapour vanished into air. The Lord Talbot besieged Tankerville, and after four months siege, hath it rendered to him: In revenge whereof, the French King in his own person, laies siege to Montfrenau; which whilst the Duke of York was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his office, done of purpose by his enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envie shall be suffered to undermine the publick safety; and by this means Sir Thomas Gerard had the more opportunity to sell the Town, for which, if he were a gainer in money, he was yet a loser in reputation, and hated both of French and English.

C in much discontent died. Arthur, Constable of France, and John Duke of Alanson besieged the Town of Auranches; but were with dishonour repelled by the Lord Talbot: After this, La Hyre sent Letters to them, that he had a promise from divers Burgers of Roan to let them in at any time appointed; against which time they came to Ryze, within four leagues of Roan, but the Lord Talbot having notice hereof, marched covertly to Roan, and from thence before day to Ryze, where he surpriseth the French, takes the Lord Fontaine, Sir Allon Geron, and many others, and with a rich booty returneth to Roan. The sixth day of November, in the sixteenth year of the Kings reign, the Earl of Warwick having oftentimes been aboard, and still beaten back by tempests, landed at Harflew with a thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to Roan; but in the mean time the Duke of Burgoyne seeing no new Regent yet come, besiegeth the Town of Crotot, to the relief whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord Talbot with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke not enduring, retired to Abbeville, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the Bastile by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the Souldiers either taken or slain. And there the valiant Talbot sent word to the Duke, that if he would save his Countrey from vastation, he should come to a batel, but the Duke not liking the match; conveys himself to Amiens: Twenty daies together did the Lord Talbot with fire and sword pass through Piccardy, and Artois without opposition, and then returned: Sir Thomas Kyrriell seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordinance, and having left in Crotot, victual enough for six hundred men for a whole year, he brought the rest to the Earl of Warwick. And now Henry Earl of Mortgaine, Son to Edmund Duke of Somerset, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three

E hundred Spears, took the Castle of St. Anjou, wherein were three hundred Scots and French; the Scots he slew all, and hanged the French because they had sworn fealty to England, and broke it; he took likewise the Castle of Algarchie, and by means of an Ambush, taketh the Lord Camerois, coming to the rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of Neux in Brye, and Susan were sold and delivered to the French by the treacherous Burgers. In June, the Earl of Huntington with two thousand Archers, and four thousand Spears was sent into Gascoigne, whither the Earl of Danois was lately come to buy Towns and Castles, but the Earl of Huntington upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such bargains; and so far had bribery spread it self at this time, that even in Normandy the English Captains had but small confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their own nation; whereupon Sir Richard Woodville, Sir William Chamberlain, and William Peto were sent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

At this time the Council of France procured a reconciliation between the King and the Dauphin; who had been in long jealousies and diffention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

And now in a great frost and snow, the English under the conduct of Sir John Clifford, having covered their Armour with white shirts, and their heads with white Almain skulls, came to Pontibus, by night, and undiscovered pass'd the ditches, scaled the walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance, for presently upon it, the Earl of Warwick died in the Castle of Roan, and conveyed into England, was buried in the Castle of Warwick. To reduce Pontibus, the French King in person layeth siege unto it, when Richard Duke of York being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Ewe, levies a power to raise the Siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him battle; but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordinance, at midnight stole away to Poissy; thither also the Regent follows him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

About this time, a treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at Callice, by the mediation of the Dutchess of Burgoyne, a Portugal Lady; Commissioners meet of both sides, but

1437.

The Dutchess of Bedford marries Sir Richard Woodville.

James King of Scots murdered.

The Duke of Burgoyne attempts Callice, but without success.

Sir Tho. Gerard betrays the Town of Montfrenau to the French.

The L. Talbot doth great acts.

1438.

The Duke of York is made Regent of France, which the Duke of Somerset envying hinders his proceedings all he can.

Paris expels all the English and by their example many other Towns likewise.

The Duke of Gloucester the Protector sends defiance to the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Duke of Gloucester lands at Callice with 25 thousand fighting men.

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The Duke of Orleans after 25 years imprisonment is ransomed.

A stratagem of Sir Francis the Aragonist.

Difference between the Duke of Gloucester, and the Cardinal.

1441.

The Duke of Gloucester's wife accused of forcery, and her penance.

King Henry affianceth the Earl of Arminiack's daughter, but is by the King of France cross'd.

The Earl of Suffolk propounds another match for the King.

but nothing concluded, only the Duke of Orleans who had been prisoner to the English five and twenty years, is by the Dutchess mediation ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of Burgoin's money. The Lord Willoughby beleagued Depe, which the Dauphin with sixteen thousand men cometh to raise; and there young Talbot is taken prisoner, with Sir John Peto, and Sir John Repley, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakness happened to the English party, the Earl of St. Paul forsakes them, and is reconciled to the King of France. The English lay siege to Tarrus, for the ransoming whereof, the French King marcheth thither with 60000 men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to Soverine, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir John Ramfion; after which, he took in Arques, but then the English cutting off all convoys of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whose departure, the English recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this mean while the Lord Talbot taketh in Conquet, and driveth the Bastard of Orleans from the siege of Gagliarda; but the French in the Castle of Cornhill detained many English prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir Francis the Aragonist used this stratagem; he apparell'd half a dozen lusty fellows like Peasants, carrying baskets with corn and victuals, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his company lies in ambush, in a Valley near the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted, and coming to the Captains chamber, seize upon him, and withall give the sign to the ambush, who coming readily on, entered the Castle, put the Souldiers to the sword, set the prisoners at liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the booty, and Captain of the Castle, returned to Roan.

Whilest these alterations passed in France, a more unnatural, passed in England, the Uncle, first against the Nephew, the Nephew against the Uncle; The Duke of Gloucester Articles against the Cardinal, charging him with affecting prebeminence, to the derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being most of the Clergy, durst not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinal. On the other side, the Cardinal finding nothing whereof directly to accuse the Duke of Gloucester himself, accuseth his other self, the Lady Eleanor Cobham the Dukes wife, of Treason, for attempting by Sorcery and witchcraft the death of the King, and advancement of her husband to the Crown: for which, though acquitted of the Treason, she is adjudged to open Penances, namely, to go with a wax taper in her hand, hoodless (save a kerchief) through London, diverse daies together, and after to remain in perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. The crime objected against her, was procuring Thomas Southwell, John Hunne Priests, Roger Bollingbrooke a supposed Necromancer, and Margery Jordan called the Witch of Eye in Suffolk, to devile a picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in such sort by sorcery, that as the picture consumed, so the Kings body should consume: for which they were all condemned: the Witch was burnt in Smithfield; Bollingbrooke was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, that neither the Dutchess, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, then only to know by his art, how long the King should live: John Hunne had his pardon; and Southwell died the night before he should have been executed.

About this time, the Countess of Cominges being dead, the King of France and the Earl of Arminiack are Competitors for the inheritance: The Earl takes possession; but fearing the King of France his greatness, makes offer of his daughter in marriage to the King of England, with a large portion in money, and besides, to deliver full possession of all such Towns and Castles as were by him or his Ancestors detained in Aquitaine, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of England conquered. The Ambassadors for this business, were by King Henry graciously heard, and honourably returned: after whom were sent Sir Edward Hall, Sir Robert Roffe and others, to conclude all things, and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King Henry. But the King of France not liking the proceeding of the match, fendeth the Dauphin with a puissant Army, who took the Earl, with his youngest son, and both his daughters, and gained the Counties of Arminiack, Louverne, Rovergue, Montlessenois, with the Cities of Severac and Cadenac, chasing the Bastard of Arminiack out of the Country; by means whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in suspense.

In this distraction of Christendome, many Princes, the Kings of Spain, Denmark and Hungary, became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of England and France: Ambassadors of both sides are sent, many meetings were had, many motions made, but in conclusion, only a Truce for eighteen months is agreed upon. In the mean time, the Earl of Suffolk one of the Commissioners for the Peace, takes upon him beyond his Commission, and without acquainting his fellows, to treat of a marriage between the King of England, and a kinswoman of the King of France, Niece to the French Queen, daughter to Rayner Duke of Anjou, titling himself King of Sicilie and Naples: In which business he was so intemperate; that it brought an aspersion upon him of being bribed: but howsoever, an Enterview betwixt the two Kings is appointed, without any warrant of King Henry's part, to be between Charters and Roan. The Commissioners return; the Earl of Suffolk sets forth the beauty of the proposed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this match. The King was easily induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the Kings Council, especially the Duke of Gloucester, opposed it; partly for the meannesses of the match, her father being only a Titular Prince and withal but poor, unable to give any portion at all; and partly, for the wrong which should hereby be offered to the Duke of Arminiack's daughter, to whom the King had been in solemn manner publickly affianced. But reasons could not prevail

A prevail against favour: the Earl of Suffolk's affirmation must not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords first made, (John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, made Duke of Somerset; John Lord Talbot made Earl of Shrewsbury; John Holland Earl of Huntington, made Duke of Excester; Humphry Earl of Stafford, made Duke of Buckingham; H. Beauchampe Earl of Warwick made Duke of Warwick; Edmund Beaufort Earl of Dorset, made Marquess Dorset; and William de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, made Marquess of Suffolk:) this new Marquess honourably accompanied, is sent into France to fetch the Lady Margaret the proposed Bride; who shortly after is married at Southwick in Hampshire, and Crowned Queen of England at Westminster, on the 30 day of May, 1444. In the three and twentieth year of King Henry's Reign. And now instead of benefits by this marriage, there presently followed great inconveniences: for first in exchange of her Person, the Duchy of Anjou, the City of Mantes, with the whole County of Mayne, the best props of the Duchy of Normandy are agreed to be surrendered into the hands of the French; and then the Duke of Arminiack, to revenge the injury offered to his Daughter, is a means to expel the English out of all Aquitain.

At this time, the Duke of Somerset's spleen against the Duke of York, not only is revived, but is grown stronger; for the Duke of York, who was now after the death of the Earl of Warwick, made the second time Regent of France, is so undermined by him, through assistance of the new Marquess of Suffolk, who bore now all the sway with the King and Queen; that not only he supplanted him in his place, but planted himself in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of York and his friends; but he wisely dissembled his anger, and for the present passed it over.

And now is no man in grace but the new Marquess of Suffolk; all favours from the King and Queen must pass by him, and the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Council: He gets of the King the Wardship of the body and lands of the Countess of Warwick, and of the Lady Margaret, sole daughter and heir of John Duke of Somerset, afterward Mother to King Henry the seventh. And now the Kings weakness in judgment grows every day more apparent then other, whilest governed by no counsel but of his Queen; and she by no counsel but her own will, and the new Marquess of Suffolk: King Henry is himself the least part of the King, and serves but to countenance the devises of others, whereof he little understands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame must needs be his; if well, the benefit and honour, others. For by intigation of the Queen, he suffers the Duke of Gloucester, for his care of the Commonwealth called the good Duke, to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Council-Table; and permits informers, set on by the Marquess of Suffolk, the Duke of Buckingham, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and the Archbishop of York, to come against him; who lay to his charge, that he had caused divers persons to be executed contrary to Law: wherein though he justified himself, yet no justification would be heard; but to avoid tumultuary part-taking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned: and to this end, a Parliament by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at Bury; to which the Duke of Gloucester resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord Beaumont Lord High Constable (abetted by the Duke of Buckingham) arrested and put in Ward, all his followers sequestered from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next day after his imprisonment, he is found in his bed murdered; yet shewed the same day as though he had died of an Impostume; though all that saw his body, saw plainly that he died of a violent and unnatural cause: some say, strangled; some, that a hot spit was put up at his fundament; and some, that he was stifled between two feather-beds. His Corps the same day was conveyed to St. Albans, and there buried. Five of his menial servants, Sir Roger Chamberlain Knight, Middleton, Herbert, Artz, Esquires, and John Needham Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at Tiburn, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marquess of Suffolk, to make a shew as though he had no hand in the business, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and so their lives were saved. It is no unmemorable thing which Sir Thomas Moore writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of Gloucester. It happened the King coming one time in progress to St. Albans, a Begger born blind, as he said, at the shrine of St. Alban obtained his sight: which miracle being noised in the Town, the Duke of Gloucester being there with the King, desired to see him, whom being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blinde: who told him, Yes truly; And can you now see? (saith the Earl) Yes I thank God and St. Alban, saith the Begger; then tell me saith the Earl what colour is my Gown? The Begger readily told him the colour; and what colour saith the Earl is such a mans Gown? The Begger likewise told him presently, and so of divers others. Then saith the Earl, Go you counterfeit knave; if you had been born blinde, and could never see till now, how come you so suddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon instead of an Alms, caused him to be set in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special hand in it, was either not so intelligent or not so provident as she might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of York's claim to the Crown, being but descended from the fifth son of Edward the third, where this Duke Humphrey was descended from the fourth. And here were the first seeds sown between the two Houses of Lancaster, whose badge was the Red-rose, and York, whose badge was the White-rose. And now upon the death of this Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York began amongst his Familiars, privily to whisper his right and title to the Crown; but so politicly carryed his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpose was any whit discovered.

Dukes and Earls created.

1444.

King Henry proceeds in the match which the Earl of Suffolk propounded.

The Duke of York displaced of his Regency, and the Duke of Somerset placed in it.

King Henry begins to shew his weakness in judgment.

The Duke of Gloucester secretly murdred.

1447.

Five Gentlemen hanged; but were cut down quick, and lived.

The Duke of Gloucester's pregnancy in discovering an Impostor.

The Duke of York begins to whisper his Right to the Crown.

And

The Bishop of Winchester prophane speech at his death.

1448.

The Marquess of Suffolk is made Duke of Suffolk.

Fraud answered with fraud.

The French King recovers many Towns: through the demurring of the Duke of Somerset.

1449.

Sir Thomas Kyriel defeated; with the loss of near 400. men.

All Normandy recovered from the English.

Accusations laid to the Duke of Suffolk.

And in this time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester dies, who lying on his death bed, as Doctor John Baker his privy Counsellour and his Chaplain writeth, used such like words; Why should I dye, saith he, having so much riches? If the whole Realm would save my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing? and other words to such purpose. But he being dead, there succeeded in his Bishoprick a more deserving Prelate, William Wauslete, called so of the place in Lincolnshire where he was born though his name was Patterne, of the Worshipful Family whereof he was descended. And now to the end the Marquess of Suffolk might not come behind them in dignity, whom he went before in power, he is about this time made Duke of Suffolk.

In France about this time, a victory was gotten, which proved no better then an overthrow; Before the Truce was expired, Sir Francis Surveys an Aragonois, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honorable Order of the Garter; taking advantage of the security of the French Garisons, suddenly surpriseth a Frontier Town called Fongiers, belonging to the Duke of Britain; the Duke advertiseth the French King thereof, who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of England, and to the Duke of Somerset then Regent in France: Answer was made it was the fault of the Aragonois, who did it without warrant from either the King, or the Council; nevertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at Louviers, to treat of some course for satisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the French by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of Hay coming over the Draw-bridge, caused the Axeltree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out, the Town of Ardes surprized, and the Lord Fauconbridge Captain thereof was taken Prisoner. Restitution being required by the English, answer is made them in their own language, it was done without warrant from either the French King, or any of his Council, so it was but one for another; and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both sides, and all things grow worse and worse. The French King by composition taketh Louviers, Gerbury, and Vernois, whilst the Regent stands demurring what was best to be done; if he command, not obeyed, if he counsel, not followed, as it happens to men once blemished in Reputation, to have an ill contruction made of all their actions; by which means the French go on without resistance, get Constance, Gussard, Gattard, St. Lo, Festhamp, & many other pieces in Normandy, upon notice whereof, Manleson in Guyen surrenders to the Earl of Foix, and by their example the City of Roan it self takes composition to surrender, where the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Butler, heir to the Earl of Ormond, were kept pledges; till it was performed. It is true, succours were provided to be sent out of England, under the conduct of the Duke of York; but a rebellion happening in Ireland, which was thought of more importance to be speedily suppressed, diverted him and his Forces thither, where not only he suppressed the Rebels, but so won the hearts of that people, that it was no small furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A fresh supply indeed of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sir Thomas Kyriel's tent over; but what could a handful of men do against such multitudes as opposed them? for he marching with the rest of the Army towards Beauneux, was encountered by the Earl of Clermont, with seven thousand French and Scots, whom yet at first he made to recoil, till the Constable of France with four hundred men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to the rescue, and then fresh men coming upon them that were already tired, the English lost three thousand and above seven hundred, besides divers that were taken Prisoners. After this loss of men, follows presently a loss of Towns; Harflew is assaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir Robert Curson, yet surrendered at last upon composition: Then the French King with an Army Royal, besiegeth Caen in Normandy, a Town belonging to the Duke of York, defended in his absence by his Lieutenant Sir David Hall; but the Duke of Somerset being Regent, in commiseration of his Dutcheffs being in the Town, notwithstanding the stout opposition of Sir David Hall, surrenders it upon composition to the French; whereof Sir David giving notice to the Duke of York, it bred such a deadly quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after thoroughly reconciled. And thus is all Normandy recovered from the English, after it had been in their possession a hundred years; and finally, all France is reduced to the obedience of Charles the French King.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad, but there will be the more to do at home, and more blood will be shed in England by civil dissensions, then was shed before in all the Wars of France. This loss of Normandy and other parts in Normandy, is imputed much to the Duke of Somerset; at that time Regent; but the D. of Suffolk must bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cause of the surrender of Anjou and Maine, and the chief procurer of the Duke of Gloucesters death, and partly for having wilfully wasted the Kings treasure, and been a means to remove the ablest men from the Council Board; of all which aspersions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trench upon the Dukes Detraction, and her own; she so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the Black-Friers, is adjourned to Leicester, and from thence to Westminster; but though all means were used to stop these accusations against the Duke, yet the lower House would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of grievances against him: That he had traiterously incited the Bailard of Orleans, the Lord Presigny, & others to levy war against the King, to the end that thereby the King might be destroyed; and his son John who had married Margaret Daughter and sole Heir of John Duke of Somerset, whose title to the Crown the said Duke had often declared, in case King Henry should dye without issue, might come to be King; That through his treachery the French King had gotten possession of the Dutchy

of Normandy, and had taken prisoners the valiant Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Fauconbridge and others: but to these accusations, he peremptorily affirmed himself not guilty, so much as in thought. Then were further allegations made against him, that being with others, sent Ambassador into France, he had transgressed his Commission, and without privy of his fellow Commissioners, had presumed to promise the surrender of Anjou, and the delivery of the County of Maine to Duke Rayner, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown; That he had traiterously acquainted the French King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy, by which the Enemy was thoroughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Council: That he had received rewards from the French King, to divert and dissipate all succours sent to the Kings friends in France. Upon these and divers other accusations brought against him, to blear the peoples eyes, he is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at liberty; which so incensed the common people, that they made an Insurrection; and under the leading of a desperate fellow, styling himself Blew-beard, they committed many out-rages; but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chusing of Burgeses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of Suffolk; but his personal appearance at the Parliament gave such a general distaste to the House, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly, with Petitioning the King, for punishment to be inflicted upon such as had plotted or consented to the resignation of Anjou, and Maine, whereof by name they instanced in the Duke of Suffolk, John Bishop of Salisbury, Sir James Fynes, Lord Say, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House; whereupon, to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord Say Lord Treasurer, is sequestered from his place, the Dukes Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five years; but with an intent after the multitude had put out of mind their hatred against him, to have revoked him: but God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in Suffolk, with intent to have passed over into France; he was met by an English man of War, taken and carried to Dover sands, and there had his head chop off, on the side of the long boat, which together with the body was left there on the sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke Humphrey.

Whilst these things are done in England, the Duke of York in Ireland began to make his way to the Crown, as descended from Philippa Daughter and heir to Lyonnell Duke of Clarence, elder brother to John of Gaunt, great Grandfather to the present King Henry the sixth. And for a beginning, it is privately whispered, that King Henry was of a weak capacity, and easily abused; the Queen of a malignant spirit, and bloudily ambitious; the Privy Council, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit then the publick good; that through their delinquencies, all France was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped possession of King Henry: with these suggestions the Kentishmen seemed to be taken; which being observed by an instrument of the Duke of York, called Mortimer, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever, from those insupportable burthens of taxations, so often, upon every slight occasion obtruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and freedom from impositions, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head; and make Mortimer, otherwise Jack Cade, their leader; who styling himself Captain Mend-all, marched with no great number, but those well ordered to Black-heath, where between Eltham and Greenwich, he lay by the space of a month exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased: Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons: That the Queens Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utter undoing, and to the general impoverishment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the Kings household, for which they are not paid, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but only Court promises: That upon the apprehension of any man for Treason or Felony, the Kings menial servants, before conviction, beg the goods and lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawful proceedings are used by subornation of witnesses, embracery of Jurors, and great mens Letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legal proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightful owners of Inheritance, dare not, (if opposed by any Courtier) maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just soever: That the Kings Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts by new extorted Fees, and by being enforced to procure a late invented Writ of Quorum Nomina, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, & their suing out their Quetus at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs, under colour of the green wax out of the Exchequer, do levy greater sums then are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgeses for the Parliament; but by letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgeses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five daies journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other, were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after protestation made to

Upon which committed to the Tower is presently upon the dissolution of the Parliament released. An insurrection made by Blew beard, soon pacified. The Duke of Suffolk is questioned again in Parliament: is banished formally for five years; but taken at Sea, hath his head chop off

1450.

The Duke of York begins to make his way to the Crown.

Jack Cade makes an insurrection; and an Army to Black-heath. He presents the complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

live

live and dye in the quarrel of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive A again into favour, the truly noble Prince the Duke of York, and with him the Right Honourable the Dukes of Excester, Buckingham and Norfolk, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm; by the undue practices of Suffolk and his complices, commanded from his presence; and that all their opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general amotion of corrupt officers, anabolition of the Green Wax, and other instruments of Exortion out of the Exchequer; a qualification of proceeding in the Kings-Bench; an inhibition of unequal pervyance of provision for the Kings Household, and a present execution of the Promoters, Slegge, Cromer, Ifill, and East, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abused the King, and wronged his subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council, who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels: Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to prosecute them by force rather then intreaty; which advice is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King draws his Forces to Greenwich, and appointeth divers Lords to assaile the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who sought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such Traytors as the Lord Say the Kings Chamberlain was: whereupon the Lord Say is presently committed to the Tower, the King and Queen retire to London, from whence within two daies, the King being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in perfon towards Captain Mend-all, who politically withdraweth his Forces into Sevenoak Wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to London, but the Queen longing for dispatch, sends the two Straffords, Sir Humphrey, and William, with many hotspurs of the Court, to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled; for they found Captain Mend-all in good order ready to receive them, and in the first encounter, flew Sir Humphrey, and afterwards his brother, and put all the rest to flight; the Kings Forces being at Black-heath, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the rescue, but rather wished the Queen and her Favorites in the Staffords case, or that the Duke of York were in England, to aid his Cousen Mortimer, now first acknowledged to be of his kindred) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose number from Suffex and Surrey daily increased, whom yet their Captain restraineth from forraging or taking away any thing by force, and so returneth again to Black-heath, where the Kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to Greenwich. And now the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their demands; to whom Jack Cade gave very good language, but directly affirming no cessation from Arms, unless the King in person would hear the grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely word for reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Souldiers Faith, made him march presently away to Killingworth Cattle in Warwickshire, where he fortified himself as expecting a siege, having left the Lord Scales only to guard the Tower. Jack Cade taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to Southwark, where he quarters his men, straitly charging them to commit no outrage, nor do wrong to any; which was duly observed. The next morning he marcheth to London Bridge, where he caused his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-bridge, no resistance being made against him; and so in good order marched up by London-stone, upon which he strook his sword, saying, Now is Mortimer Lord of London. The Maior of London, Sir Thomas Chalton, standing upon the threshold of his door, bade him take heed he attempted nothing against the quiet of the City; To whom he made answer, Let the world take notice of our honest intention by our actions. And indeed this orderly carriage of himself and his company, won him a good opinion amongst the common sort of people; And now assuming to himself the place of Chief, he sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst other, he wrote this Letter to Thomas Cock Draper of London.

By this our writing enfealed, we grant, That Thomas Cock of London Draper, shall safely come into our presence, and avoid from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons coming in his company. *Subscribed thus.*

His Majesties loyal Subject, John Mortimer, Captain Mend-all. Upon Cock's admission, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom at their departure he gave these instructions in writing: *You shall charge all Lombards and Merchant-strangers, Genoefes Venetians, Florentines, and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harne's compleat of the best fashion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Batel-axes, twelve Gloves, six Horses with saddle and bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand Marks in ready money; and if they shall fail herein, we shall strike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of July, returns to London; and presently sends to the Lord Scales, to bring his Prisoner the Lord Say to the Guild-hall, whither he had called the Lord Maior with his brethren; before whom he caused the Lord Say to be arraigned, who craving to be tried by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in Cheap, and there had his head chapt off, which being pitched upon a Pike, was born before him to Mile-end, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of Essex; and by the way meeting with Sir James Cromer High Sheriff of Kent, who had lately married the Lord Say's daughter, he caused his head also to be stricken off, and carried likewise before him in derision. The next morning he came again

The Complaints are exploded by the Kings Privy Council.

The King raise an Army to suppress the Rebels.

The Rebels slay Sir Humphrey and Sir William Stafford.

The King flieth to Killingworth Cattle.

Jack Cade cometh to London.

He commandeth Horses and Furniture to be sent him.

He cuts off the Lord Say's head in Cheap-side. Also Sir James Cromer's head.

A again to London; where, after publick execution done upon some of his fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named Paris, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a displeasure taken against Alderman Malpas, he sent and seized upon all his wares and goods, and fined Alderman Horn in five hundred Marks: whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more insolent then other, they sent to the Lord Scales for assistance, who sanderth Matthew Gout an old fouldier to them, with some Forces and Furnitures out of the Tower; who presently make a stand at the Bridge, where Cade notwithstanding forceth his passage, and then began to set fire on houses, where many aged and impotent people miserably perished; Captain Bough, Alderman, Sutton and Robert Hayson, valiantly fighting, were slain; yet upon a fresh supply, the Londoners recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoop in Southwark; at which time, both sides being weary, agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat Cade finding he had lost many of his best men, was driven, for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in Southwark, aswell Felons as Debtors: when now his company entering into consideration of their danger, and of the desperate services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their countenances their willingness to leave this course: whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury having notice, he with the Bishop of Winchester came from the Tower by water to Southwark, and there shewed the Kings General Pardon under the Great Seal of England; which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew themselves that night to their several habitations. Jack Cade with some few followers bent his journey to Quinborough Cattle, where being denied entrance, he disguised himself, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with promise of a thousand Marks to any that should bring him dead or alive, he was afterward, by one Alexander Eden Gentleman, attached; and making resistance, in a Garden at Hothfield in Suffex, was there slain; his body was brought to London, beheaded and quartered, his head set upon London-bridge, his quarters dispersed in divers places in Kent. Upon the news whereof, the King sends Commissioners into Kent, to enquire of the abettors of this Rebellion: whither he followeth himself in person, and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight only were executed. Though London were the chief flage of this Rebellion, yet other Countreys were not free; especially Wilshire, for the Rebels there, upon the nine and twentieth day of June, drew William Askot Bishop of Salisbury, from the High Altar, where he was saying Masse in Edington Church, to the top of the hill; and there in his Priestly robes most inhumanely murdered him.

This Insurrection was not unknown to the King of France, who taking advantage thereof seized upon all places which the English had in France, leaving them nothing but only Callicie, and the Castles of Harnes and Guisnes; and this was the issue of the Duke of Somerset's Regency in France: whereupon coming into England, at a Parliament holden at Westminster, the sixth of November, in the nine and twentieth year of the Kings reign, he was put under Arrest; upon notice whereof, the Commons at London despoiled his house at Blackfriars, and ceased not, till Proclamation was made to prohibit them; for disobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded, at the Standard in Cheap.

At this time, the Duke of York under pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of Ireland, and at London had private conference with John Duke of Norfolk, Richard Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Devonshire and other his assured friends; where it was resolved to keep the chief purpose, (the claim to the Crown) secret; and only to make shew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counsellors from the King; of whom they instanced in the Duke of Somerset as chief; and hereof, the Duke sent divers letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of Somerset had done him, but withall making protestation of his own loyalty. To which the King maketh answer, that he would take his complaints into consideration; but somewhat blames him for the death of the Bishop of Chester, by his means suspected to be slaughtered, and for dangerous speeches uttered by his servants, tending to Rebellion; concluding; that notwithstanding any thing said or done to the contrary, he took and esteemed him a faithful subject, and a loving kinsman. But the Duke of York, not herewith satisfied, departeth into Wales, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the Common-wealth: and the removing of bad Counsellors. The King advertised hereof, presently raiseth an Army; and with the Duke of Somerset (now enlarged) marcheth towards Wales: while the Duke of York having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth toward London; who being told, the Londoners would not admit him entrance; he passed the River Thames at Knight-bridge, marched into Kent, and encamped at Burnt-heath. The King in his pursuit came to Black-heath, and there pitched his Tents, from whence he sent the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, the Lord Rivers, and Richard Andrews, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cause of this commotion, and to make offer of reconciliation, if the Dukes demands were not unreasonable. The Duke made answer, that nothing was intended against the Kings person, his Crown or Dignity: All that was fought, was to remove ill Counsellors from about the King, but especially Edmund Duke of Somerset; whom if the King would be pleased to commit, to ward, till his legal trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only dismiss his Army, but come unto his presence as a loyal subject. Hereupon the Duke of Somerset is committed to prison: The Duke of York dismisseth his Army, and cometh in person to the King: in whose presence, (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of Somerset, which so moved him, that he could not hold, but presently charged him with Treason: which the Duke of Somerset, not only denied, but

Upon the Kings General Pardon, Jack Cades followers leave him. Jack Cade slain, and is slain.

Upon this Insurrection in England, the King of France seizeth upon all the English Territories; and leaves the English nothing but Callicie.

1451. The Duke of York complains against the Duke of Somerset.

He raiseth an Army. 1452. And the King another.

The Duke requirith to have the Duke of Somerset to be tried by Parliament.

The Duke of York and the Duke of Somerset accuse each other of Treason.

1453.

The Duke of York takes his Oath of allegiance to King Henry.

Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury after many victories is at last slain.

The Inscription upon his tomb.

A difference on Bartholomew's day, between the Maior of London, and the Prior of St. Johns

1454.

but recriminates the Duke of York, to have conspired the Kings death, and the usurpation of the Crown: whereupon, the King removeth to London, the Duke of York as a Prisoner riding before him, and the Duke of Somerset at liberty, which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at Westminster, where the two Dukes are earnest in accusing each other; but while the Council are debating the matter, there comes a flash of lightning out of France, which diverted them; for the Earl of Kendall, and the L. Epsar, came Embassadors from Burdeaux, offering their obedience to the Crown of England, if they might but be assured to be defended by it: but withall, at the same time there came a report, that Edward Earl of March, son and heir to the Duke of York, with a great power was marching towards London. Hereupon matter for a double consultation, and for this latter, it was resolved on, that the Duke of York should in the presence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in Pauls, take his Oath of submission and Allegiance to King Henry: which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Castle at Wigmore. And for the former, the Earl of Shrewsbury with about three thousand men was sent into Gascoigne, who arriving in the Isle of Mardre, passed forth with his power, and took Fronsbeck and others pieces, but having received in the night instructions from Burdeaux of certain conspirators, he makes all the speed he can thither, and was entered the Town before the French had notice of his coming; so that many of them were slain by the Lord L. Epsar in their beds. Shortly after there arrived, the Earl of Shrewsbury's son, Sir John Talbot, with the bastard of Somerset, and two and twenty hundred men, by whose means Burdeaux is well manned with English, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered submission of all places where he came: and having taken Chavillon, he strongly fortified it, whereupon the French King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth Chavillon, to the rescue whereof, the Earl maketh all possible speed with eight hundred Horse, appointing the Earl of Kendall, and the Lord L. Epsar to follow with the Foot: In his way he surpriseth a Tower the French had taken, and put all within it to the sword; and meeting five hundred French men, that had been foraging, many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their camp. Upon whose approach the French left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Camp: where being shot through the thigh with an Harquebus, and his horse slain under him; his desireous to relieve his Father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his bastard brother Henry Talbot, Sir Edward Hall, and thirty other Gentlemen of name. The Lord Malin, with threescore other were taken Prisoners, the rest fled to Burdeaux, but in the way a thousand of them were slain. And thus on the last day of July, in the year 1453. at Chavillon, the most valorous Earl of Shrewsbury, the first of that name, after four and twenty years service beyond the Seas, ended his life and was buried at Rouen in Normandy, with this inscription upon his Tomb: Here lieth the right noble Knight John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Westford, Waterford, and Valence, Lord Talbot of Goodrich and Orchenfield, Lord Strange of Blackmere, Lord Verdon of Alton, Lord Cromwell of Winkfield, Lord Lovetoft of Worsoppe, Lord Farnival of Sheffield, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. George, St. Michael, and the golden fleece, great Marshal to King Henry the sixth, of his Realm of France. The Earl of Kendall, the Lords Monferat, Rosaine and Dangledeas entered the Castle of Chavillon, and made it good against the French the space of ten daies; but then having no hope of succour, they delivered it, upon composition to have liberty to depart to Burdeaux: and now the Gascoignes were as ready to open their gates to the French, as they were before to the English; by means whereof, in short time, the French recovered again all Gascoigne except Burdeaux, and that also at length, upon condition that both garrisons and inhabitants with all their substance, might safely depart for England or Callice, and that the Lords L. Epsar and Durant, with thirty others, upon pain of death should never after be found in the Territories of France.

At this time upon St. Bartholomew's day, an ancient custome being, that the Maior of London and the Sheriffs should be present in giving prizes to the best wrestlers; It happened that at the wrestling place near Moore-fields, the Prior of St. Johns was there to see the sports, when a servant of his, not brooking the disgrace to be foyled before his Master, against the custome of the place, would have wrestled again, which the Maior denied; whereupon the Prior fetcht Bow-men from Clarkemwell, to resist the Maior, and some slaughter was committed; the Maiors Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he nevertheless would have had the sport go on, but no wrestlers came, yet the Maior Sir John Norman told his brethren, he would stay a while, to make trial of the Citizens respect towards him: which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens with Banners displayed came in great number to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrel in Holborn, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens, in appealing whereof, the Queens Attorney and three more were slain.

And now the Duke of York, by all means laboureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons against the Duke of Somerset, repeating often what dishonour England sustained by Somerset's giving up the strong Towns of Normandy, and how he abused the Kings and Queens favour to his own gain, and the Commons grievance; then he addresseth himself to those of the Nobility that could not well brook his too much commanding over the Kings and Queens affection: amongst others he fastneth upon the two Nevills, both Richards, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of Salisbury, the other of Warwick; with whom he deals so effectually, that an indissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them; by whose assistance, (the King lying dangerously sick

A at Clarendon) the Duke of Somerset is arrested in the Queens great Chamber, and sent to the Tower; and in a Parliament now convoked, approached, charged of Treason, and many heinous crimes objected against him: whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to London, of purpose to dissolve the Parliament, and that dissolved, the Duke of Somerset is presently set at liberty again, and not only so, but is made Captain of Callice and Guisnes, the only remainder the English had in France. Upon this, the Duke of York and his party, with a great power, march towards London: against whom, the King attended with the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Buckingham and his son, both named Humphrey, Henry Earl of Northumberland, James Earl of Wiltshire, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and two thousand men, marcheth forwards; at S. Albans both Armies meet: the Duke in the morning sends a letter to the King, protesting his fidelity and sincerity, only he desires the Duke of Somerset may be delivered, to stand or fall by the Judgment of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the pursuit. The King for answer, commands him to disband, and submit to his mercy, and not expect, that he will deliver any in his Army, who have shewed their loves in standing to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earl of Warwick fell upon the Lord Clifford's quarter, where the Duke of Somerset halting to the rescue, was slain, and with him the Earl of Northumberland, Humphrey Earl of Stafford, the Lord Clifford, and about five thousand others, besides many that were hurt; the King himself shot in the neck with an arrow; the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Scaler, in the faces; the Earl of Dorset so hurt, that he was fain to be carried home in a Cart: The Kings Army had been increased after his coming forth, to eight thousand; but now they are all dispersed or slain; and the King unguarded, is left in a poor thatched house, whither to be freed from the danger of arrows, he had withdrawn himself. The Duke of York having notice where the King was, goes with Warwick and Salisbury; who all three upon their knees present themselves before him, making humble Petition to him for pardon of what was past: and now, seeing the common Enemy was slain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, said: Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me. This first battle of S. Albans was fought upon the three and twentieth day of May, in the three and thirtieth year of King Henries reign. The bodies of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of York, in the Kings name, commands a surcease from further hostility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the King to London; where they keep the feast of Pentecost together; at which time a Parliament is summoned to begin at Westminster, the ninth day of July; and therein it is enacted, that the Duke of Gloucester should be declared publicly a loyal subject, and that none should misreport or dispute the actions of the Duke of York, or of any in his company; and moreover the Duke of York is made Protector of the Kings person, and of the Realm; the Earl of Salisbury is made Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Warwick Captain of Callice, wherein they all carried themselves with unblameable demeanour.

In this mean time, the Queen not well pleased with these proceedings, seeks all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much seek to incite her to make opposition; she puts the Duke of Buckingham in minde that these Traitors had slain his hopeful son at S. Albans; she tells the now Duke of Somerset, that by them his dear Father lost his life: And they again put the Queen in minde of the unsufferable indignity done to her, in making her husband only a King in name, setting a Tutor over him, as though he were a child, whilst the Duke of York and his complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the Enemies of the Yorkshire Faction are assembled by the Queen at Greenwich; where it is debated of some course to be taken for restoring the King to his former liberty and Government: at length it is concluded, that the Duke of York should be commanded to give over his place of Protectorship, for that the King was of years and discretion sufficient to rule of himself without a Guardian, and the Earl of Salisbury to surrender his place of being Lord Chancellor, for that the great Seal was never delivered him, seeing that which was now used, was made since the Kings restraint, and therefore not sufficient; to which conclusion of theirs, the King easie to be wrought upon, yields his consent, and thereupon they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appear at the Council Table at Greenwich; but the Lords were wiser then to put themselves into their hands, and therefore make answer, that none had power to displace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament: and so they continued about London, placing and displacing whom they pleased, and by their triumphant authority, took John Holland Earl of Exeter out of Sanctuary, and sent him prisoner to Pomfret Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious multitude to raise commotions, and the Prentices of London upon a very slight occasion, fall upon our landish Merchants, rifle and rob their houses; and the Maior assembling a company of substantial Citizens to suppress them, the King-leader of the disorder flies to Sanctuary, Commissioners are sent to enquire and punish the offence, but when the Maior and Commissioners were set, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commissioners left the business to be proceeded in by the Maior, who so discreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were punished, some by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeased.

At this time the French having little to do against the English in France, would needs be doing something against them in England: They set out two Fleets, one under the conduct of William Lord Pomyers, the other of Sir Peter Bressy; the Lord fell upon Fulney in the West-Countrey, the Knight upon Sandwich in Kent, where some hurt they did, but not of importance to countervail their Voyage.

I 2

And

The Duke of Somerset is sent to the Tower. But soon set at liberty: and made Captain of Callice.

1455.

The Duke of York's Army and the Kings have a battle, where the Duke of Somerset, and other Lords are slain.

The King afflicted.

The Duke of York is made Protector of the Kings person and of the Realm.

The Queen opposeth it.

1456.

The Prentices of London make a commotion.

1457.

The Queen in loving manner invites the three Lords of York, Salisbury, and Warwick to meet her at Coventry.

The Lords hearing of a plot laid against them, shift away.

The King seeks an accommodation between him and the three Lords.

1458.

An accommodation is agreed upon.

But all dissimbled.

1459.

The Earl of Salisbury going to acquaint the King, is set upon by the Lord Audley.

Who is slain; and his Army defeated.

And now the Queen finding the little respect the Londoners bore to her party or the Kings, persuades the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a progress into *Warwickshire*, which he did, by the way hunting and hawking, and the Queen making show of minding nothing but pastimes; and this she did, with a purpose the easier to entrap the three Lords of York, Salisbury, and Warwick, to whom she writ most loving letters, earnestly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an hour appointed; which they, not doubting any fraud, intended to have done, but hearing by the way of the mischief plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to go on-ward the way to the Court, as though themselves were coming after; but they provided otherwise for their safety, the Duke of York with a Groom and a Page, getting him to *Wigmore Castle*, the Earl of Salisbury to his Castle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of Warwick to the Sea-side, and so to *Callice*; but before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have entercourse of letters, yet their intentions kept undiscovered.

The King unwitting of this mischief intended against the Duke of York and his friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Council, and therein of his own accord, desireth that some course might be invented for a perfect reconciliation of all parties; promising upon his salvation (an asseveration not usual with him) so to entertain the Duke of York and his friends, that all differences should be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts be established: to which end messengers are dispatched to the Duke of York, and all other of his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and upon Royal promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at *London*, at a day appointed. The Duke of York accordingly came, and with 400 men well apparelled, lodged at his house called *Baynard's Castle*; the Earl of Salisbury with 500 men, lodged likewise at his house called *Herbours*; The Duke of *Excester* (lately released) and the Duke of *Somerset* with 800 men, were lodged within *Temple-Barre*; The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford* with 1500 men were lodged in *Holborn*; The Earl of *Warwick* with 600 in red jackets with ragged staves, embroydered behind and before, were lodged at the *Gray-Friers* in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and the Queen came to *London*, and were lodged at the Bishops Palace; the Maior having five hundred well appointed men in readiness, rode with a competent number all day long round the City, for preservation of the Kings Peace: The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friers*; the other, at the Chapter-house at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the son of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, that by their mediation it was at last concluded, that all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the commands of the King. Besides this in general, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of York, the Earls of *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, which afterward was ratified under the Great Seal of *England*, the 24 day of *March*, in the 36. year of the reign of King *Henry* the sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn Procession was made in *Paul's Church*, at which the King was present with his Crown on his head; before him, hand in hand went the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Excester* and the Earl of *Warwick*, and so one of the one, another of the other part, till they they were all marshalled behind the King came the Queen, the Duke of York leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of favourable countenance towards him: Divine Service ended, they return to the Court, in all outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissimbled, as will presently appear; for presently upon this, an affray fell out between a servant of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earls man flieth; the Kings servants seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earls coming from the Council Table, and assail him; many are hurt, but the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to *London*; the Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the Tower, but he foreseeing the danger, poits to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of York, and his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* of all the occurrences, with the palpable discovery of the Queens canker'd disposition, advising them to stand upon their guard, and to provide against the approaching storm. Himself speeds to *Callice*, and being then Lord Admiral, takes with him all the Kings ships that were in readiness, and scouring the Seas, meets with five great Carricks, three of *Genova*, and two of *Spain*, and after two days fight, takes two of them, with which he returned to *Callice*, where he unloaded their freight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.

In the mean time the Earl of *Salisbury*, with about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that way to the King, with a purpose to acquaint him with the affront offered to his son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him, The Queen with the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset*, hearing of his coming, gave order to the Lord *Audley* to use means to apprehend him, who thereupon levyeth ten thousand men in *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, and with them about a mile from *Draynton*, in a plain called *Bloreheath*, he attended the Earl, there being but a small brook of no great depth between them. Early in the morning the Earl made a seeming Retreat, which the Lord *Talbot* observing, presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again into order, the Earl with his whole strength, falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had passed the River, he discomfited the rest, and slew about 24. hundred of them. Sir *John* and Sir *Tho. Nevill* Knights, the Earls sons, were forely wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington* travelling into the North

A North Countrey, were apprehended and sent as prisoners towards *Chester*; but upon a message from the *Marchmen* were presently released.

And now the Duke of York thinking fit no longer to conceal his design, makes preparation to take the Field, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* do the like; and amongst others of approved valour, whom the Earl of *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principal noted men, *John Blunt*, and *Andrew Trollop*. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of *Somerset*, and *Excester*, draws his Forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury* is sent to offer the *Torkiffs* a full and general pardon, if they would lay down Arms, and become loyal Subjects. Whereunto they answered, that there was no trust to the Kings pardons, as long as the Queen had a predominant power; but if they might have assurance of safety, they would express their loyalty, and humbly render themselves at his service. Hereupon the King advanceth nearer, and approaching the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would abandon the Duke of York, should be received to mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the night following, *Andrew Trollop*, with all the *Callicians* submit to the King, and by him are all the counsels of the Duke of York discovered; which so much discouraged him, that he with his young son, the Earl of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, and then into *Ireland*: The Earls of *March*, *Salisbury* and *Warwick* got into *Devonshire*, where by the means of *John Dynham* Esquire (the same man that afterward by King *Henry* the seventh was made Lord Treasurer of *England*) they were shippt from *Exmouth*, to *Gernsey*, and so to *Callice*. All the common souldiers the King pardons, only makes exemplary punishment of some few Captains, sends the Dutcheffs of York, and

C her two younger children, to the Dutcheff of *Buckingham* her sister to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of *Ludlow*, he dismiss his Army. And now a Parliament is called at *Coventry*, wherein the Duke of York, *Edward* Earl of *March* his son, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and many other the confederates of the Duke of York, are convict of Treason, and all their lands and goods seized on to the Kings use. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* by the Queens means is made Captain of *Callice*, whither coming to take possession, he was by reason of Ordinance shot at him from *Rice-bank*, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great passion she gave order to make ready all the Kings ships lying at *Sandwich*, to give assistance to the Duke of *Somerset*, but the forementioned *John Dynham*, out of love to the Earl of *March*, boarded those ships in the harbour, and

D took the Lord *Rivers* designed Admiral for that service, and carried both him and the ships to *Callice*, from whence the Earl sayled to *Ireland*, to the Duke of York, who having conferred and concluded that course to take, he returned to *Callice*, the new admiral the Duke of *Excester* not daring to stop his course. Sir *Simon Montford* was appointed to guard the Cinque Ports, having divers ships under his command to bar the Earl of *Warwick's* entrance; but the Earl by his espials having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir *Simon* before his ships were ready, took him prisoner, ranfackt the town of *Sandwich*, and carried him prisoner and the ships to *Callice*: By the way he undertood how much the *Kentish* men desired his return, and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second time to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Cobham* and very many Gentlemen of the Countrey: so as now his army was five and twenty

E thousand strong; with which he marched towards *London*, against whom the Lord *Scalers* was appointed to go, and with some convenient Troops to assure *London*: but the Maior directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the Tower, from whence afterward he did the *Londoners* no small displeasure. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice, that his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joyned with him and his friends near *Excester*.

The King with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham* with a great army marcheth towards them, and near to the Town of *Northampton* both Armies meet: The Earl of *March* with the advice of the Earl of *Warwick* prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intrentive to devotion then fighting) did the like, the fight continued about two hours, wherein were slain on

F both sides above ten thousand men; but upon the fall of *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, the Kings side was discomfited, and *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas L. Egremont*, *John L. Beaumont* and some other of account were slain: The Queen with the Duke of *Somerset*, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*: The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to *London*: where the Tower is yielded to the Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord *Scalers* in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the water-men, and by them beheaded, and his Corps carelessly left upon the sands. *Thomas Thorpe* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the habit of a Monk, his Crowne shorn, purposing to flee to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the Tower, and after by the Commons beheaded at *High-gate*. The Duke of York being advertised of this good success, leaveth *Ireland* and poits to *London*, wherein the

G Kings name, he summoneth a Parliament, which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the upper House, placeth himself in the Imperial Seat, and with great boldness laies open his rightful claim to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and heir of *Anne* daughter and heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, son and heir of *Philippa* the sole daughter and heir of *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third son of *Edward* the third, and elder brother of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the usurper *Henry* the fourth, Grandfather to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time untruly stileth himself King *Henry* the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realm since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded,

T 3

that

The Duke of York takes the field.

The King doth the like.

*Andrew Trollop* revolts from the Duke to the King. Whereupon the Duke of York flies into *Ireland*.

The Duke of York in a Parliament is convict of treason: as likewise the other Lords.

*John Dynham* doth the Earl of *March* good service.

The Earl of *Warwick* is received of the *Londoners*.

The Armies of the Earl of *March*, and of the King meet at *Northampton*.

1460.

The Kings Army is defeated: divers Lords slain, the Queen fleeth; the King taken prisoner, and conveyed to *London*.

The Lord *Scalers* flying away in disguise, is taken by Water-men and beheaded.

The Duke of York comes out of *Ireland*: summons a Parliament: wherein he laies open his Title to the Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament, that King Henry should remain King during his life; and the Duke of York proclaimed their apparent to the Crown.

Good Omens for the Earl of March.

The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter with an Army out of Scotland come marching into England.

The Duke of York meets them, and in a battle on Wakefield green is slain.

The Earl of Salisbury beheaded.

The Duke of Yorks issue.

The Earl of March puts the Queens forces to flight.

Queen Tewitber beheaded.

that he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his descent were indisputable, and his title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation: but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily persuaded: and it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, that King Henry during his life, should retain the name and honour of a King; that the Duke of York should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Kings person, his lands and Dominions; and that if at any time, any of King Henrys friends, allies or favourites in his behalf should attempt the disannulling of this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, that while the Earl of March was declaring his title in the upper House, it happened in the nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set lights upon, without touch or wind, fell suddenly down: as likewise at the same time fell down the Crown which stood on the top of Dover Castle: a sign, as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. Afoons as the Parliament was dissolved; the Duke dispatched Letters into Scotland; requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in the Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his presence in London: but they had other work in hand; for having gotten together of English and Scots, to the number of eighteen thousand, they came marching into England; against whom went the Duke of York with his younger Son the Earl of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick;) and approaching near the Queens Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the enemy far exceeded his power, both in number and in all warlike preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand men) and thereupon the Earl of Salisbury advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of March, who was gone into Wales to raise the March men; but the pride of his former victory made him deaf to all counsel of declining the battle; and so hastened on by his destiny, from Sandall Castle he marcheth on to Wakefield green; where the Lord Clifford on the one side, and the Earl of Wiltshire on the other, were placed in Ambuscado; the Duke of York supposing that the Duke of Somerset who led the battle, had no more Forces then what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him: but being entered within their danger, ambushed on both sides brake out upon him, and slew him with three thousand of his men, the rest fled; the Earl of Salisbury is taken prisoner, and harmless Rutland, not above twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a sacrifice for his Fathers transgressions, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord Clifford, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Fathers death; and the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood, caused the Earl of Salisbury, and as many as were taken prisoners, to be beheaded at Pomfret Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of York. Thus died Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who had taken to Wife Cicely daughter to Ralph Nevill, the first Earl of Westmerland, by whom he had issue, eight sons and four daughters; his eldest son Henry died young, his second son Edward was afterward King of England; his third son Edmund Earl of Rutland, was slain with his father; John Thomas, and William died young, his seventh son George was after Duke of Clarence, his youngest son Richard, surnamed Crouchback, was after King of England. His eldest Daughter was married to Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, his second Daughter Elizabeth was married to John de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, his third Margaret to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, his fourth Ursula died young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of disgracing him; but this act of spight was fully afterwards recompensed upon their heads that did it.

The Earl of March hearing of his Fathers death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from Shrewsbury whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he increased his Army to the number of three and twenty thousand, and presently took the field; and having advertisement that Jasper Earl of Pembroke, with the Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire followed after him with a great power of Welsh and Irish: he suddenly marched back again, and in a plain near Mortimers Cross, on Candlemas day in the morning, gave them battle, where with the slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to flight. Owen Tewitber who had married Queen Katherine, Mother to King Henry the sixth, and divers Welsh Gentlemen were taken, and at Hereford beheaded. Before the battle, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of March like three Suns; and suddenly it joynted altogether in one; for which cause, some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his badge or Cognizance.

The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of York, with a power of Northern men marched towards London: but when her Souldiers were once South of Trent, as if the River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Country in most barbarous manner: Approaching S. Albans, they were advertised that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick were ready to give them battle; whereupon the Queens Vaward hasteth to pass through S. Albans; but being not suffered to pass, they encountered with their Enemies in the field called Barnard-beath; who perceiving the main battle to stand still, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of Lovelace, who with the Kentish men had the leading of it: they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and fly; upon whose flight the rest in doubt of each others well meaning, shifted away; the Lords about the King perceiving the danger, withdrew themselves. Only the Lord Bonville coming in a complemental manner to the King, and

A and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it; was importuned, and Sir Thomas Kyrell a Knight of Kent likewise, by the King to stay; he passing his Royal word, that their stay should be no danger to them; upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost: for the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron Thorpe at High-gate; she in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be stricken off at St. Albans: so as there were slaughtered at this battail the full number of three and twenty hundred, but no man of name, but only Sir John Gray, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of Colney.

And now the King was advised, to send one Thomas Hoe, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them; that he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done: whereupon the Earl of Northumberland, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord Clifford's Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the destiny of King Henry; that although he were a most pious man, yet no enterprise of war did ever prosper, where he was present; that we may know the prosperity of the world to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queens request, the King honoured with Knighthood thirty Gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they went to the Abbey, where they were received with Anthems, and withall an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the loose souldiers, which was promised, and Proclamation made to that purpose, but to small purpose; for the Northern men said, It was their bargain to have all the spoil in every place, after they had passed Trent: and so they robbed and spoiled whatsoever they could come at. The Londoners hearing of this disorder, feeling there was no more assistance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their Gares; inso much that when they were sent to, to send over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten provision; which the Maior accordingly provided: the Commons rose about Cripple-gate, and by strong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City: Hereupon the Maior sends the Recorder to the Kings Council, and withall intreats the Dutcheffs of Bedford, and the Lady Scales to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuse his not using force, considering how dangerous it might be in these doubtful times, to stir their fury, that would not easily be allayed. It was well advised to send women to intreat a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good souldiers were appointed to go for London, to enquire and certify of these things: when suddenly news was brought, that the Earl of March with a great Army was marching towards them: for the Earl of Warwick having gathered together his scattered troops, and joynted with the Earl of March, they halted towards London, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of February; and upon Sunday the second of March, the Earl of Warwick mustred all his Army in St. Johns field, and having call them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded, whether they would have King Henry to reign still? who all cried, No; no: then he asked them, whether they would have the Earl of March eldest son of the Duke of York (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? who with a great clamor cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains, and others of the City, to the Earl of March at Baynards Castle, at acquaint him with what was passed; who at first seemed to excuse himself, as unable to execute so great a charge: but animated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Exeter, and the Earl of Warwick, he at last consented to take it upon him; and thereupon, the next morning he went in Procession to Pauls, and offered there, and after Te Deum sung, he was in great state conveyed to Westminster, and there in the great Hall, seated in the Kings seat, with the Scepter of St. Edward in his hand; and then again the people, of whom there was a great concourse, were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King? to which with great willingness they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking Homage of divers Noblemen there present, he was with Procession and great solemnity conveyed to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King, whilst Te Deum was singing: That done, he offered at St. Edwards Shrine, and then returned by water to Pauls, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace; and upon the fourth of March he has generally Proclaimed King, by the name of Edward the Fourth. And here in the course of all Writers, ends the Reign of King Henry the Sixth; that it may be truly said, never any came to be King so soon after his birth, nor left to the King so long before his death; for he came to be King at eight moneths old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that space of time, a certain Vicissitude, sometimes a King, and sometimes no King; the passages whereof must be related in the following Kings Reign.

No enterprise of war ever prospered where King Henry was present.

The Londoners keep provision from going to the King.

The Earl of March is elected King.

Is proclaimed King.

## Of his Taxations.

IN the first year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at London, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and sat amongst the Lords; and there was then granted a Subsidy of five Nobles upon every sack of Wool that should pass out of the Land, for three years, but if carried out by Merchant strangers, then to pay three and forty shillings for every sack. In the third year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at Westminster, wherein was granted a Subsidy of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or passing out of the Realm, and three shillings of a Ton of Wine, for the term of three years. In his sixth year, in a Parliament at Westminster was granted a Subsidy, of every Ton of Wine three shillings, and of other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound: Also of every Parish through the Realm (except Cities, and Boroughs) the Benefice being in value ten Marks, Ten of that Parish should pay six shillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of ten pounds, ten Parishioners should pay thirteen shillings four pence, and so ratably of every Benefice, from the lowest to the highest. And for the Inhabitants of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty shillings above his household-stuffe, and the apparel of him and his wife, should pay four pence, and so after that rate to the richest.

## Of Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

IN the 32 year of this King, the Lord Maior of London first began to go by water to Westminster to take his Oath, where before they used to go by land. Also in this Kings Reign the Art of Printing was first found at Mogunce in Germany, by a Knight called John Cutenberghen, and brought into England by William Caxton of London Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abby at Westminster in the year 1471. In the 23 year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that when wheat was sold for six shillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four shillings, and Barley for three shillings; it should be lawful for any man to carry the said kinds of Corn, into the parts beyond the Sea without licence, so it were not to the Kings enemies or Rebels; which act was afterward confirmed by King Edward the Fourth.

## Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Great Shism was in the Church in this Kings time by reason of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Council is called at Constance, to which the Emperours of Constantinople and Trablizon send their Ambassadors. In this Council John the three and twentieth is convened, condemned, deposed, and imprisoned. Gregory the twelfth, and Benedict the thirteenth are deprived, and Otho Colonna, by the name of Martin the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern Church are utterly ruined: The Emperour smothered to death in a preas of people, and the great City of Constantinople won by the Turk, made ever since the seat of his Empire. In the six and thirtieth year of this King, Reynold Peacock Bishop of Chichester, who had laboured many years in translating the holy Scripture into English, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certain opinions at that time held Heretical, which at last openly at Pauls Cross he revoked; that he had held, there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell; also no necessity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Universal Church cannot erre in matters of Faith, or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a General Council shall determine: Also that he had held, that spiritual persons ought to have no Temporal Possessions, and that personal Tythes were not due by Gods Law: These Points he openly renounced; but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishoprick; only a certain Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abby, where soon after he died.

## Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THE King himself founded two famous Colledges, the one in Cambridge, to our Lady and St. Nicholas, called the Colledge Royal, or the Kings Colledge; the other of Eaton besides Windsor, called of our blessed Lady; to the maintenance whereof, he gave 3400 pounds by year. In the 28 year of his Reign, his Queen Margarets began the Foundation of Queens Colledge in Cambridge. In the time of his Reign also, Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury founded two Colledges in Oxford; one called All-Souls Colledge, the other Bernard Colledge. In his time also, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (but others say, Thomas Kenpe Archbishop of Canterbury) built the Divinity School in Oxford; also the said Archbishop built Pauls Cross in form as now it standeth; and William Wynter Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor of England founded Mary Magdalen Colledge in Oxford. In his seventeenth year, Ralph Lord Cromwell, builded

The Art of Printing first found.

When Corn might be carried beyond Sea.

The Emperour smothered to death in a preas of people. Constantinople won by the Turk. The Bishop of Chichester's heresies, for which deprived.

Kings Colledge in Cambridge and Eaton Colledge founded. Queens Colledge in Cambridge founded. All-Souls Colledge and Bernards Colledge in Oxford founded. The Divinity School in Oxford built. Pauls Cross built. Magdalen Colledge in Oxford founded.

A the Colledge of Tashall in Lincolnshire. Also this year, William Eastfield Maior of London, caused to be builded at his own charge, the Water-Conduit in Fleetstreet. In his ninth year, John Wells Maior of London, caused the Conduit commonly called the Standard in Cheap, to be builded. In his first year, the West Gate of London, sometime called Chamberlain-Gate, and now Newgate, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir Richard Whittington Lord Maior of London. In his fifth year, John Reynell Maior of London, gave certain lands to the City of London, for which the City is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it pass not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in London; namely, Doughty-Ward, Billingsgate-Ward, and Algate. Also this year, the Tower at the Draw-bridge of London was begun by the same Maior. In his four and twentieth year, Simon Eyre Lord Maior of London builded the Leaden-Hall in London, to be a Storehouse for Grain and Fuel for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappel at the East end of the same, leaving in stock a thousand pounds, which afterward a King Edward the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Also in this Kings time, William de la Poole Duke of Suffolk, and Alice his Wife, Daughter to Thomas Chawcer, Son to Geoffrey Chawcer the famous Poet, translated and encreased the Manour place of Ewelme in Oxfordshire, and builded new the Parish Church of Ewelme, and an Hospital or Almshouse for two Priests, and thirteen poor men, to which he gave three Manours, Ramruge in Hamphire, Cokene in Wiltshire, and Merth in Buckinghamshire: They also founded the Hospital of Donington Cattle.

The Standard in Cheap builded. Newgate new builded.

Leaden-Hall in London builded, and to what use.

## Casualties happening in his time.

IN his fifth year was so unreasonable weather, that it rained almost continually, from Easter to Michaelmas. In his seventh year, the eight of November, the Duke of Norfolk was like to have been drowned passing through London-Bridge, his Barge being set upon the piles, overwhelmed so, that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with ropes. In his 17 year, was so great a dearth of Corn that people were glad to make them bread of Fern-roots. In his 18 year, all the Lyons of the Tower died: Also in this year, the 18 day of July, the Postern-Gates of London by East-Smithfield against the Tower of London, sank by night more then seven foot in the earth. In his two and twentieth year, on New-years day, near unto Bedford, a very deep water, which ran betwix the Towns of Swellstone and Harleswood, stood suddenly still, and divided it self, so that by the space of three miles, the bottom remained dry: which wonder, many thought to signifie the division of the people, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing Star, there happened a strange sight, a monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at Portland, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious births. In his six and thirtieth year, in a little Town in Bedfordshire, it rained blood, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.

All the Lyons in the Tower die.

A deep River suddenly grows dry.

A prodigious Cock.

Rain of blood.

## Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married Margaret Daughter of Rayner Duke of Anjou, and Titular King of Jerusalem, Sicellie, and Arragon; by whom he had small Portion, and little strength of Alliance; yet might have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and stirring spirit, and she his soft and milde disposition; She was his Wife six and twenty year, and after her husband's depulsion from the Regal Throne, his Forces being vanquished at the Battel of Tewksbury, in a poor Religious house whither she had fled for safety of her life, was taken Prisoner and carried captive to London, where she remained in durance, till Duke Rayner her Father purchased her liberty, unto whom she returned, and lastly died in her native Country. By her, King Henry had issue only one Son named Edward, who when the day was lost at Tewksbury, fought to escape by flight, but being taken, was brought into the presence of King Edward; whose resolute answers provoked K. Edward so much, that he dashed him on the mouth with his Gantlet, and then Richard the Crouchback ran him into the heart with his Dagger; his body was buried amongst the poor persons there slain, in the Monastical Church of the Black-Friers in Tewksbury.

## Of his Death and Burial.

UPON King Edward's recovering the Crown, he was committed to the Tower; where the 21 of May, in the year 1472, he was murdered by the bloody hand of Richard Duke of Gloucester; the day after, he was brought to Pauls Church in an open Coffin bare-faced, where he bled; thence carried to the Black-Friers, where he also bled; from thence in a Boat to Chertsey Abbey, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, saying or singing, and there buried; but afterward at the appointment of King Edward, was removed to Windsor, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

Of

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was well tall of stature, spare and slender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his mind, he had virtues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as Kings are said to be gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbo*; he wanted the latter. He was not sensible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greatest honour to consist in humility; His greatest imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured; then he would devour. He was not so stupid, not to know prosperity from adversity; but he was so devout, to think nothing adversity; which was not a hindrance to Devotion: He was fitter for a Priest than a King, and for a Sacrifice than a Priest: and he could not choose but die a Martyr, who all his life had been a Confessor. He had one immunity peculiar to himself, that no man could ever be revenged of him, seeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his head so long; but if he had been wise as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not sufficient, if we express not in particular his several virtues: So modest, that when in a Christmas, a shew of women was presented before him with their breasts laid out, he presently departed; saying, Fie, fie for shame, forsooth you be too blame. So pitiful, that when he saw the quarter of a Traitor over Cripplegate, he caused it to be taken down; saying, I will not have any Christian so cruelly handled for my sake. So free from swearing, that he never used other oath but forsooth, and verily; So patient, that to one who strook him when he was taken prisoner, he only said, Forsooth you wrong your self more then me, to strike the Lords anointed: So devout, that on principal Holy-days he used to wear sackcloth next his skin: Once for all, let his Confessor be heard speak, who in ten years confession never found that he had done or said any thing, for which he might justly be enjoined Penance. For which causes King Henry the Seventh would have procured him to be Canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death, or perhaps because the charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a King being much more costly then of a private person.

## Of Men of Note in his time.

THESE were men of valour in this Kings Reign, of extraordinary eminency; as first, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, who when a French Lord upbraided him, that his sword was of lead; he made him answer, and made him feel that it was of steel. Next him was Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, whose very name was a sufficient charm to daunt a whole French Army. Then the next was John Lord Talbot, so great a terror to the French, that when the women would still their children from crying, they would use to say, Talbot comes. Then was Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick, so much greater then a King, as that which makes, is greater then that it makes; and such a one was he. Many other besides these, not much inferior to these; that we may truly say, there never was a more heroical King of England then Henry the fifth: nor ever a King of England that had more heroical Subjects, then Henry the sixth. And though Arms and Letters seem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flourish together; as in this Kings Reign, were John Leland surnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatises for instruction of Grammarians: William White a Priest of Kent, professing the Doctrine of Wickliffe, for which he suffered Martyrdom by fire: Alexander Carpenter, who wrote a Book called *De virtutibus vitorum*, against the Prelates of that time: Peter Bassett Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King Henry the fifth, whose life he wrote: John Pole a Priest, who wrote the life of St. Walburge an English woman: Also, Thomas Walden, alias Netter, who wrote divers Treatises against the Wickliff: Peter Clerk, a Student in Oxford, and a defender of Wickliffe's doctrine; for which he died: and was put to death beyond Sea: Thomas Walsingham born in Norfolk, a diligent Historiographer: Thomas Kingstead the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: Thomas Rudborne a Monk of Winchester, and an Historiographer: Peter Payne an earnest professor of Wickliffe's Doctrine, for which he fled into Bohemia: Nicholas Upton a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of colours in Armory, and of the duty of Chivalry: John Capgrave born in Kent, an Augustine Friar, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the Legend of English Saints: Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrologie, whereof he wrote a special Treatise intituled *Tabula Directionum*: John Wetherhamstead, otherwise called *Frummentarius*, Abbot of St. Albans, who wrote divers Treatises; and amongst others, a book of the Records of things happening whiles he was Abbot, which book *Holingshead* had seen, and in some passages of his time followed: Roger Oteley accused of Treason for practising with the Lady Eleanor Cobham by sorcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise intituled *Contra vulgi superstitiones*; and another, *De sua Innocentia*: Henry Walsingham a Carmelite Friar of Norwich, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: John Ladgate a Monk of Bury, who had travelled France and Italy to learn languages, and wrote many works in Poetry: Thomas Beckington Bishop of Bath, who wrote against the Law Salique of France: Michael

The virtues of King Henry.

The Canonization of a King more costly then of a private person.

The valour of the Duke of Bedford.

The valour of Tho. Montacute Earl of Salisbury.

The valour of John L. Talbot. The valour of Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick.

Humphrey D. of Gloucester, a wise Astrologer.

A Triegurie born in Cornwall, whom for his excellent learning, King Henry the fifth made Governor of the University of Caen in Normandy, after he had conquered it: Reynold Peacock Bishop of Chichester, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: Robert Fleming, who wrote a Dictionary in Greek and Latine, and a work in Verse of sundry kinds. Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, who wrote divers Books, one of the Etymologie of England. Nicholas Montacute an Historiographer: John Stow a Monk of Norwich, and Doctor of Divinity in Oxford: Nicholas Bungey, born in a Town of Norfolk, of that name, who wrote an History called *Adunationes Chronicorum*: Robert Balsack, who wrote a Book *De Re militari*: Thomas Dando a Carmelite Friar of Marlborough, who wrote the life of Alfred King of the West Saxons: Robert Bale surnamed the Elder, Recorder of London, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of London, with other matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same City, and the Acts of King Edward the Third.

## Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
Sir William Walderne was Maior.  
William Eassfield, Robert Tatarfal, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
William Cromar was Maior.  
Nicholas James, Thomas Waford, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
John Michell was Maior.  
Simon Seman, John Bywater, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
John Coventry was Maior.  
William Milred, John Brokle, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir John Rainewell was Maior.  
John Arnall, John Higham, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir John Gedney was Maior.  
Henry Frowick, Robert Oteley, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir Henry Barton was Maior.  
Thomas Duffhouse, John Abbot, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir William Eassfield was Maior.  
William Rasse, Ralph Holland, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Nicholas Wotton was Maior.  
Walter Cherissey, Robert Large, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
Sir John de Welles was Maior.  
John Aderley, Stephen Browne, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
Sir John Parviss was Maior.  
John Olney, John Padefley, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
Sir John Brokle was Maior.  
Thomas Chalton, John King, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
Sir Roger Oteley was Maior.  
Thomas Barnwell, Simon Eyre, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Sir Henry Frowicke was Maior.  
Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Sir John Michell was Maior.  
Thomas Morsted, William Gregorie, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Sir William Eassfield was Maior.  
William Hales, William Chapman, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Sir Stephen Brown was Maior.  
Hugh Dyker, Nicholas Tove, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Robert Large was Maior.  
Philip Malpas, Robert Marshall, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Sir John Padefley was Maior.  
John Sutton, William Welinbale, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Robert Clopton was Maior.  
William Combis, Richard Rich, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,  
John Aderley was Maior.  
Thomas Beaumont, Richard Nordon, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,  
Thomas Catworth was Maior.  
Nicholas Wfford, John Norman, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,  
Sir Henry Frowicke was Maior.  
Stephen Foster, Hugh VVitch, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,  
Sir Simon Eyre was Maior.  
John Darby, Godfrey Fielding, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,  
John Olney was Maior.  
Robert Horne, Godfrey Bullen, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,  
Sir John Gedney was Maior.  
VWilliam Abraham, Thomas Scot, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,  
Sir Stephen Browne, was Maior.  
William Colson, William Marrow, Sheriffs.

In his eight and twentieth year,  
Sir Thomas Chalton, was Maior.  
William Huln, Thomas Canning, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,  
Nicolas Wilford, was Maior.  
John Middleton, William Deare, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
Sir William Gregory, was Maior.  
Matthew Philip, Christopher Wharton, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,  
Sir Geoffrey Fielding, was Maior.  
Richard Lee, Richard Alley, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,  
Sir John Norman, was Maior.  
John Walden, Thomas Cooke, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,  
Sir Stephen Foster was Maior.  
John Field, William Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,  
Sir William Marrow, was Maior.  
John Tong, Thomas Oldgrave, Sheriffs.

In his five and thirtieth year,  
Sir Thomas Canning, was Maior.  
John Steward, Ralph Verney, Sheriffs.

In his six and thirtieth year,  
Sir Godfrey Bullen, was Maior.  
William Edward, Thomas Reyner, Sheriffs.

In his seven and thirtieth year,  
Sir Thomas Scot, was Maior.  
Ralph Joceline, Richard Medham, Sheriffs.

In his eight and thirtieth year,  
Sir William Huln, was Maior.  
John Plummer, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his nine and thirtieth year,  
Sir Richard Lee, was Maior.  
Richard Fleming, John Lambert, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.



Edward Earl of March, born at Roan in Normandy, son and heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, slain in the battel at Wakefield, succeeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the possession of the Crown of England; and that by vertue of an Act of Parliament lately made; wherein the said Duke of York not only was declared heir apparent to the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom; but it was further enacted, that if King Henry, or any in his behalf, should attempt the disannulling of this Act; that then the said Duke or his heir should have the present possession: which because his friends attempted to do, therefore justly doth Edward Earl of March his son, by vertue of this Act, take possession of the Crown; and is proclaimed King of England, by the name of Edward the fourth, through the City of London, on the fifth day of March, in the year 1460. But before he could have leisure to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try his fortune in the field by battel: For King Henry in the North was raising a new Army, against whom King Edward, upon the twelfth of March, marched with his Forces from London, and by easie journeys came to Pimfret Castle, from whence the Lord Fitzwater was sent to guard the passage at Ferrilbridge, to stop the Enemies approach that way; King Henry likewise advanceth forward, sending his power under the conduct of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whilst himself with his Queen and son stay at York. The Lord Clifford very early on Palm-sunday, with a troop of Northern men, falls upon those that guarded Ferrilbridge, and defeated them with the slaughter of the Lord Fitzwater and the Battard of Salisbury. The Earl of Warwick hearing of this defeat, comes posting to King Edward's Camp, and in his presence killing his Horse, protested his resolution to stand with him to the death. Upon this resolution of the Earls, the King made presently Proclamation, that all who were afraid to fight, should at their pleasure depart; but to those that would stay, he promised good reward, adding withal, that if any that stayed, should after turn his back or flee, then he that should kill him, should have double pay. After this he gave order to the Lord Fauconbridge, and Sir Walter Blunt, to lead on the Vaward; who in their march about Darningdale, encountered with the Lord Clifford; (who formerly in cold-bloud had slaughtered the young Earl of Rutland;) and he being stricken into the throat with an Arrow (some say) without a head; and presently dying: the Lord Nevill son and heir of the Earl of Westmerland was also slain, with most of their Companies, and the rest put to flight. The next day likewise (the Duke of Norfolk being dangerously sick, to whom that place was assigned) G Fauconbridge and Blunt continue the leading of the Vaward-guard; and on Palm-sunday, by break of day, they came to a plain field between Tonton and Saxton, from whence they made a full survey of King Henry's Army, and certified King Edward, that the Enemy was threescore thousand strong; where his Army was but forty thousand and six hundred: Whereupon a second Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no quarter should be kept, nor prisoner taken. The Armies being both in fight, the Lord Fauconbridge gave direction to the Archers (upon a signal by him given) to shoot every man a flight-arrow (for that purpose provided) and then to fall back three strides, and stand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their Bows till

1460.

The Earl of March is proclaimed King of England. King Henry in the North raiseth an Army to oppose King Edward.

Defeated by a policy of the Lord Fauconbridge.

And many  
Lords slain;  
and thirty  
thousand other.

King Henry  
flies into  
Scotland, the  
Queen and  
her son into  
France.

1461.

King Edward  
is Crowned.

John Earl of  
Oxford behead-  
ed.

Dukes and  
Earls created.

1462.

King Henry  
and his Queen  
get an Army  
in Scotland,  
and recover  
many Towns  
in the North  
parts.

Viscount Mont-  
acute seeth  
upon King  
Henries armies:  
takes many of  
his Lords; and  
King Henry  
himself hardly  
escaped.

1464.

The Duke of  
Somerset and  
other Lords  
put to death:

till all their sheaves were empty; but their Arrows fell short of the Enemy by threescore yards; and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themselves; for their Arrows being spent, and coming to hand-blows, their own Arrows sticking in the ground, galled their thighs, and pierced their feet. Ten hours the battle continued doubtful; till the Earl of Northumberland being slain, with the Lord Beaumont, Gray, Daerres, and Wells, Sir John Nevill, Andrew Trollop, and many other Knights and Esquires; the Earls of Exeter and Somerset fled, leaving the Countess to King Edward, but the bloudest that ever England felt, for there fell that day six and thirty thousand seven hundred threescore and sixteen persons, no prisoners being taken but the Earl of Devonshire. The battle ended, King Edward hails to York, where he caused the heads of his Father and other friends to be taken down and buried with their bodies, setting in their places the heads of the Earl of Devonshire, and three other, there at that time executed. The Earl of Somerset acquainting King Henry with this overthrow, persuades him with his Queen the King of Scots, who comforteth them with promise of relief, but maketh a sure bargain, for in lieu of a pension to be allowed King Henry during his abode there, the Town and Castle of Berwick were delivered to him. Queen Margaret and her son are sent into France, who obtained of Lewis the eleventh her Cousin, that all of King Edward's friends were prohibited stay or traffique in the French Kings Dominions: but all King Henries friends might live there freely. After this, King Edward comes to London; and upon his entrance to the Tower, makes four and twenty Knight, and the next day four more; and upon the 28 day of June, in the year 1461. he rode from the Tower to Westminster, and was there Crowned in the Abbey Church.

Shortly after, a Parliament is summoned, which began at Westminster the fourth of November; In which, all Acts of King Henry the sixth prejudicial to King Edward's Title, are repealed: and therein John Earl of Oxford, a valiant and wise man, (he who in a former Parliament had disputed the question concerning the precedency of Temporal and Spiritual Barons, a bold attempt in those dayes; and by force of whose Argument, Judgement was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Tiddingham Knight, William Tyrrell, and Walter Montgomery Esquires, were, without answer, convicted of Treason, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deserving, King Edward at this time advanced many in honour: his brother George he created Duke of Clarence; his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, John Lord Mowbray Brother to the Earl of Warwick, he made first Viscount, then Marquess Montacute; Henry Bourchier Brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is made Earl of Essex; and William Lord Fauconbridge, Earl of Kent. And now their new honours are presently put into employment; the Earl of Essex and Kent, accompanied with the Lords Audely and Glinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Walgrave, and others, to the number of ten thousand, are appointed to scour the Seas, who landed in Britain, took the Town of Conquet, and the Isle of Bee, and then returned. At this time Henry Duke of Somerset, Ralph Percy, and divers others came in, and humbly submitted themselves to King Edward's mercy; who protested his propension of freely pardoning them, and as many other that would submit themselves as they did.

All this time King Henry was in Scotland, and Queen Margaret in France; where she obtained of the French King, a company of five hundred men; with whom she sailed towards Newcastle, and landed at Tynmouth, but suddenly again returned, and was her self by tempest beaten to Berwick, but her company was driven on the shore before Bamburgh Castle; where they set their Ships on fire, and fled to an Island called Holy Island; but were so assailed there, by the Bastard Ogle and John Manners Esquire, that many of them were slain, and almost four hundred taken prisoners, only their Colonel Peter Bessie happened upon a Fisherman, who brought him to Berwick to Queen Margaret, and by her was made Captain of the Castle of Alnwick, which he with his French men kept, till they were rescued. Shortly after, Queen Margaret having gotten together a great company of Scots, and other of her friends, bringing her husband with her, and leaving her son at Berwick, entered Northumberland, took the Castle of Bamburgh, made Captain thereof Sir Ralph Grey; and then came forward to the Bishoprick of Durham: whither he returned to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and divers others, who altogether made a competent Army. King Edward, hearing hereof, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; and first he sends Viscount Montacute with some Companies into Northumberland; whom he in person followeth with his whole power: The Viscount marcheth towards King Henry, and by the way encountereth the Lord Hungerford at Hedgesmoore, but he, with Lord Basse, upon the first charge ran away, leaving Sir Ralph Darcy alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viscount understanding that King Henry was incamped in Levels-plain, near the River of Douel in Hexhamshire, marcheth thither by night, and set upon him in his Camp, whose charge the Northern men receive with a desperate resolution, but were in the end with great slaughter overcome. Henry Beaumont Duke of Somerset, the Lord Basse, Molins, Hungerford, Wentworth, Hussey, and Sir John Pindern Knight, with many others are taken prisoners: King Henry himself by the swiftness of his Horse escaped, but very hardly, for one of his Hench-men that followed him was taken, who had on his head, King Henries Helmet, or as some say, his high Cap of Estate, called Auncer, garnished with two rich Crowns, which was presented to King Edward at York the fourth of May. The Duke of Somerset was beheaded presently at Hexam; the other Lords and Knights were had to Newcastle, and there

A there, after a little respite, were likewise put to death. Besides these, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at York, and in other places. This Duke of Somerset was never married, but had a natural son named Charles Somerset, who was afterward created Earl of Worcester, Sir Humphrey Nevill, and William Talbot calling himself Earl of Kymer, Sir Ralph Grey, and Richard Tunstall, with divers others that escaped from this battle, hid themselves in secret places; but yet not so closely, but that they were espied and taken. The Earl of Kymer was apprehended in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastle, and there beheaded; Sir Humphrey Nevill was taken in Holderness, and at York lost his head. After this battle called Exam-field, King Edward came to the City of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Montacute, the Lords Fauconbridge and Scrope, to recover such Castles as his Enemies there held; which they effected; and taking in the Castle of Dunstunburgh, they found in it John Goss servant to the Duke of Somerset, who was brought to York, and there beheaded: and taking in the Castle of Bamburgh, they found in it Sir Ralph Grey, whom because he had sworn to be true to King Edward, and was now revolted to King Henry; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at Doncaster, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his sword over his head, and then beheaded him.

In this mean time, King Henry (upon what occasion, no man knows; but only led by the hand of destiny) venturing in disguise, to come into England, and shifting from place to place, was at length discovered, and taken by one Cantlow, or as others say, by Thomas Talbot, son to Sir Edward Talbot of Bishall, who deceived him, being at his dinner at Wadlington Hall in Lincolnshire, and brought him towards London, with his legs tied under the horse belly; in whose company were also taken Doctor Manning Dean of Windsor, D. Bedle, and one Elerton, whom the Earl of Warwick met by the way, and brought them all to the Tower of London; whilst the distressed Queen with her son, once again is driven to fly for shelter into France; whither the new Duke of Somerset and his brother John failed also, where they lived in great misery; and the Earl of Pembroke went from Countrey to Countrey little better then a Vagabond.

At this time, King Edward to reward his followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King Henry amongst them, but first made Proclamation that whatsoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to Grace, and restored to their Patrimonies.

D In the fourth year of King Edward, in Michaelmas Term were made eight Serjeants at Law, Thomas Toun, Nicholas Geney, Richard Neal, Thomas Brian, Richard Pigot, John Catesby, and Guy Fax; who held their Feast in the Bishop of Ely's place in Holborn, where the Lord Grey of Ruthin then Lord Treasurer of England, was placed before the Lord Mayor of London, being invited to the Feast, which gave such a distaste to the Mayor, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs without tasting of their Feast: and it was registered to be a precedent in time to come.

And now King Edward no less intentive to perform the Office of a King in peace, then he had been before of a Captain in war, considering with himself, that seditions and civil dissensions must needs breed disorders in a State, and that disorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled waters, that will in time settle of themselves and recover clearness; but are rather like weeds, which once springing up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow: He like a good Gardiner seeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a general reformation of abuses; and to that end in Michaelmas Term in the second year of his reign, three daies together he sate publicly with his Judges in Westminster Hall on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himself with the Orders of that Court, and to observe what needed Reformation in it, either at Bench or at Barr: as likewise he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, then to their own unjust gain: He also daily frequented the Council Table; which he furnished for the most part, with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he employs about references and businesses of private consequence; whilst mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet Council; by whom he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was advised that it was now time to provide for posterity, by taking a Wife, and to provide also for the present time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where so fitly found as in France; both thereby to bury old grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert assistance from Queen Margaret, the only disturber of the State; and this being concluded, it only remained to make choice of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought so fit as Richard Nevill Earl of Warwick; he therefore is presently sent into France, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King Edward and the Lady Bona, daughter to Lewis Duke of Savoy, and sister to the Lady Carlote then Queen of France; a Lady, no less for beauty and virtuous qualities, then for Nobility of blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Proposition is in France readily embraced, and willingly assented unto on all parts. But in the mean time King Edward being hunting in Vichwood Forrest besides Stony-stratford; he chanced to come to the Manour of Grafton, where the Dutcheff of Bedford then lay, and where her daughter by Sir Richard Wydeville, the Lady Elizabeth Gray, Widow of Sir John Gray of Groby, slain at the last battail of St. Albans; became a suitor to him for some lands which her husband had given her in joynture; with whose beauty and graceful behaviour, King Edward was so taken, that he presently became a Suitor to her; and when he

His base Son  
Charles Somerset,  
created  
Earl of Worcester.

Sir Ralph Grey  
degraded: and  
in what man-  
ner: and then  
beheaded.

King Henry is  
taken in dis-  
guise: brought  
disgracefully to  
London, and  
committed to  
the Tower.  
The Queen  
fleeth into  
France.

The Earl of  
Pembroke be-  
yond Sea little  
better then a  
Vagabond.

Serjeants at  
Law made.  
The Mayor of  
London offend-  
ed that the  
Lord Treasur-  
er was placed  
before him.

King Edward  
sits three daies  
together in the  
Kings Bench.

The Earl of  
Warwick sent  
into France to  
treat of a mar-  
riage with the  
Lady Bona.

In the mean  
time King Ed-  
ward marries  
the Lady Eli-  
zabeth Gray.

could not obtain his suit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to seek it by terms of Marriage.

And here we may well think there was no small conflict in King Edward's mind, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them should be most potent; Honour put him in mind that it was against his Law, to take to wife a meaner person than himself; but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his Prerogative to make all persons equal: Honour perswaded him that it stood him much upon to make good the Ambassage, in which he had sent the Earl of Warwick to a great Prince; but Love perswaded him, that it stood him more upon to make good the Ambassage sent to himself from a greater Prince: In conclusion, it appeared to be true which one observes, *Improbe amor quid non mortalitas petita cogit*? What is it that Love will not make a man to do? Whether it be, that Love brings upon the mind a forgetfulness of all circumstances, but such as tend to its own satisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongst Passions, as Oyls amongst Liquors, which will alwaies be supreme and at the top; Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed: And therefore King Edward though he knew no Superior upon earth, yet he obeys the summons of Love; and upon the first day of May marries the said Lady Gray at Grafton; the first of our Kings Since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Dutchesse of Bedford, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young man to help the Priest at Mass: The year after with great solemnity she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which King Edward had with his Mother, who fought to cross this match: "Whereupon" say, (saith he) that she is a Widow, and hath already Children, by Gods blessed Lady, I am a Bachelor, and have some too, and so each of us hath a proof, that neither of us is like to be barren: And as for your objection of Bigamy, (for his Mother had charged him with being contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie) Let the Bishop (saith he) lay it to my charge, when I come to take Orders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never with it was forbidden a Prince. Upon this marriage, the Queens Father was created Earl Rivers, and made High Constable of England; his Brother the Lord Anthony, was married to the sole Heir of the Lord Scales, and by her had that Barony; her Son Sir Thomas Gray was created Marquess Dorset, and married Cicely, Heir to the Lord Bonville. It may be thought a happy fortune for this Lady to be thus matched; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accreting to her by it, will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits: For first, by this match she drew upon her self the envie of many, and was the cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and herself in his absence glad to take Sanctuary, and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincipally manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly murdered; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of Broomfield in Southwark, and all her goods confiscated by her own Son in Law.

And now the Earl of Warwick at his return, found that knot tied in England, which he had laboured to tie in France: His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady Bona deluded, the King of France abused, and himself made a stale, and the disgraceful instrument of all this, which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his mind till a fit opportunity; and thereupon procures leave to retire himself to his Castle of Warwick.

King Edward in the mean time, having just cause to suspect he had made the French his enemies, seeks to make other Princes his friends: He enters into a League with John King of Aragon, to whom he sent for a Present a score of Cotfall Ews, and five Rams, a small Present in shew, but great in the event; for it proved of more benefit to Spain, and of more detriment to England then could at first sight have been imagined. And to secure himself at home, he took truce with the King of Scots for fifteen years. And where he had married before his two Sisters, Anne the eldest to Henry Holland Earl of Exceter; and Elizabeth to John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk, he now matched Margaret his third Sister, to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which proved a greater assistance to him, then that which he had lost in France.

By this time the Earl of Warwick's spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much ado drawn to his party his two Brothers the Archbishop of York, and the Marquess Montacute; he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Gloucester; but he found Gloucester so reserved, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of Clarence he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King, in his employment into France, and other wrongs: to whom the Duke presently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindness to himself; saying, he had married his Wives Brother Anthony to the Heir of the Lord Scales, and her Son Thomas to the Heir of the Lord Bonville, but could find no match of preference for him being his own Brother: And upon this agreement in complaints, they agree to joyn against King Edward; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of Clarence takes to Wife Isabel the Earl of Warwick's Daughter, and with her hath assured unto him half of the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady Anne, Daughter of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick deceased. Upon this marriage the Earl of Warwick discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his project for the restoring of King Henry; to which Clarence gave approbation, with promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

At

A At this time Sir Thomas Cooke late Maior of London, was by one Hankins appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place in London seized by the Lord Rivers. The case was this, the said Hankins came to Sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good surety; who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent; matter rested two or three years, till the said Hankins was laid in the Tower, and brought to the Brake, called the Duke of Exeters Daughter; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst others things, the motion he had made to Sir Thomas Cooke, and accused himself to farre, that he was put to death. Sir Thomas Cooke lying in the Tower from Whitsuntide till Michaelmas, had his place in Essex named Gyddihall, spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment; yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

B And now the Earl of Warwick sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquess, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King Edward, and to procure some rebellious commotion in the North, whilst he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the work; which they accordingly did in Yorkshire, an occasion being taken for the breach of an ancient custom there, to give to the poor people of St. Leonards in the City of York, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Archbishop and the Marquess underhand fomented; yet to colour the matter, the Marquess opposed the Rebels, and cut off the head of Robert Haldon their Captain; but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; Henry, Son and Heir to the Lord Fitzhugh, and Sir Henry Nevil Son to the Lord Latimer; the one the Nephew, the other a Cousen-germane to the Earl of Warwick, with whom they joyn the valiant Captain Sir John Conyers: These when they could not enter York, came marching towards London, all the way exclaiming against King Edward as an unjust Prince, and an Usurper. King Edward hearing of this Commotion, sends Sir William Herbert, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of Pembroke, and his Brother Sir Richard Herbert, together with the Lord Stafford of Southwick, to suppress the Rebels, and they with an Army of seven thousand, most Welchmen, march towards them; but the Lord Stafford being put from his Inn where he used to lodge, by the Earl of Pembroke, took such a distaste at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the business; yet the Earl of Pembroke though thus forsaken, with his own Regiment encountered the Rebels, slew Sir Henry Nevil, and divers others; when being upon the point of victory, one John Clappam a servant of the Earl of Warwick, coming in supposing the Earl had been come, turned presently their backs and fled; five thousand of them were slain, the Earl of Pembroke himself, and his much lamented Brother, Sir Richard Herbert, a most goodly personage, were taken prisoners, brought to Banbury, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to death. And now the Northamptonshiremen joyning with the Rebels in this fury, made them a Captain named Robert Hiliard, but they named him Robin of Ridesdale, and sodainly came to Grafton, where they took the Earl Rivers Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir John Woodville; brought them to Northampton, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King Edward advertised of these mischances, wrote to the Sheriffs of Somersetshire and Devonshire to apprehend the Lord Stafford of Southwick, (who had treacherously forsaken the Earl of Pembroke) and if they could take him, to put him to death; who being soon after found in a Village within Brentmarsh was brought to Bridgewater, and there beheaded. After this battel fought at Hedgecote, commonly called Banbury field, the Northern men referred to Warwick, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that King Edward with a great Army was coming thither, he sent for his Son in Law the Duke of Clarence, with all speed to repair unto him; who joyning together, and using means cunningly, by having some communication of Peace, to make the King secure, and to take little heed of himself; they took advantage of his security, and in the dead of the night set on his Camp, and killing the Watch, before the King was aware, at a place called Woolley four miles from Berrick, they took him prisoner in his bed, and presently conveyed him to Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, to be there in safe custody with the Archbishop of York. And now they had the prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King Edward whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwise winning them by fair promises, got so much liberty, sometimes for his recreation to go a hunting; by which he caused Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas of Burgh, and divers of his friends at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and set him again at liberty: whilst the Earl of Warwick nothing doubting his Brothers the Archbishops care in safe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the wars to be now past, dismissed his Army, and intended only to find out King Henry, who was kept a prisoner, but few men knew where.

G King Edward being now at liberty posteth to York, and from thence to Lancaster; where his Chamberlain the Lord Hastings had raised some Forces, with which he marcheth to London, and is there joyfully received: The Earl of Warwick likewise sends to his friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whilst in the mean time, by the mediation of divers Lords, an interview in Westminster-Hall, is agreed upon, and solemn Oath taken on both sides for safety, between King Edward, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick; but each party standing strictly upon terms tending to their own ends; they parted as great Enemies as they met: and so from thence the King went to Canterbury, the Duke and the Earl to Lincoln; whither they had pre-

Sir Thomas Cooke troubles; for what cause.

1461.  
The Earl of Warwick causes a commotion to be raised in Yorkshire.

King Edward sends the Earl of Pembroke to suppress it; who is with divers others slain.

Robin of Ridesdale beheaded the Earl Rivers.

The Lord Stafford beheaded.

The Earl of Warwick surpriseth King Edward, and commits him to custody.

King Edward gets at liberty.

The Earl of Warwick dismisseth his Army.

The King and Lords have a meeting, but to no purpose.

appointed

1465.

The Queens Father created Earl Rivers, and her son Sir Thomas made Marquess of Dorset.

The Earl of Warwick at his return finding the King married, grows discontented.

Cotfall Ews sent to the King of Aragon for a Present.

The Earl of Warwick and other Lords joyn against King Edward.

The Duke of Clarence marries the Earl of Warwick's Daughter.

1470.

The Lord Wells beheaded.

Sir Robert Wells his son taken and put to death.

The Earl of Warwick fleeth to Callice; where not received, and by what subtilty.

The Earl of Warwick honorably received by the King of France.

Prince Edward marries a Daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

appointed their Forces to repair, under the conduct of Sir Robert Wells, son and heir of the Lord Wells a man of great valor and experience in the wars: King Edward to take off so able a man from the Earls part, sends for his Father the Lord Wells to come unto him; who taking with him his son in Law Sir Thomas Dymock, and coming to attend the Kings pleasure, was told by his friends how wonderfully the King was incensed against them: whereupon for their safety, they take Sanctuary at Westminster. But upon the Kings Princely word, they come unto him, who commandeth the Lord Wells to write to his Son, to desist from adhering to the Earl of Warwick, which the Lord Wells accordingly did: but Sir Robert Wells notwithstanding his Fathers Letters, continuing firm to the Earl still, so much incensed King Edward, that he caused both his Father and Sir Thomas Dymock to be beheaded. He supposed perhaps, that the Lords Wells was himself underhand a friend to the Earl, and had not dealt sincerely with him, in reproaching his Son to leave that party. But now Sir Robert Wells seeing the King draw near to Stamford, where he had pitched his tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much distracted what to do: to decline battle with the King, he thought would shew too much fear; and to give him battle before the Earl of Warwick were come with his Forces, would shew too much boldness: But his veins were so filled with a desire of revenging his Fathers death, that he thought he could never shew boldness enough; and thereupon encountering with the Kings Army, far greater then his own, oppressed with multitude was taken prisoner, together with Thomas de land, and divers others; who presently in the place, were put to execution: as soon as Sir Robert Wells was taken, the Lincolnshire men to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats, for which cause, this battle was afterward called *Loss-coat-field*, in which, it is reported, were slain above ten thousand men.

The Earl of Warwick hearing of this defeat, and not having present means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King Edward: when he could by no means draw the Lord Stanley to his party, he determined to sail into France, and hiring ships at Dartmouth in Devonshire, he with his son in Law the Duke of Clarence, and their Wives, took to Sea; and thinking to land at Callice, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord Vaneleer a Gascon, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled; and with so great inhumanity, that the Dutcheff of Clarence, who was then in labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courtessie in that distress shewed, was only to send a flaggon or two of Wine,) which fact of Vaneleer's when King Edward heard of, he was so well pleased with it, that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town himself: and the Duke of Burgoyne, for the same service, sent unto him *Philp de Camines* (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was better paid for one act of dissembling; for the truth was, *Pro amore exclusit foras*, it was out of his love that he suffered him not to enter the Town, for he knew there were many great ones in it so addicted to King Edward, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischief: And hereof he made a good proof soon after: for when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord Vaneleer sent him word, he should take heed where he landed; for that the Duke of Burgoyne lay in wait to take him; which advertisement did the Earl more good, then the keeping him out of Callice did him hurt. The Earl upon this advertisement, landed at Diepe in Normandy, whereof when King Lewis heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at Ambois, where he received him with no less honour then if he had been a King. In the mean time, King Edward made inquiry for all such as were aiders to the Earl of Warwick; of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the Kings mercy; as John Marquess Montacute, whom he courteously received. Queen Margaret, who at this time sojourned with Duke Rayner her Father, hearing of the Earl of Warwicks arrival, with her Son Prince Edward, came to Ambois, and with her also came Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford, lately escaped out of Prison, and fled into France; between whom a new combination is made; and for a foundation of a firm amity, King Henries Son Prince Edward, marries Anne the Earl of Warwicks second Daughter: After which marriage, the Duke of Clarence and the Earls took a solemn Oath, never to leave the war till either King Henry or his Son Prince Edward were restored to the Crown; but now about this time, comes a Gentlewoman out of England, to the dissembling Lord Vaneleer at Callice; and payes him in his own coynt: For she made a shew of intending great good to the Earl of Warwick, but had a purpose indeed to work his ruine; and by this shew she passed unsuspected to the Duke of Clarence, whom she persuaded to forsake the Earl of Warwick, as one that intended wholly the rooting out of the House of York, and only the advancing of the House of Lancaster; which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince Edward, King Henries only Son; and this reason with some other was so urged by the Gentlewoman, that it sank deeply into the Duke of Clarence his minde. So fit Agents of State are women sometimes; that can transact a business in covert: which if men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this time forward the Duke of Clarence, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the Art of dissembling, fought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King Edward: but made a fair shew still to the Earl of Warwick.

And now the Earl of Warwick having been six months in France, in this time he had procured from the King of France, both Ships, and Men, and Money, and receiving Letters out of England, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in his quarrel, if he would come,

1470.

The Earl of Warwick assisted out of France, lands at Dartmouth in Devonshire, to whom much people resorted.

King Edward hereupon flies into the Duke of Burgoynes Countrey.

1471.

Queen taketh Sanctuary; where she is brought to bed.

The Earl of Warwick removes King Henry out of prison: where he had been held almost nine years.

King Edward proclaimed as Usurper.

The extreme melancholy of Sir John Hawksworth or Hawkford.

A (for the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the World, when he was absent: And this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a breakfast) he with the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke, took to Sea; and though the Duke of Burgoyne had a Fleet at Sea, to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempest scattered, and King Edward trusting to that Fleet, having provided no other; the Earl had a quiet passage to land at Dartmouth in Devonshire, where being landed, he made Proclamation in King Henry the sixth name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King Edward, who contrary to the right, had usurped the Crown: Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many thousands of men resorted to him; with which Forces he made towards London: Upon notice of whose approach, on the Sunday next after Michaelmas-day, one Doctor Goddard a Chaplain of his, preaching at Pauls-Cross, did so set forth his Earls pious intention, that many of his auditory were moved to favour the Earls proceeding: infomuch, that the Marquess Montacute, who had in King Edwards behalf, levied six thousand men about London, found them all inclinable to go with him to the Earl of Warwick, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King Edward hearing of the great flocking of people to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raising an Army; but few came, and those few with no great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his safe; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain, (who having married the Earl of Warwicks Sister, yet continued ever true to King Edward) and the Lord Scaler Brother to the Queen; he departed into Lincolnshire, and coming to Lyn, he found there an English Ship, and two Hulks of Holland ready to make sail: whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about seven or eight hundred persons entered the Ships, having no provision with him but only the apparel they wore; and so bare of money, that he was fain to reward the Matter of his Ship with one of his garments: and thus making course towards the Duke of Burgoynes Countrey, they were presently chased by eight great Ships of Easterlings, open enemies both to England and France; which drove him before a Town in the Countrey called *Alquemare*, belonging to the Duke of Burgoyne; where by chance the Lord Gruntrue Governour of that Countrey, at that time was, who defended them from the Easterlings, and brought them to the Hague in Holland, where they had all things ministered to them, by order from the Duke of Burgoyne.

D At this time, upon news of the Earl of Warwicks approach, Queen Elizabeth forsaketh the Tower, and secretly taketh Sanctuary at Westminster, where in great penury forsaken of all her friends, she was brought a bed of a Son called Edward, who like a poor mans childe was Christened: the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the Lady Scroope Godmother.

And now the Earl of Warwick entering the Tower, removes King Henry out of his hold of du-rance, where he had been almost nine years, into his own lodging, where he was served according to his estate; which the Earl did more congratulate then the King himself. Upon the sixth day of October, King Henry accompanied with the Archbishop of York, the Prior of S. Johns, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long Gown of blew Velvet, was conducted through London, to the Bishops Palace, where he rested till the thirteenth of that moneth, on which day he went in solemn procession about Pauls Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of Warwick bearing up his train; and the Earl of Oxford the Sword before him. The next day in all usual places about London, King Edward was proclaimed an Usurper, and all his partakers Traitors to God and the King; whereof John Lord Tipstaff Earl of Worcester, as a partaker with King Edward, was made the first example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King Edward in Ireland, where having done something for which he fled, he was afterward found on the top of an high tree, in the Forrest of Waybridge, in the County of Huntingdon; and being there taken, was brought to London, attainted, and beheaded on the Tower-hill, and after buried at the Black-fryers.

F About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir William Hawksworth Knight, one of the chief Justices at the Law, who dwelt at Annory in Devonshire, a man of great possessions; and having no Son; the Lord Fitzwarren, Sir John Sentleger, and Sir William Bollin married his Daughters, and were his Heirs: This man grew into such degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in suffering his Deer to be stolen; and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his circuit in the night time, that would not stand or speak; he should not spare to kill him whosoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his doleful dayes, in a certain dark night secretly conveyed himself out of his house, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one stirring, and coming towards him, asked, who was there? but no answer being made, he willed him to stand, which when he would not do; the Keeper shot, and killed him, and coming to see who it was, found him to be his Matter.

G On the twentieth day of November, a Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein King Edward and all his partakers are attainted of high Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to King Henries use. George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence, is by authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to Richard Duke of York his Father, and that Dutchy setled upon him and his Heirs, notwithstanding the Primogeniture of Edward: Upon him also was entailed the Crown of England, in case Heirs males of the body of King Henry failed. Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford, are fully restored to their Lands and Honour: and Warwick and Clarence are made Governors of

King Henry's prophetic speech of Henry afterward King Henry the Seventh.

King Edward assisted by the Duke of Burgundy takes to sea and lands in York-shire.

He swears deeply that he came but only to recover his own Inheritance.

He comes to Coventry, where the Earl of Warwick lay; but would not come forth to battell.

King Edward makes his entry into London, and is joyfully received.

King Henry is delivered into his hands.

The Earl of Warwick comes with his Army to Warwick.

of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marquess Montacute, excusing himself that for fear of death he had taken King Edward's part; which excuse was excepted. Queen Margaret is sent into France, but by reason of contrary windes was kept back all that Winter.

About this time, Jasper Earl of Pembroke going into Wales to view his land in Pembroke-shire; found there the Lord Henry, born of Margaret, the only Daughter and Heir of John the first Duke of Somerset, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady Herbert, him he brings with him to London, and presents him to King Henry; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he said to the Lords about him: Lo, this is he, to whom both we and our adversaries leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give place. Which if it be true, it shews a very Propheticall Spirit to have been in King Henry; that could so long before, foretell a thing so unlikely to happen; for this was he that was afterward King Henry the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of Burgoyne's means, King Edward is furnished with eighteen tall Ships, two thousand Dutchmen, and fifty thousand Florens of Gold; and thus furnished, he took to Sea, and landed at Ravenspurre in York-shire, where he found but cold entertainment; nevertheless he made a wary march to York, where likewise he found no great expression of welcome, so as he was forced to change his pretence, swearing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his own inheritance; and for the more shew thereof, wearing an Estrich feather, Prince Edward's Livery; which proposition seemed so reasonable, that many who resisted him before, were as ready to assist him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath; it must be considered, it was *Regni causa*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance: and so he brake not his Oath neither. From York he marched towards Wakefield and Sandall, leaving the Castle of Pomfret upon his left hand, where the Marquess Montacute with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: from Wakefield he came to Doncaster, and from thence to Nottingham, where there came to him Sir William Parre and Sir James Harrington with six hundred men; also Sir Thomas Burgh, and Thomas Montgomery, with their aids, who caused him to make a Proclamation in his own name: affirming they would serve no man but a King. From Nottingham he came to Leicester, where three thousand able men, and well armed came unto him: From Leicester he came before the walls of Coventry; into which City the Earl of Warwick had withdrawn himself, keeping himself close therein with his people, being about six or seven thousand men; three days together King Edward provoked him to come forth to battell; but he stayed for more forces, and would not do it: whereupon King Edward marched forward to Warwick, eight miles from Coventry, thinking thither at least he should have drawn the Earl of Warwick, but neither would that do it: Indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of Clarence, with twelve thousand men to joyn with him, but that expectation proved vain, for the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King Edward, and brought all his Forces to joyn with him, only he fought to make amity between King Edward and the Earl: But though King Edward offered general pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would please the Earl without retorting of King Henry. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of Clarence, there came to the Earl of Warwick at Coventry, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Excester, and the Marquess Montacute, by whose coming that side was not a little strengthened; yet all this aid would not make the Earl of Warwick to come to battell: whereupon King Edward marched forwards towards London. Both sides seek to make London their friend; the Earl of Warwick sends to his Brother the Archbishop of York to labour in it; who thereupon caused King Henry to mount on Horseback, and to ride from Pauls through Cheap, down Walbrook, supposing that this shewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to assist him; but this device prevailed little, brought not in above seven or eight thousand men, a small proportion to withstand King Edward; and when the Archbishop of York saw this backwardness in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to King Edward, he secretly sent to him to receive him into grace; which upon promise to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of April in the year 1471. and the eleventh of his reign, King Edward made his entry into the City of London, riding first to Pauls Church, and from thence to the Bishops Palace, where the Archbishop of York presented himself unto him, and having King Henry by the hand delivered him to King Edward, (six months after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King Edward being seized of his person, went from Pauls to Westminster, and there gave God most hearty thanks for his safe return. The reasons alleged here by Philip Comines for the Citizens receiving of King Edward, seem scarce worthy of good an Author: One cause (saith he) was, because King Edward being extremely indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their debt: Another, because he had won the love of many Citizens wives, who importuned their husbands to receive him.

The Earl of Warwick having intelligence that King Edward was received into London, and King Henry delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamped at St. Albans, and after some refreshing of his Army, removed towards Barnet, and in a large plain there called *Cladmore-heath*, pitched his Camp; which King Edward hearing, on Easter Eve the thirteenth of April, he marched forth, and came that evening to Barnet, where he would not suffer a man of his Army to stay in the Town, but commanded them all to the field, and lodged with his Army more near to the Enemy then

A then he was aware, by reason of a Mist, (raised some say by one Bungy a Conjuror) which made it so dark, that it could not well be observed where they were encamped. In taking his ground he caused his people to keep as much silence as was possible, thereby to keep the enemy from knowing of their approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earl more then the King; and therefore in the night-time, they shot from his Camp almost continually, but did little hurt, because they still overshoot them, as lying nearer, then was conceived. On Easter day, early in the morning, both Armies are ordered for battell; the Earl of Warwick pointed the Command of the Right wing, which consisted of Horse, to his Brother the Marquess Montacute, and the Earl of Oxford; the Left wing consisting likewise of Horse, was left by himself and the Duke of Excester, and the main battell consisting of Bills and Bows was conducted by the Duke of Somerset. On the Kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of Gloucester; the battell (in which was King Henry) was led by King Edward himself, and the Lord Hastings brought on the Rear. After exhortations for encouragement of their Soldiers, the apparent disadvantage on either side; only the Earls Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earl of Oxford, seemed somewhat to overmatch the Kings, which made some flying towards London, to carry news, that the Earl of Warwick had won the field; and he had perhaps done so, indeed, but fear with streams on their Liveries: as King Edward's men had the Sun, the Earl of Warwick's men, by reason of the Mist, not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of Warwick's men that were on their part: whereupon the Earl of Oxford cried, Treason, and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King Edward having the best men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on; which the Earl of Warwick observing being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the press he was stricken down and slain. (Though some write, that the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse to flee; and coming him to the naked skin.) The Marquess Montacute, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his life, and left the victory to King Edward. On both sides were slain, as Hall saith, ten thousand at the least; Fabian saith, but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the Kings side. Upon the Kings part, were slain the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Montjoye, Son and Heir, Sir Humphrey Bourchier Son and Heir to the Lord Berners, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earls part, were slain the Earl himself, the Marquess Montacute, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir William Tirrell was one. The Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Oxford fled into Wales, to Jasper Earl of Pembroke. The Duke of Excester being stricken down, and so wounded that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself, he got up, and escaped to Westminster, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earl and Marquess were brought to London in a Coffin, and by the space of three daies lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of Bisham. This Earl of Warwick was Richard Nevil, Son and Heir of Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, who married the Daughter of Richard Beauchamp the sixth Earl of Warwick, and in her right was Earl of Warwick, in his own, of Salisbury: He was also Lord Montbomer, great Chamberlain, and high Admiral of England, Lord Warden of the North Marches towards Scotland, and High Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster: He had issue two Daughters, Isabella married to George Duke of Clarence, and Anne, first married to Prince Edward King Henry the Sixth's Son, and after to Richard Duke of Gloucester.

We may here observe a Constellation of disastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great Warwick; whereof if any one had been missing, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned: For if the City of York had not two credulously believed King Edwards Oath, not to disturb King Henry; or if the Marquess Montacute had stopped (as he might) his passage at Pomfret; or if the Duke of Clarence had not at the very point of the battell, at St. Albans, deserted his party and joyned with King Edward; or if Queen Margaret had not by tempest been kept from coming into England in time; or if the Londoners had not been retrograde and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But *Fata viam inveniunt*; destiny will find waies that were never thought of, will make way where it finds none; and that which is ordained in Heaven, shall be effected by means, of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen Margaret when it was too late, accompanied with John Longstrother Prior of Saint Johns, and the Lord Venlock, with divers Knights and Esquires, took shipping at Harflew, the four and twentieth of March, but by tempest was kept back till the thirtieth of April; and then with her son Prince Edward, she landed at Weymouth, and from thence went to an Abby hard by, called Cern, and then to Bewly in Hampshire, whither there came unto her, Edmund Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Courtney Earl of Devonshire, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the Field; but then the Queen would have had her Son Prince Edward to be sent into France, there to remain in safety, till the next battell were tried; but they being of a contrary mind, and especially the Duke of Somerset, she at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From Bewly she with her Son and the Earl of Somerset passeth on to

The two Armies meet.

The Duke of Somerset is slain.

The Earl of Warwick is slain.

The Earl of Warwick is slain.

The Honourable and of his issue.

Queen Margaret cometh over and gets two Armies.

But is over-  
thrown by  
King Edward.

The Queen is  
taken prisoner.

Her son Prince  
Edward is  
murdered.

The Duke of  
Somerset, and  
others be-  
headed.

Queen Marg-  
aret is kept in  
durance, till  
her Father  
fetches her  
away.

The Bastard  
Fauconbridge  
makes distur-  
bance about  
London.

King Henry is  
murdered by  
the Duke of  
Gloicester.

to Bristol, intending with what power they could raise in Gloucestershire, to march into Wales, & to join with Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who was there making preparation of more Forces; King Edward hearing of these things resolves to cross this conjunction; and follows Queen Margaret with a great power to close, that near Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely stand and make head against him; where Somerset, on the Queens part, leading the Vanguard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Soldiers through weariness begin to faint, and that the Lord Wenlock, who had the conduct of the battail on the Queens part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with cowardice, or treachery, never said, but with a blow beat out his brains; and now before he could bring in his men, he and the rescue, their Vanguard was routed, and John Earl of Devonshire, with above three thousand of the Queens part were slain: The Queen her self, John Beaufort the Duke of Somerset's Brother, the Prior of Saint John's, Sir Jervis Clifton, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which except the Queen, were the next day beheaded: At which time Sir Richard Cross, presented to King Edward King Henry's Son Edward, whom he had taken prisoner, to whom King Edward at first showed an uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unreasonably, To recover my Fathers Kingdom and Heritage; King Edward with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some say) struck him with his Gantlet, and then presently George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Grey Marquess Dorset, and Will. Lord Hastings standing by, fell upon him in the place, and murdered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corpses, in the Church of the Monastery of the Black-fryers in Tewkesbury. After the victory thus obtained, King Edward repaired to the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, to give God thanks for his good success; and finding there a great number of his enemies that were fled thither to save themselves, he gave them all free pardon; only Edmund Duke of Somerset, John Longfrotter Prior of Saint John's, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Jervis Clifton, and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of Gloucester, sitting that day as Countable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk as Marshal, were all arraigned, condemned and judged to die; and accordingly upon the Tuesday being the seventh of May, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not dismembered, and permitted to be buried. The same day Queen Margaret was found in a poor house of Holborn, not far from thence, into which she was fled for safeguard of her life; but she was afterwards brought to Dohdon, and there kept a prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great sums of money. This was the last pitched battel that was fought in England, in King Edward the fourths dates, which happened on the fourth of May, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1471.

King Edward being assured, that as long as any partakers of King Henry lived and were at liberty, he should never be free from plots against his life; sent Roger Vaughan, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Countrey, to entrap Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who had escaped from the last encounter; but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by striking off Vaughans head. After these great clouds were thus dispersed, there arose a little cloud, which gave the Realm, at least the City of London, no small disquiet. For now; Thomas Bastard Fauconbridge, who had been employed by the Earl of Warwick to scowr the Seas, hearing of these defeats; having enriched himself by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand men; and coming to London, imperiously commanded admission into the City, and release of King Henry out of prison: but being denied entrance, and hearing that King Edward with a great power was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to Saint Katharines, and taking with him his most desperate men, with them he marched to Kingston-bridge, but finding that Bridge broken down, and all the places of passage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into Saint Georges field, from whence he prepared to assault the City of London; for the effecting whereof he landed all his Ship Ordinance, and planted them all along the Banks-side, with which he battered down many houses, and much annoyed the City; but the Citizens on the other side, lodged their great Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place along the water side, but were driven even from their own Ordinance: Then he appointed his men to set fire on the Bridge, & withal caused three thousand to pass over the Thames, and some of them to assault Aldgate, and some Bishopsgate, but they were in all places by the industry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by Robert Bassett and Ralph Jocelyne Aldermen: Upon this he retired to Black-heath and there encamped by the space of three daies, but then hearing that King Edward was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the rest fled, some one way, some another. The one and twentieth of May, the King coming to London, thanked the Citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Maior, the Recorder Driscwick, and Bassett and Jocelyne Aldermen, Knights.

And now the time was come for King Henry to be delivered out of all his troubles, for the bloody Duke of Gloucester entering the Tower, where he found King Henry nothing at all troubled with all his Crosses; struck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there slew him. And now we have had within the space of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King Edward an Usurper, and King Henry a lawful King; and another proclaiming King Edward a lawful King, and King Henry an Usurper: That we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty; no thing stable, but instability.

King

A King Edward presently after the interment of King Henry, draws his Forces towards Sandwich in Kent, where some of the followers of Fauconbridge, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle there, strongly fortified themselves, but upon their asking pardon, and submitting themselves to the King, with promise to be faithful subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Cattle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the Kings use. But how this Compollition was observed, may be imagined; when Fauconbridge, who was comprised in the same pardon, was afterward taken and executed at Southampton, Spicing and Quintine the Captains that assailed Aldgate and Bishopsgate, and were in Sandwich Cattle, at the surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at Canterbury; and their heads placed on poles, upon those Gates, and by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, many both in Essex and Kent were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

Fauconbridge  
ex-cuted.

And now King Edward, desiring to be secured from all suspected persons; sent the Archbishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, over to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendship he was delivered, and shortly after dyed. Likewise John Earl of Oxford, who after Burnet Field yielded himself to King Edward, had his life pardoned; but yet was sent over Sea to the Cattle of Hammes, where for the space of twelve years he was shut up in a strong Prison, and narrowly looked to; whose Lady all that time was not suffered to come unto him; nor had any thing to live upon, but what people of their charities gave her; or what she could get by Needle or other work. As for the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond, who were fled out of the Realm, to the Duke of Britain, King Edward sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection; but that for King Edward's sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care for them; and to that end, he sequestered their own servants from them, and appointed Britains to attend upon them.

King Edward  
seeks to get the  
Earls of Pem-  
brook and Rich-  
mond into his  
hands.

It was now the thirteenth year of King Edward's reign; in which a Parliament was called at Westminster: wherein all Acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated, that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

B King Edward being desir'd to be always in troubles; now that he had quietness at home, was drawn into new broyls abroad; for the Duke of Burgoyne at this time having wars with France, thought he could no way make a better harvelt to himself, then by sowing seeds of dissention between France and England: and to this end he sends Ambassadors to King Edward, to solicit him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of France; making great offers, with protettation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This Proposition being seriously debated by the Kings Privy Council, is at last approved of, as being both lawful and behoefeful; for the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdom. Only means to bear the charges of the war, were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time: A new course therefore is devised, to procure money from the Subject by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

I 473.  
King Edward  
is moved by  
the Duke of  
Burgoyne to  
make war upon  
France.

A Benevolence  
to raise money.

About this time Henry Holland Duke of Excester and Earl of Huntington disinherited by Act of Parliament, in the fourth year of this King, (though he had married King Edwards Sister) yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into Flanders; I there saw him (saith Commynes) running bare legged after the Duke of Burgundies train, begging his bread for Gods sake; whom the Duke of Burgundy at that time not knowing (though they had married two Sister) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after, he was found dead upon the shoar of Dover, and stripped all naked, but how he came to his death, could never by any inquiry be brought to light.

Henry Holland  
Duke of Exce-  
ster with an mi-  
serable life and  
death.

Provision for this French expedition being thoroughly made, and order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdom in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the Scots should be made: King Edward with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, if any by the Scots should be made: King Edward with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, eight thousand common Soldiers, and three thousand Pioners, came down to Dover; whither the Duke of Burgoyne had sent five hundred flat bottom'd Boats, to transport the Horse to Calice; yet for all that help, it was two, and twenty days before the Kings Forces were all past over. Before the Kings departure from Dover, to the end he might not seem to surprize him, he sent an Herald named Garter, a Norman by birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the French King, (so well written, saith Commynes, that he thought it not of any English-mans inditing; as though English-men could not indite as well as the French) requiring him to yield unto him the Crown of France, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword.

This Letter the French King read; and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herald to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of Burgoyne, and the Earl of Saint Paul the Constable; (by whose intigation he knew the King of England was drawn to this design) would but delude him, for that they were Dissemblers and Impostors; and therefore said, it would condice more to the honour of the King of England to continue in League with him; though an old Adversary; then to hazard the fortune of the wars, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me (saith he) to the King thy Master, and say what I have told thee; and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns,

I 474.  
King Edward  
with an Army  
passeth over  
into France.  
He sends a He-  
rald to the  
King of France  
to demand the  
Crown.

The French  
Kings answer  
to the Herald.

1474.

The Herald  
adviseeth the  
King of France  
what to do.

The Duke of  
Burgoyne and  
the Constable  
of France fail  
King Edward  
in perfor-  
mance of their  
promises.

Crowns, dismiss him: The Herald promised to do all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) shewed the French King ways, (by working upon the Lords Howard and Stanley) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would fort to a good Conclusion. The French King glad to hear it, gave the Herald, besides the other Reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withal sent to King Edward the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an As, a Wolf, and a wild Bore, Beasts at that time rare in England: And then the Herald returning to Callice, delivered to King Edward the French Kings answer.

And now to make good the French Kings allegation to the Herald; the Duke of Burgoyne, who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to Callice by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Sadiors or light-Horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord Scales is by King Edward sent to the Duke, to put him in minde of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: But the journey was too little purpose; only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was, for that having been embroiled in the siege of Ambs, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his patience, he was enforced to do, by the obstinacy of the besieged; but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily. The Constable likewise by his Letter persuades the King of England to proceed in the action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himself, to be sufficiently every way accommodated.

King Edward thus encouraged, passeth on, but in his way found no performance of promises, either on the Dukes or Constables part; for the Duke did not accommodate the Souldiers at their coming to Peronne, with Victuals or Lodging in such manner as was requisite and expected; and the Constable in stead of surrendering up St. Quintins according to agreement, made a fallie out upon such as were sent from the King of England, to take possession, and plaid upon them with his great Ordinance; whereupon King Edward began to suspect the truth of the French Kings description of the Dukes and Constables conditions; and from thence forward stood upon his own guard, and gave no further credit to their protestations; which the Duke of Burgoyne, pretending occasions for the halting forward his Forces, and promising speedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increase the King's suspicion.

The French King having intelligence of the Duke of Burgoyne's departure; fore-casting the danger, if they should unite their Forces; resolved with himself, to assay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Dukes absence; and yet so to treat, that if it took not effect, he might disclaim the knowledge of the overture: Whereupon he privately dispatcheth a messenger, in shew an Herald; but was indeed a fellow of no office or estimation, and not known to any of the Kings household, but to Villiers the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Pursuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpets Banner-rowl, addressed himself to the King of England, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the French Kings desire, which was, to have Commissioners on both parts assigned, to confer of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings; or at least to conclude a cessation from Arms for sometime: And so well this Messenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the Kings request granted; and thereupon Letters of safe conduct, are sent of both sides, for such Commissioners as to this purpose should meet at Amiens. For King Edward, came the Lord Howard, Sir Anthony Senteleger, and Doctor Morton, after made Lord Chancellor of England: For King Lewis, came the Admiral of France, the Lord Saint Piers, and Heberg Bishop of Evreux.

After long Conference, Articles of Peace were concluded on to this effect: That the French King should pay presently to the King of England, threescore and fifteen thousand Crowns, and from thence forth, annually, fifty thousand Crowns, during the life of King Edward; That within one year, the French King should send for the Lady Elizabeth the King of England's Daughter, and joyne her in marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord Howard, and Sir John Cheyny Master of the Horse, should remain in Hostage there, till the English Army had quitted France, and a general Peace for nine years; wherein the Dukes of Burgoyne and Britain, are included, if they will accept thereof: This Conclusion was the more easily compassed by the King of France his following the Heralds counsel; for he distributed sixteen thousand Crowns amongst King Edward's Counsellors and Favorites; two thousand Crowns to the Lord Hastings the Kings Chamberlain; and to the Lord Howard, Sir John Cheyny, Sir Anthony Senteleger, and Montgomery, the residue; besides great store of Plate and Jewels, distributed amongst inferior Officers of the Court. The Duke of Gloucester only opposed this accord, as not suiting with his design; nevertheless it proceeded, and notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of Burgoyne; who thereupon only with fifteen Horse, comes posting to the English Camp, whom King Edward persuadeth to enter into the Peace, according to the reservation; but he in great chafe, reproacheth King Edward for entering into it himself; saying, that his Predecessors had by many brave exploits gotten them the Country, and return as they came, adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without help of the English to subdue himself, he utterly disclaimed any benefit by that Truce, until three moneths after the English were returned to their own Countrey; and so in a great stiffe returned home.

For

For the better confirmation of what is agreed upon between the two Kings, an interview is desired; but before the same is effected, the French King sends the English Army an hundred Tonne of Gascoigne wine, to be drunk out amongst the private Souldiers, and therewithall, free license for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themselves in Amiens, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the Kings express command. The place of interview of these two Kings, is agreed on to be at Plequiny, a Town three miles distant from Amiens, seated in a bottom, through which the River of Some runneth; over which a strong Bridge was built, and in the midst thereof a grate made overthwart with bars, no wider asunder then a man might well thrust in his arm; covered with boards over head, to avoid the rain: four of the Bed-chamber on both sides, are appointed to search the rooms, to prevent traps or Instruments of treachery: and being by them certified that all was clear, the Kings advance themselves. King Edward being come in light of the place, made a stand; being told, that the circumstance of coming first to the place, was a matter of great disparagement in point of State: but the French King more regarding substance then circumstance, gave the King of England the advantage to come at his pleasure, and went first to the bar appointed for conference, and there did attend K. Edward's leisure. He had in his company, John Duke of Bourbon, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred men at Arms. King Edward had with him, his Brother the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellor, and at his back his whole Army in battell. The Kings lovingly salute each other, and complements of courtesie reciprocally pass: which finished, they, with their Noblemen there present, take all their Oaths upon the holy Evangelists; in all their power; to observe the Articles of Accord agreed on. After which, in private, the French King importunes King Edward that the Duke of Britain might be left out of these Articles; but after much urging to that purpose, King Edward gave this resolute answer, that if King Lewis desired the friendship of England, he should not molest the Duke of Britain: for that he was resolved, at any time to come in person to relieve him, if he were disturbed: King Edward pretended the many kindness he had formerly received of the Duke of Britain; but it was conceived, that the desire of compassing the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, now in the Duke of Britains Countrey, were the greatest motives of his standing so firmly for him. After more serious discourse, King Lewis told King Edward, that he would one day invite him to Paris, there to court his French Ladies, with whom, if he committed any sin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal, Bourbon should be his Confessor; who (he might be sure) would assign him an easie penance; as one that loved to kiss fair Ladies himself: but when King Edward seemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other discourse, for that (as he told Commence) too many English Princes had been there before.

The money to be paid to King Edward by the Articles, is accordingly paid; and thereupon the French Hostages are delivered, and the English Army retires to Callice, and from thence is transported into England: and then the English Hostages are likewise delivered. This Peace was said to be made only by the Holy Ghost; because on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and sat upon the King of England's Tent: though the Dukes of Gloucester and Burgoyne thought it was made by no good spirit.

King Edward being returned into England, had his mind running still upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of Richmond: he therefore dispatched D. Stillington and two other his Ambassadors to the Duke of Britain, to send him over to him, under this subtle pretence, that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady Cicelle his younger Daughter; and withal, sent also no small store of Angels to speak for him: which so prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of Richmond to the Ambassadors, who conducted him thence to Saint Malo, where whilst they stayed for a wind, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of Peter Landois the Dukes Treasurer (more out of scorn that he was not gratified by the English Ambassadors, to the proportion of his place, then for any love to the Earl) escapes into the Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promises could get him out: Nevertheless upon Peter Landois's promise he should be safely kept there, the Ambassadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King Edward with the Duke of Britains courtesie in delivering him, and their own negligence in suffering him to escape, only making amends with the promise of Peter Landois; which might be to King Edward some contentment, but was no satisfaction.

At Christmas following, being the sixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldest Son Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester: his second Son he made Duke of York; giving the order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of Lincoln, and many others. He created also four and twenty Knights of the Bath, whereof Brian Chief Justice, and Littleton a Judge of the Common Pleas were two.

About this time, there were two examples of severity seen; not unworthy the relating, if but only to make us see how dangerous a thing it is Under tum sanctis, to speak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The first was of one Walter Walker, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Sign of the Crown in Chappside: This man one day when his child cried, bid him be quiet; and he would make him Heir of the Crown: which words being subject to interpretation, he was called in question about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of Thomas Burdet of Arrow in Warwickshire Esquire: It happened that King Edward hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereof Mr. Burdet made special account: so as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wished it horns and all in his belly

an interview  
between the  
two Kings is  
agreed upon.

The place and  
manner of  
their en-  
view.

1475.

King Edward  
sends to the  
Duke of Bri-  
tain to deliver  
the Earl of  
Richmond to  
him.  
The Earl is  
delivered, but  
makes escape;  
and how.

1476.

King Edward's  
Son Edward  
created Prince  
of Wales, &c.  
Two great ex-  
amples of seve-  
rity: one upon  
Walter Walkers

The other up-  
on Mr. Burdet.

1477.

The Duke of Gloucester plots to take away his elder Brother the Duke of Clarence.

belly that had counselled the King to kill it; and because none counselled the King to kill it but himself; it was thought those words were not spoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King; and thereupon Burden was arraigned and condemned, drawn to Tiburn, and there beheaded: though *Markham* then Chief Justice, chose rather to lose his place, then assent to the Judgment.

And now began ambition to boyl in *Richard Duke of Gloucester*; whereof the first heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of Clarence, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he seeks to raise jealousies in King *Edward's* head against him, telling him, that some of *Clarence's* followers, were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth speeches; that one whose name begun with *G.* should disinheric his Children and get the Crown: and for a colour of this suggestion, one of the Duke of *Clarence's* servants, who came with him out of Ireland from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born; is in his Masters absence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of *Gloucester*, indicted, arraigned, condemned and executed at *Tiburn* for a Conjuror, and all within the space of two daies; and the Duke of *Gloucester*, to make shew that he had no hand in this fellow's death, seque the Duke of *Clarence* to complain of it to King *Edward*; and in the meantime finds matter, at least colour of matter, to make him be committed to the Tower; and then again to make shew he had no hand in his imprisonment, bids him be of good cheere, for it should not be long ere he would see him released: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, was drowned in a Butt of Malmesey, (and this was his releasement) and then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he died of discontent; whose death King *Edward* though perhaps consenting to it, so much resented, that afterwards, when he was sued to for any man's Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words: Oh unfortunate Brother! for whose life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Wewkesbury in Gloucestershire*; by the body of his Dutcheffe, who great with child, died of Poyson a little before.

1478.

He procures him to be drowned in a Butt of Malmesey.

1482.

A match treated on between the K. of Scots eldest Son and a Daughter of K. Edward.

But dallied by the King of Scots.

Whereupon K. Edward enters Scotland with an Army.

And brings the Scots to submission.

Cause of K. Edward's discontentments.

1483.

He falls sick and dies.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Edward's* Reign, when *James King of Scotland* sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest Son *James Duke of Rothsay*, and *Clary King Edward's* second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the Scots, with this Proville, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edinburgh* should be bound to repay it again. But the *Scottish* King who had other phantasies in his head, and would take counsel of none but his own will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of *France*; not only dallied the proceeding in the match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it; in so much that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was enforced to abandon the Countrey, and to flee for refuge into *England*: by whom King *Edward* being informed of King *James's* his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of *Gloucester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against *Scotland*; who in their way, took in *Barnwick*, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl *Bothwell*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whiles he with the rest of the Army, marcheth toward *Edinburgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, King *James* had immured himself. But the Nobility of *Scotland*, seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a peace, at least a cessation from war; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all damages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of *Albany* should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his Brother King *James* and him: That the Castle of *Barnwick*, (which had been now out of the possession of the *English*, one and twenty years) should immediately be surrendered into the Generals hands; and from thence no reduction of that, or the Town attempted: That all such sums of money as upon proposition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

When this business with *Scotland* was indifferently accommodated; King *Edward* receives intelligence from his Ambassador *Leiger in France*, that the *French* King not only denied the payment of the annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian* Son of the Emperour; which so much incensed King *Edward*, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Council, open war was presently proclaimed against *France*: But whilest King *Edward* is making preparation, and intente to the business, he is attacked by the hand of death; and upon the ninth of *April*, in the year 1483. at *Westminster* ended his mortal life.

### Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, he sent his privy Seal through *England*, to move men to give him a certain sum of money towards resisting the Scots, which was granted and given liberally. In his seventh year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were refused all manner of gifts, which the King had given from the first day he took possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament, were granted two Fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the year following, towards war to be undertaken

A in *France*, a new way of raising of money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great sums of money were gotten of the Subject: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King *Edward* amongst others having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kist her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty pound more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death, he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distastful course for raising of money; which was, by fining men for delinquencies against Penal Statutes, by which course some money was gathered, but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also died with him.

A merry passage between King *Edward* and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penal Statutes.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his fourth year, he newly devised the Coyn both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver, Groats, and half Groats: the new Groat weighing scanty three pence; and the Noble of six shillings eight pence, appointed to go for eight shillings four pence. In his fifth year it was proclaimed in *England*, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shooes and Boots should not pass two inches, upon pain of Curling by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings, to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of *London*, and the third to the Chamber of *London*; and for other Countreys and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382. the Pykes of Shooes and Bobts were of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver and gilt, or at least with filken laces.

New Coyn ordained.

The length of Beaks and Pykes of Shooes limited.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN this Kings time, the Jubile which was before but every fiftieth year, was by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, brought to be every five and twentieth year. Also, where before this time, the *Scottish* Bishops had no Metropolitane, but the Bishop of *York* was Metropolitane and Primate of *Scotland*; now in this Kings time, Pope *Sixtus* appointed the Bishop of *Saint Andrews* to be Metropolitane of *Scotland*, who had twelve Bishops under his obedience.

The year of Jubile brought from fifty, to five and twenty.

### Works of Piety done in his time.

THIS King laid the foundation of the new Chappel at *Windsor*, and his Queen *Elizabeth* founded the Queens College in *Cambridge*, and endowed it with large Possessions. About his fiftieth year, Doctor *Woodlark* Provost of Kings College in *Cambridge*, founded *Katharine-hall* there. In his seventeenth year, the Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Bishopsgate*, was builded at the Charges of the Citizens; also *Bishopsgate* it self was new built by the Merchants *Almans* of the Steelyard. Also in this year dyed Sir *John Crosby* Knight, late Maior of *London*; who gave to the repairing of the Parish Church of *St. Helens* in *Bishopsgatestreet* where he was buried, 500 Marks: to the repairing of the Parish Church of *Henworth* in *Middlesex*, forty pounds: to the repairing of *London Wall*, an hundred pounds: to the repairing of *Ruebester Bridge*, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the *Grocers* in *London*, two large Pots of silver chased half gilt, and other Legacies. About this time also, *Richard Rawson* one of the Sheriffs of *London*, caused an house to be builded in the Church-yard of *St. Mary Hospital* without *Bishopsgate*; where the Maior and Aldermen use to sit and hear the Sermons in *Easter Holy-daies*. In his nineteenth year, *William Tailour* Maior of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every Fifteen granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in *Cordwainers-street*, seised at twelve pence apiece, or under. And about the same time, one *Thomas Ilam* Sheriff of *London*, builded at his costs, the great Conduit in *Cheapside*. In his three and twentieth year, *Edward Shaw* Goldsmith, who had been Maior of *London*, at his own costs re-edified *Cripplegate* in *London*, which Gate in old time had been a Prison.

Queens College in Cambridge founded.

Katharine-hall in Cambridge founded.

The great Conduit in Cheapside builded. Cripplegate re-edified.

### Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, the Minster of *York*, and the Steeple of *Christs Church* in *Normich* were burnt. In his seventeenth year, so great a Pestilence reigned in *England*, that it swept away more people in four moneths, then the Wars had done in fifteen years past: Also in his nineteenth year was another Pestilence; which beginning in the latter end of *September*, continued till the beginning of *November* twelve-moneths following; in which space of time innumerable people died.

Two great Plagues.

## Of his Wife and Issue.

King Edward had been contracted to Eleanor Daughtor to John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, married after to Sir Thomas Butler Baron of Sudley: but he married Elizabeth the Widow of Sir John Grey, daughter of Richard Woodville by his Wife Jaqueline Dutcheff of Bedford: she lived his Wife eighteen years and eleven moneths; by whom he had three Sons and seven Daughters. Edward his eldest Son, born in the Sanctuary at Westminster: Richard his second Son, born at Shrewsbury: George his third Son, born also a Shrewsbury, but died a child. Elizabeth his eldest Daughter, promised in marriage to Charles Dauphin of France: but married afterward to King Henry the seventh: Cicely his second Daughter promised in marriage to James Duke of Rothsay, Prince of Scotland; but was married afterward to John Viscount Wells, whom she outlived, and was again remarried, but by neither Husband had any Issue: she lieth buried at Quarrenden in the Isle of Wight. Anne his third Daughter was married to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and High Treasurer of Edward; by whom she had two Sons, both dying without Issue: she lieth buried at Framingham in Norfolk. Bridget his fourth Daughter, born at Eltham in Kent, became a Nun in the Nunnery of Dartford in Kent, which King Edward had founded. Mary his fifth Daughter, was promised in marriage to the King of Denmark, but died in the Tower of Greenwich, before it could be solemnized: she lieth buried at Windsor. Margaret his sixth Daughter, died an Infant: Katherine his seventh Daughter, was married to William Courtney Earl of Devonshire; to whom she bare Lord Henry, who by King Henry the eight was created Marquess of Exeter.

King Edward's  
three special  
Concubines.

Shore's Wife.

The late Lord  
Lumley, from  
whom de-  
scended.

Concubines he had many, but three specially; and would use to say, that he had three Concubines, who in their several properties excelled: One, the merriest; another, the wyldest; the third, the holiest Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unless it were to his bed: The other two were greater personages then are fit to be named: but the merriest was Shore's Wife; in whom therefore he took special pleasure: This woman was born in London, worshipfully defended, and well married: but when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest man, and did know his good, not presuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

By these he had natural Issue; Arthur surnamed Plantagenet (whose mother, as is supposed, was the Lady Elizabeth Lucy) created Viscount Lisle, by King Henry the eight, at Bridewell in London: and Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Thomas Lumley Knight; to whom she bare Richard, afterward Lord Lumley, from whom the late Lord Lumley did descend.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was (saith Comines) the goodliest personage that ever mine eyes beheld; exceeding tall of stature, fair of complexion, and of most Princely presence: and we may truly say, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen years old when his Father died, he sued out his Livery presently; so as he began the race of his fortune just like Augustus Caesar, each of them at the same age succeeding an Ancestour after a violent death; and each of them left to set on a roof, where but only a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erected composure both of body and minde; but something fagging on the Fleashes side; and never any man that did marry for love, did so little love marriage; for he took as much pleasure in other mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, then when he was in danger, nor ever more doubtful then when he was secure. Of the four Cardinal virtues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally; Temperance and Justice, but to serve his turn. He was politick even to irreligion; for to compass his ends he would not stick to swear what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battails, he used to make his Prayers to God: after Victories, to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and could use familiarity, and yet retain Majesty. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by Force, he would by rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in error, sometimes to the hurt of himself, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as Henry the fourth made the Red, if he had not made it change colour with too much blud. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother: but he was well enough served, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent art in improving his favours; for he could do as much with a small courtesie, as other men with a great benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of disadvantages; for he got the love of the Londoners by owing them money; and the good will of the Citizens by lying with their Wives.

## Of his Death and Burial.

Whether it began from his minde, being extremely troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of France; or from his body by intemperance of diet, to which he was much given; he fell into a sickness, (some say a Catarrhe, some a Fever) but into a sickness whereof he died. In the time of which sickness; and at the very point of his death, Sir Thomas More makes him to make a speech to his Lords; which I might think to be the speech of a sick man, if it were not so found; and of a weak man, if it were not so long: But it seems Sir Thomas More delivers rather what was fit for him to say, than what he said, the Contents being only, to exhort his Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in love and concord amongst themselves; for that the welfare of his Children, whom he must now leave to their care, could not otherwise be preferred but by their agreement. And having spoken to this purpose as much as his weakness would suffer him, he found himself sleepy; and turning on one side, he fell into his long sleep, the ninth of April, in the year 1483. when he had lived one and forty years, reigned two and twenty and one moneth, and was buried at Windsor, in the new Chappel, whose foundation himself had laid.

His speech to  
his Lords at  
his death.

## Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of valour in his time were many, but himself the chiefest; the rest may be observed in reading his story. For men of Letters, we may have leave at this time to speak of some strangers, having been men of extraordinary fame; as Johannes de Monte Regio, Purbachius and Bianchini, all great Astronomers; Ludovicus Pontanus, Paulus Castrensis, and Antonius Russellanus, all great Lawyers; Servissanus, Savanarola, and Barzizius, all great Physicians; Bassarion and Cassanus, both great Cardinals; Argypole, Philiphus, Datus, Leonardus, Arctinus, and Peggius, all great men in humane Literature. And of our Countrey-men; John Harding an Esquire, born in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in English Verse, and among other special points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the Scottish Kings, even from the dayes of King Athelstan: whereby it may evidently appear, how the Scottish Kingdom, even in manner, from the first establishing thereof here in Britain, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of England, and holden of them as their chief and superior Lords. Julian Beme, a Gentleman of excellent gifts, who wrote certain Treatises of Hawking and Hunting; also a book of the Laws of Arms, and knowledg appertaining to Heralds. John Fortescue a Judge, and Chanceller of England, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government: Rochus, a Charter-house Monk, born in London, who wrote divers Epigrams. Walter Hunt a Carmelite Fryer, who for his excellent learning, was sent from the whole body of the Realm, to the General Councell holden first at Ferrara, and after at Florence, by Pope Eugenius the fourth; where he amongst others disputed with the Greeke, in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the Latine Church. William Caxton, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fruitus Temporum*, and an Appendix unto *Trevisa*, besides divers other Books and Translations. John Milverton, a Carmelite Fryer of Brisford, and Provincial of his Order, who because he defended such of his Order as preached against endowments of the Church with Temporal possessions, was committed to prison in the Castle of Saint Angelo in Rome, where he continued three years. David Morgan a Welchman, who wrote of the Antiquities of Wales, and a description of the Countrey. John Tiptoft, a Nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatises, but lost his head in the year 1471. Robert Huggon born in Norfolk, who wrote certain vain Prophecies. Thomas Norton born in Brisford, an Alchymist. Scogan a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a time in Oxford; who for his pleasant wit and merry conceits, was called to Court. But most worthy of all to be remembered, Thomas Littleton a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great part of the Law into Method, which lay before confusedly dispersed; and his Book called *Littleton's Tenures*.

William Caxton  
who wrote a  
Chronicle.

Scogan at this  
time lived.

Thomas Little-  
ton, who wrote  
the Tenures, at  
this time lived.

## Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his First year,  
Sir Hugh Wich was Maior.  
George Ireland, John Lock, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,  
Sir Thomas Cook was Maior.  
William Hampton, Bartholomew James, Sheriffs.

In his Third year,  
Sir Matthew Philip was Maior.  
Robert Bassett, Thomas Munschampt, Sheriffs.

In his Fourth year,  
Sir Ralph Joceline was Maior.  
John Tate, John Stone, Sheriffs.

In his Fifth year,  
Sir Ralph Joyney was Maior.  
Henry Weaver, William Constantine, Sheriffs.

In his Sixth year,  
Sir John Young was Maior.  
John Brown, Henry Brice, John Darby, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir Thomas Oldgrave was Maior.  
Thomas Stallbrook, Humphrey Heyford, Sheriffs.

In his Eighth year,  
Sir William Taylor was Maior.  
Simon Smith, William Herriot, Sheriffs.

In his Ninth year,  
Sir Richard a Lee was Maior.  
Richard Gardner, Robert Drope, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,  
Sir John Stockton was Maior.  
John Crosby, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,  
Sir William Edwards was Maior.  
John Allen, John Shekey, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,  
Sir William Hampton was Maior.  
John Brown, Thomas Bledlow, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,  
Sir John Tate was Maior.  
Sir William Stocker, Robert Beludon, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,  
Sir Robert Drope was Maior.  
Edmund Shaa, Thomas Hill, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,  
Sir Robert Baffer was Maior.  
Hugh Brice, Robert Colwich, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,  
Sir Ralph Joceline was Maior.  
Richard Ranson, William Horn, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,  
Sir Humphrey Heyford was Maior.  
Henry Colles, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his Eighteenth year,  
Sir Richard Gardner was Maior.  
Robert Harding, Robert Bifield, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth year,  
Sir Bartholomew James was Maior.  
Thomas Ilam, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,  
Sir John Brown was Maior.  
Thomas Daniel, William Bacon, Sheriffs.

In his one and Twentieth year,  
Sir William Herriot was Maior.  
Robert Tate, Rich. Charey, VVill, VViking, Sheriffs.

In his two and Twentieth year,  
Sir Edmund Shaa was Maior.  
VVilliam VVhite, John Matthe w, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE FIFTH.



King Edward the fourth being dead, his eldest Son Edward, scarce yet eleven years old, succeeded in the Kingdom, but not in the Crown; for he was Proclaimed King, but never Crowned: And indeed it may not so properly be called the Reign of Edward the Fifth, as the Tyranny of Richard the Third; for from the time of King Edward's death, though not in name, yet in effect, he not only ruled as King, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince Edward when his Father died, was at Ludlow in VVales, where he had lived some time before, the better by his preference to keep the Welsh in awe; he had about him of his Mothers kindred many; but Sir Anthony VVoodville, the Earl Rivers, his Uncle, was appointed his chief Counsellor and Director. The Duke of Gloucester was at this time in the North, but had word presently sent him, from the Lord Hastings Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King Edward's death; who acquainted him withall, that by his Will, he had committed the young King, his Queen and other children, to his care and government; and thereupon putting him in minde, how necessary it was for him speedily to repair to London: But the Duke of Gloucester needed no spur to set him forward, who was already in a full careere; for he had long before projected in his mind, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the way was made him. For as it is said, the very night in which King Edward died, one Miffelbrook, long ere morning, came in great haite to the house of one Potter dwelling in Redcross-street without Cripple-gate; where he shewed unto Potter that King Edward was departed; to whom Potter answered, By my troth man, then will my Maister the Duke of Gloucester be King; What cause he had so to think, is hard to say; but surely it is not likely he spake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to London with a strong guard, partly to make a first expression of his greatness, and partly to oppose any disorders that might be offered. But the Duke of Gloucester finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at least, not fit for his designs, he presently falls to undermining; writes most loving Letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithfull service to the King and her; but withall perswading her, that this great guard about the King, might be presently dismissed; which did but minister matter of suspicion, and would be apt to breed new jealousies, in them who were now thoroughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature easie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon sends in all haite, to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord Rivers; requiring them by all means, for some causes to her known, to dismiss their guard, (not mentioning by whose advise she writ them; which if she had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters, they presently did; and came forward with only a sober company. And now is Gloucesters first work done; but he knowing that the work yet behinde was too great to be done by himself alone, gets the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Hastings, two of the greatest men of power at that time in the Kingdom, to joyn with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens kindred should be so wholly about the King; and others of better blood and desert, to be estranged from

1483.

King Edward  
Proclaimed  
King, but never  
Crowned.

The Duke of  
Gloucester hearing  
of his brothers death,  
posts out of  
the North to  
London.

He perswades  
the Queen, that  
her Son may  
dismiss his  
guard.

And thereupon  
seizeth upon  
the Kings Un-  
kle and other  
friends.

from him, and therefore by all means fit, to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of Buckingham is easily wrought, upon a promise to have the Earldom of Hartford conferred upon him: and the Lord Hastings not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many whom in King Edwards dayes he had justly offended. And now another great work was done; it remains in the next place to put in it execution, which was presently thus effected: The young King had been at Northampton, and from thence was gone to Stony-stratford, whither the two Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went back to Northampton, and alighting at the same Inn where the Earl Rivers had taken up his lodging for that night, intending the next morning early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidental meeting, great shews of courtesie passed between them; and Supper ended; the Dukes pretending weariness, retire to their lodgings, the Earl to his; but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into consultation with their private friends, in which they spent a great part of the night, and then secretly get the Keyes of the Inne Gates, suffering none to pass either in or out; whereof the Earl having notice by his Host, though he suspected the worst, yet setting a good countenance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of Gloucesters Chamber, where he found the Duke of Buckingham and the rest closely set in counsel; with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inne against his will: But they instead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took Horfe, and came to Stony-stratford, at such time as the King was taking horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings presence, a quarrel is pickt against the Lord Richard Gray, the Kings half-Brother: The Duke of Buckingham making relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with the Earl Rivers the Queens Brother, had endeavoured and almost effected to draw to themselves the whole managing the affairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance between the Peers of the Realm: and particularly, that the Lord Marquess without any Warrant, had taken out of the Tower of London both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantity; but to what purpose though they were ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at Northampton, to have him forth coming to make his answer for these and many other his over-bold actions: The King unable to found the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquess hath done, I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer, that they are ignorant of any unlawfull practises either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of Buckingham) that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And thereupon instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord Richard, Sir Thomas Vaughan, Sir Richard Hall, and brought the King and all his company back to Northampton, putting away all his old Servants, and placing in their rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power to command. At which dealing, the young King wept, but it booteth nothing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of Gloucester at dinner sent a Dish from his own Table to the Lord Rivers, bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly should be well: but the Lord Rivers thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord Richard, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his dayes been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the Duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lord Rivers, and the Lord Richard, with Sir Thomas Vaughan into the North Countrey, into divers places to prison, and afterward to Pomfret, where in conclusion they were all beheaded.

The Earl Rivers  
and other  
Lords beheaded  
at Pomfret.

The Duke of  
Gloucester gives  
out colours for  
these Lords  
imprisonment.

And now the Duke of Gloucester having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards toward London, giving out by the way, that the Marquess and the Queens kindred had plotted the destruction of the King, and of all the ancient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Government of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their tryall according to Law: And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehension of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour, (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chefts, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the payment of Souldiers; with which they so possessed the Common-people, that all was believed for truth which was thus rumored: But the finest device of all was, to have five of the Duke of Gloucesters instruments manacled and pinioned like Traitors; and these in every place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be men of great birth, drawn into this vile plot of Treason by the Queens Brother; who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confess their own guilt: And this device continued acting till the King came to London, where their Vizards were pulled off, and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen  
with her young  
son and daugh-  
ters takes San-  
ctuary.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these dolefull accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at Westminster; and the young King hearing of these things, with tears and sighs expressed his grief; but the Dukes making Protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed only to marvel why he should be melancholy.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain, to the Archbishop of York Lord Chancellor of England, to signifie to him, that there was no fear of any thing, for that he assured

A assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him, it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the messengers departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before day, to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed; whom he comforted the best he could, assuring her, that if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her; and therewithall delivering to her the great Seal, departed: but soon after, bechinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him; yet shortly after reproved for delivering it by the Councel Table, he had it taken from him; which was then delivered to Doctor Ruffel Bishop of Lincoln, the most learned man of that time.

The L. Chan-  
cellour delivers  
the great Seal  
to the Queen,  
and after fetch-  
ed it from her  
again.

B And now the Duke of Gloucester for respectively carries himself towards the King, with so much shew of care and faithfulness, that by a general consent of the Councel, he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means, he hath the King in his custody: It remains now how to get his Brother the Duke of York, for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he makes the effect to become a cause: for whereas by his undue dealings he had made the King melancholy, he now makes that Melancholy a cause to require his Brothers company to make him merry; and therefore wishes some course may be taken, either by perswasion or otherwise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of York to keep his Brother the King company: Here the Archbishop of York the Lord Cardinal, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, riseth up and saith, he would do his best endeavour to persuade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God, if the priviledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years inviolably been kept, which both Kings and Popes for good, had granted, so many had confirmed; and which holy ground was more then five hundred years ago, by Saint Peter in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels by night, so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof whereof, there is yet in the Abby Saint Peters Cope to shew: that from that time thitherward, there never was so undevout a King, that durst violate that sacred place, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that

The Duke of  
Gloucester is ap-  
pointed Pro-  
tector of the  
King and  
Kingdom.

The Archbis-  
hop of York  
is sent to per-  
suade the Q-  
ueen to send her  
young Son to  
keep his bro-  
ther company.

D any man, for any earthly thing, should enterprize to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary; and I trust with Gods grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the Mothers dread and womanish fear be not the ler. Womanish fear, nay womanish frowardness, (quoth the Duke of Buckingham) for I dare take it upon my Soul, the well knoweth there is no need of any fear, either for her Son, or for her self: and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at large, that as there was no just cause for the Queen to keep her Son, so there was great cause for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this case there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary men, but never heard of Sanctuary children. And to this purpose having spoken much, it was all assented to by the Lords that were present, and with this Instruction, is the Archbishop (upon whom the

The Duke of  
Buckingham  
vitiates the  
priviledge of  
Sanctuary.

E Queen specially relied) sent unto her; who after humble salutations, acquaints her with his message, earnestly perswading her not to oppose the Lord Protector's request, and giving her many reasons, first that she ought not, and then that she could not keep him in Sanctuary: she answered all his reasons, though with great mildness, yet with great earnestness; so as the Archbishop finding little hope to prevail with her by perswasion, turns the tenor of his speech another way; telling her plainly, that if she did not consent to send her Son, he doubted some sharper course would speedily be taken. This warning sank so deep into the Queens mind, that after a little pausing, taking her Son by the hand, she said, My Lord Archbishop, here he is, for my own part I will never deliver him; but if you will needs have him, take him; and at your hands I will require him: and therewith weeping bitterly, Dear childe (saith she) let me kiss thee before we part, God knows whether ever we shall meet again; and so the child weeping as fast as she, went along with the Archbishop to the Star-chamber, where the Lord Protector and other Lords had stayed all the while looking for his coming back: and as soon as he was entred the room, the Protector spying the child, riseth up and embraceth him, saying, Dear nephew, now welcome with all my heart: next to my Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me so much contentment as your Presence: and we may believe him, he spake as he thought; for now he had the prey which he so much desired. A few daies after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more security, until the distempers of the Common-wealth might better be quieted; he caused them in great pomp and state, to be conveyed through London, to the Tower, there at pleasure to remain, till the time of Coronation; whereof

The Archbis-  
hops reasons  
prevail with  
the Queen to  
deliver her  
Son, but with  
great heaviness.

The Protector's  
shew of kind-  
ness to the  
young Prince.

The two Prin-  
ces are with  
great shew of  
honour con-  
veyed to the  
Tower.

G there was great shew of preparation made.

But now the great work is to be done; the Princes are to be made away: and how to have it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*: there must be potent Instruments; and none so potent as the Duke of Buckingham; and he, by a match to be concluded betwixt their children, and an equal partition of the Treasure of the Realm betwixt them two; not only is drawn to consent, but is most forward to contrive and plot stratagems to effect it. The first rub in the way was the Lord Hastings, who being found so firm to his old Master King Edwards Sons; that nothing could remove him, it was fit to remove him out of the way; which was done in this

The L. Hastings  
firm to the  
Princes, and  
therefore is  
first made  
away, and in  
what manner,

manner: All the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Protector's name, are convoked to the Tower; where sitting preparations for the Coronation of the young King, are proposed, until the Protector came in; who taking his chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jetting with some, and more then ordinarily pleasant with them all: when after a little talk, he said to the Bishop of Ely; My Lord, I hear you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in Holborn; I pray let us have a mess of them. Most gladly (said the Bishop) and presently sent for some: and then the Protector rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his absence a little; and so departed: Within the space of an hour he returned; but so changed in countenance, and with such inward perturbations, which with sighings and other passionate gestures he expressed so, that it made them all to marvel. After long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates, What they deserved that nefariously had practised his destruction? This unexpected interrogation struck such amazement amongst the Lords, that they all sat gazing on one another, and were, as it were, stricken dumb: At length the Lord Hastings, by Buckingham's instigation, as one presuming of his intimacy with the Protector, boldly answered, that they deserved the punishment of Traytors; which all the rest by their silence approved: Whereat the Protector rifest up, and with a stern look upon the Lord Hastings, replied: Why it is the old Sorceress my Brothers Widow, and her partner that common Strumpet Joan Shore, that have by incantation conspired to bereave me of my life: and though by Gods grace I have escaped the end of their malice, yet see the mischief they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left arm to the elbow, and shewed it) how they have caused this dear limb of mine to wither, and grow useless; and so should all my body have been ferved, if they might have had their will a little longer. Those to whom the Queens religious counsels were not unknown, and who knew his withered arm to have been such from his birth, sat gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or say; until the Lord Hastings, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour Mistress Shore, (whom ever since the death of King Edward, he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her) with a sober look submissively said, *If the Queen have conspired---*: which word was no sooner out of the Lord Hastings' mouth, then the Protector clapping his hand upon the board, and frowningly looking upon him, said: Tellest thou me of If and And? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy self art partaker of the villany. Who I my Lord, quoth he? Yeathou Traytor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a watch-word given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer Chamber, cried, Treason, Treason! when presently a great number of men in arms came rushing in as it were to guard the Protector, one of which with a Pollax strook a main blow at the Lord Stanley and wounded him on the head; and had slain him outright, if he had not avoided the stroke by slipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord Hastings of high Treason; and wisht him to make haste to be Confessed, for he swore by S. Paul (his usual Oath) that he would not touch bread nor drink till his head were off. It booted not to ask, why; for he knew the Protector's actions were not to be examined. So he was led forth unto the Green before the Chapel within the Tower, where his head was laid down upon a long log of Timber, and there stricken off. His body afterward with his head were interred at *Windfor*, besides the body of King Edward. In this mans death we may see how inevitable the blowes of Destiny are; for the very night before his death, the Lord Stanley sent a secret Messenger to him at midnight, in all haste to acquaint him with a Dream he had, in which he thought that a Boar with his tusks so goared them both by the heads, that the blood ran about their shoulders: and forasmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cognifance, this Dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly resolved to stay no longer: and had made his Horse ready, requiring the Lord Hastings to go with him, and that presently, to be out of danger, before it should be day. But the Lord Hastings answered the messenger: Good Lord! I can tell you Master so much to such trifles, to put such faith in Dreams, which either his own fear fantasie, or else do rise in the nights rest, by reason of the daies thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Master, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no fear; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one *Catesby* well learned in the Lawes of the Land; who by his favour was grown into good authority in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord Hastings estate lay. Of this man he made himself so sure, that he thought nothing could be plotted against him, which he would not presently reveal unto him. But this man deceived him; and was grown so inward with the Protector, that being set by the Protector to draw him to be a party in his designs, and finding he could not do it, was himself the first mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord Hastings had: the same morning in which he was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to falling; which though it often happen to such to whom no mischance is toward, yet hath it of old been observed as a token foregoing some great misfortune. Also at the *Tower-wharf*, near to the place where his head soon after was stricken off, he met with one Hastings a Pursuivant of his own name; to whom he said, Ah, Hastings, dost thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart! Yeamy Lord, saith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that time is past. In faith, man, said the Lord Hastings, I never stood in so great dread of life, as I did when thou and I met here: and low how the world is changed! now stand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayst hap to hear hereafter; for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord

The L. Hastings is beheaded.

His neglect of Prefages and Warnings.

A Rivers, and other of the Queens kindred, who that very day were beheaded at *Pomfret*) and I never so merry, nor in so good surety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater Omen or sign of ill fortune, then to presume of good. And indeed, such is the uncertainty of our estate in this life, that we seldom know when we are in a tempest at Sea, nor when we are in a Calm on shore; thinking our selves oftentimes most safe, when we are most in danger; and oftentimes to be in danger, when we are most safe: He only is in the true Haven that can say as Christ teacheth us, *Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven*.

But this Lord being thus put to death; the Lord Protector, to colour the matter, immediately after dinner, in all haste, sent for many substantial Citizens; at whose coming, himself with the Duke of Buckingham stood harnessed in old rusty Brigandines, to make a show they were forced by the sudden danger to take such as they could first come by: and withall, a Herald of Arms is sent with a Proclamation in the Kings name, signifying that the Lord Hastings, with some others, had conspired the same day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, as they sat in Council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own pleasures. Now was this Proclamation made within two hours after the Lord Hastings was beheaded; and was so curiously indited, and so fair written in Paragraphs, and withal so long, that every child might perceive it was prepared before: which made one that was School-master of *Pauls*, standing by when the Proclamation was read, to say, *Here is a gay goodly Cast; foul cast away for hast!* To whom a Merchant answered, *It was written by Prophecy*. And now by and by, as it were in revenge of her offence, the Protector sent the Sheriffs of London into the house of Shore's Wife, and spoiled her of all her goods, above the value of three thousand Marks; and then conveying her, through London to the Tower, there left her prisoner: where he laid to her charge, that she went about to bewitch him, and was of counsel with the Lord Hastings to destroy him. In conclusion she was laid into *Ludgate*, and by the Bishop of London put to open Penance for incontinency; going before the Crosse in Procession, upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: in which, although she were out of all array, save her Kirtle only; yet went she so fair and lovely, and withal so womanly and demurely, that many who hated her course of life, yet pityed her course of usage, and were not a little grieved to see her misery. And indeed, this may be said in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King Edward, yet she never used it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many; and was ever a Mediator, an Oppressor never.

Now it was so contrived by the Protector, that the very day in which the Lord Hastings was beheaded at London, and about the very same hour, there were beheaded at *Pomfret*, the Lord Rivers, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-stratford*; which was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir Richard Ratcliffe Knight, whose service the Protector specially used in that business; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not suffering them to declare their innocence, lest their words might have inclined men to hate the Protector, caused them hastily without Judgement or Order of Process to be beheaded.

When these were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protector, that now was the time to put himself in possession of the Crown, but all the study was, by what means this matter being so hainous in it self, might be broken to the people, in such wise as that it might be well taken: for which purpose, it was thought fit to call to this Counsel Edmund Shaw Knight, then Maier of London; who upon promise of advancement, should frame the peoples inclination to it. And because Spiritual men are best hearkned to, for matters of Conscience, some of them were used also; amongst whom, choice was made of John Shaw Clerk, Brother to the Maier; Fryer Penker, Provincial of the Order of the *Augustine* Fryers: both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning. These two were appointed to preach, the one at *Pauls* Crosse, the other at the *Spittle*, in praise of the Protector: Penker in his Sermon so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst: Shaw by his Sermon lost his reputation, and soon after his life, for he never after durst come abroad, for very shame of the world.

But now was all the labour and study, to find out some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to have the Prince deposed, and the Protector be received for King; to which purpose many things were devised: the chief was to alledge Bastardy either in King Edward himself, or in his children, or in both. To lay Bastardy to King Edward, sounded openly to the reproach of the Protector's own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point should more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Bastardy of his children, he would have enforced to the uttermost: The ground whereof was, that King Edward had been formerly contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, by whom he had a Child; though the said Lady, having been examined about it, confessed plainly, they were never assured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor Shaw taking for his Text, *Bastard Plants shall take no deep root*; in his Sermon declared, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, and so his Children Bastards. And besides that, neither King Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence were reckoned very sure for the Children of the noble Duke Richard, as those that by their favours more resembled other known men; but the Lord Protector (saith he) is the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the plain expresse likeness of that noble Duke. Now, it was before devised, that just at the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come, to the end that these

How the Lord Protector colours the death of the Lord Hastings.

Shore's Wife, how punished.

Shaw Maier of London, is made an instrument for bringing the Duke of Gloucester to the Crown.

Causes devised to make the two Princes illegitimate.

words meeting with his presence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth, and so should move the people even then to cry, King Richard, King Richard! that it might be after said, he was specially chosen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: But this device failed; for whether by the Protector's slackness in coming, or the Doctors haste in preaching, he had passed those words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protector came; so as afterward seeing him come, he was fain to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all order and frame begin to repeat those words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his visage, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke. While these words were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, passed through the people into the place where the Doctors sit; and there fared to hear the Sermon: But the people were so far from crying King Richard, that they cried shame on the Preacher, for abusing his sacred function with so shameful a Sermon.

The Duke of Buckingham at Guildhall, propounding the Duke of Gloucester for the rightful Heir to the Crown.

The Tuesday following this Sermon, the Duke of Buckingham with divers Lords and Knights came to the Guildhall in London; and there before the Maior and whole assembly of Citizens, made a very solemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King Edward's Government, his many unnecessary Taxations and unjust severities; thereby to bring his Children into hatred: and then remembered them of the late Sermon made at Pauls Cross, by a learned Doctor; who clearly shewed the Bastardy of King Edward's Children, and that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only rightful and indubitate Heir to the Crown of England: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their consents. Which Oration ended, all men stood wondering at the motion, but no man offered to speak a word. At which the Duke marvelling, as supposing the Maior had prepared them before; he asked the Maior privately, what this silence meant? who answered, that perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the same matter again, in a more earnest and plain expression; yet neither did that move them to shew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Maior, It was thought that the Citizens being used to have such motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called Fitzwilliams) being an honest man, and newly come to his place; repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence. At last, the Duke seeing their resolved fullness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to choose the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this Honourable City; and therefore required them plainly to speak their minds, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certain servants of the Dukes, and other of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, cast up their Caps, and cried aloud, King Richard, King Richard; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous consent: A goodly cry (saith he :) and thanked them all for their universal approbation; promising he would acquaint the Protector with the great love they shewed toward him: and then requiring the Maior and chief Citizens to meet him the next morning at Baynards Castle, where the Protector then lay: there to joyn with him, in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely proffered subjection; he took his leave and so departed.

The Duke of Buckingham and the Maior of London make suit unto the Protector, to take the Crown upon him.

The next morning according to appointment, they all meet at Baynards Castle; where the Duke of Buckingham sends up word to the Lord Protector, that himself with the Lord Maior and his Brethren, were come to present a supplication to him, concerning a business of great importance: But the Protector (though pre-acquainted with all passages, yet) made it strange what their supplication should be; and answered, that though he suspected nothing which the Duke of Buckingham presented to him, yet he desired at least some slight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was answered, that the business they came about was to be made known to himself in Person; and therefore humbly besought him of admission in his presence: Upon this, as if not yet well assured of their well meaning towards him; he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making semblance as though he would prevent all danger, by standing something aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of Buckingham, in behalf of the Maior and Nobility there present; in most respectful and reverent manner makes request, that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: and much circumstance he used, before he would discover their cause of coming: but though long first, yet at last he told it: That in respect of the urgent necessities of the Common-wealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own Right, to whom they all tendered their Allegiance. At which words, the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most displeasing to him, passionately answered: I little thought good Cousen, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the world I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to my dear deceased Brothers sweet Children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated dissimulation; the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his

The Protector started at their motion.

A knee, said: Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy assembly, the tender of their dutiful obedience to you: but I must further add, that it is unanimously resolved on, that your late Brother King Edward's Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of England; and therefore if your Grace shall neither regard your self, nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to confer it upon some other of the House of Lancaster, that will be more sensible of his own and our good. These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's passions, that with some change of Countenance, and not without seeming reluctance, he said: Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heir of Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, my illustrious Father; We are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom, and will, to the uttermost of my power, endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all: which so pleased the giddy multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King Richard our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every man departed.

But yet accepted it.

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# THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

1483.



It was now the eighteenth day of June, in the year 1483. when Richard Duke of Gloucester took upon him the Crown: so as the imaginary Reign of Edward the fifth, continued but just ten weeks. The next day, King Richard with a great train went to Westminster Hall, and placed himself in the Court of the Kings Bench, saying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himself siteth and ministereth the Law; because he considered that it is the chiefest duty of a King to administer the Laws: And here to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency, he sent for one Fogge out of Sanctuary, who for fear of his displeasure was fled thither; and there in the sight of all the people, caused him to kiss his hand.

After his return home, he took to wife the Lady Anne, youngest Daughter of the great Warwick, and the relict of Prince Edward, Son of Henry the sixth. King Richard marries the relict of Prince Edward, Son of Henry the sixth.

Against his Coronation he had sent for five thousand men out of the North; and these being come under the leading of Robin of Riddestale, upon the fourth of July; together with his new Bride, he went from Baynards Castle to the Tower by water, where he created Edward his Son a child of ten years old, Prince of Wales; John Lord Howard Duke of Norfolk, his Son Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey; William Lord Berkeley Earl of Nottingham, Francis Lord Lovell Viscount Lovell, and his Chamberlain, and the Lord Stanley (who had been committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard his Son the Lord Strange was reported to have levied Forces in Lancashire) not only that day was released out of prison, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of York was likewise then delivered; but Morton Bishop of Eli (as one that could not be drawn to the disinheriting of King Edward's children) was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, who sent him to his Castle of Brecknock in Wales, there to be in custody. The same night were made seventeen Knights of the Bath, Edmund the Duke of Suffolk's Son, George Gray the Earl of Kent's Son, William the Lord Zanches Son, Henry Burgavenny, Christopher Willoughby, Henry Balington, Thomas Arundell, Thomas Boleyn, Gervois Clifton, William Say, Edmund Bedingfield, William Erdrby, Thomas Lewknor, Thomas of Ormond, John Brown, and William Berkeley. The next day, being the fifth of July, the King rode through the City of London to Westminster, being accompanied with the Dukes of Norfolk, Buckingham, and Suffolk; the Earls of Northumberland, Arundell, Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire, Huntington, Nottingham, Warwick, and Lincoln; the Viscounts, Lisle, and Lovell; the Lords, Stanley, Audley, Daures, Ferrers of Chartley, Poyntz, Scroope of Upsale, Scrop of Bolton, Gray of Codner, Grey of Wilton, Sturton, Cobham, Morley, Burgavenny, Zouch, Ferrers of Croby, Wills, Lumley, Matrevers, Herbert and Beckham, and fourscore Knights. On the morrow, being the sixth of July, the King, with Queen Anne his Wife, came down out of the Whitehall,

Morton Bishop of Eli committed to the Duke of Buckingham.

King Richard and his Queen in great State are Crowned, and the manner of it.

A hall, into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the Kings Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to St. Edwards Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Bishop of Rochester bore the Cross before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of Huntington, bearing a pair of gilt spurs, signifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of Bedford, bearing St. Edwards Staffe for a Relique: After him came the Earl of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlesse Sword in his hand, signifying Mercy: The Lord Stanley bare the Mace of the Contableship: The Earl of Kent bare the second Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which signified Justice to the Temporality: The Lord Lovell bore the third Sword on the Kings left hand, with a point, which signified Justice to the Clergy: The Duke of Suffolk followed with the Scepter in his hand, which signified Peace: The Earl of Lincoln bore the Ball and Cross, which signified Monarchy: The Earl of Surrey bore the fourth Sword before the King, in a rich Scabbard; which is called the Sword of Estate: Then went three together; in the midst went Garter King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Mayor of London, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Usher of the Privy Chamber: Then followed the Duke of Norfolk, bearing the Kings Crown between his hands: Then followed King Richard in his robes of Purple-velvet, and over his head a Canopy, born by four Barons of the Cinque-ports: and on each side of the King went a Bishop; on one side, the Bishop of Bath; on the other, of Durham: Then followed the Duke of Buckingham, bearing the Kings train, with a white Staffe in his hand, signifying the office of High Steward of England. Then followed the Queens train; before whom was born the Scepter, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove, (signifying innocency) and the Crown: her self apparelled in robes like the Kings, under a rich Canopy, at every Corner thereof a Bell of Gold: On her head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countess of Richmond bearing her train; the Dutcheffes of Norfolk and Suffolk in their Coronets, attending; with twenty Ladies of estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes; and having other Robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received, (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. Edwards Shrine; where the King left St. Edwards Crown, wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same order and state as they came, they returned to Westminster Hall, and there held a most Princely Feast: at the second course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir Robert Dymock the Kings Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King Richard was not lawful King of England, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet: and then all the Hall cried, King Richard, King Richard. And thus with some other Ceremonies, the Coronation ended; and the King and Queen returned to their lodgings.

Presently after this, King Richard sent a solemne Ambassage to Lewis King of France, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the French King so abhorred him and his cruelty, that he would not so much as see, or hear his Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

At this time, with his Queen, he made a Progress to Gloucester, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way, having a special villany to be acted: for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephews of their livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his Fear, if he deprived them not also of their lives. For effecting whereof, his old friend the Duke of Buckingham was no fit instrument; it must be one of a baser metal: and to find out such a one he needed not go far; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next Chamber to him; Sir Thomas and Sir James Tyrrell, two Brothers like Jacob and Esau, not more near in blood, then different in conditions; of equal goodlines of personage both, but not of equal goodness of mind; Sir Thomas a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir James of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any villany. Being told of this man as he was sitting at the Close-stool, he presently rose and went to him: where being met, the match is soon made up between them; for he found Sir James more ready to undertake the work, then he was himself to set him about it. It only remained to procure him free passage to the place where the work was to be done: for King Richard had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his named John Green, to Sir Robert Brackenbury then Lieutenant of the Tower; thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the deed himself: but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that whilst he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. To remove therefore this Rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to Brackenbury, to deliver presently the Keyes of the Tower to Sir James Tyrrell, who being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent Princes under his custody, gets two other, as very Villains as himself; the one Miles Forrest, the other James Dighton his Horse-keeper, a big sturdy Knave: and these he makes his under-agents; who coming into the childrens chamber in the night, (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one black Will, or William Slaughter, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their clothes, and keeping down by force the feather-bed and pillows hard under their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing, they gave up their innocent soul to God: whom when the Murderers perceived, first by their struggling with the Pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be thoroughly

King Richard sends to make amity with the King of France, but he rejects it.

King Richard sets Sir James Tyrrell to murder the two Princes.

The Princes are murdered.

But where buried not known.

The Murderers miserable ends.

King Richard and the Duke of Buckingham fall at variance.

The Duke of Buckingham plots with Morton Bishop of Ely, to put down King Richard, and to bring in the Earl of Richmond.

dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir James to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian burial, by a Priest of Sir Robert Brackenbury; who dying within a few daies after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day: and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of *Perkin Warbeck* in King Henry the Seventh's Reign. Some report, that King Richard caused their bodies to be taken up, and closed them in lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron; and so cast into a place called the Black Deep, at the Thames mouth; to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine revenge upon the Actors of this execrable murder: *Adiles Forrest*, at *S. Martins le Grand*, piece-meal rotted away: *Dighton* lived at *Calice* a long time after; but detested of all men, died in great misery: Sir James Tyrrell was beheaded afterward on the Tower-hill for Treason: and King Richard himself, after this abominable fact done never had a quiet mind; troubled with fearful Dreams, and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him: that it was verified in him, *Ulix Tisiphone vocat agmina sua furoribus*.

Confederacies in evil are seldom long-lived, and commonly end in a reciprocal destruction: and so was it now with King Richard and the Duke of Buckingham: They had confederated together to the destruction of many; and now their confederacy dissolves in both their ruins: but what the cause was of their dissolving, is not so certain: whether it were that the Duke thought not himself so well rewarded, as his great services had deserved; or whether it were, that King Richard thought not himself absolute King, as long as the Duke, by whose means he came to be King, was in such a height of greatness; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious, and of an aspiring spirit; though he had himself been the means to bring King Richard to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, so envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the sight; and for the same cause, was willing not to have been present at the Coronation, pretending sickness in excuse of his absence; but that King Richard sent him a sharp message, requiring him to come, or he would fetch him: whereupon the Duke went, but with so ill a mind, that he bore it in mind ever after. Whatsoever it was, certain it is, that presently after the Coronation, there grew great jealousies between them, and the Duke retired himself to his Castle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Bishop of Ely in custody. And here we may observe the unfathomable depth of the Divine Providence; the bottom whereof, the soundest judgment of man can never find, as working effects by contrary causes: for where King Richard had committed the Bishop to the Duke, as to one that would have a most watchful eye over him; this which the King did for the Bishops greater punishment, proved a means afterward of the Bishops greater advancement, and a means at the present of King Richard's ruine. For the Duke being retired home, and having his head full of thoughts, that of necessity it required vent; for his own recreation, would sometimes fall in talk with the Bishop; with whose discourse (as he was a man of great wit and solid judgement) the Duke was so taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more, then to be conferring with him. One time it happened that the Duke had opened his mind something freely to him; and the Bishop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke, which he found most working in the Duke; which he perceived to grow out of envy to King Richard, he said to this purpose; My Lord, you know I followed first the part of King Henry the sixth, and still could have had my wish, his Son should have had the Crown, and not King Edward: But after that God had ordained King Edward to reign; I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. And so was I to King Edward also a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been that his child had succeeded him: Howbeit, if the secret Judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to labour to set up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King; --- and even there he left: saying, he had already meddled too much with the world; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have said; because he ended with the King, and there suddenly stopped: and thereupon intreated him to be bold to say whatsoever he thought; whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good then he would think; and withall, that himself intended to use his secret Counsel; which (he said) was the only cause for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his custody. The Bishop humbly thanked him, and said: In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault, for so much as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleareth the Prince to construe it. And ever I think on *Aesop's* Tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned beast should abide in a certain Wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace: the Fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste? who answered, in faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of the Proclamation made of horned beasts: Why fool, (quoth the Fox) thou mayest abide well enough, the Lyon meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough; but what if he call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and said: My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Boar shall pick any matter at any thing here spoken; for it shall never come near their ear. Then said the Bishop, In good faith Sir,

if it

A did, the thing I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to less. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Bishop said, My Lord, as for the late Protector, with he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weal of the Realm I could wish he had in him those excellent virtues which God hath planted in the person of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke somewhat marvelling at his sudden pause, said, My Lord, I cannot but note your sudden stopping in your speech, so as your words come not to any direct sentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me: I therefore intreat you to use no more such obscurity, but plainly to disclose your mind unto me, who upon mine honour will be as secret in the case, as the deaf and dumb person is to the finger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop then upon confidence of the Dukes promise, said, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdom being in the case as it is, under such a King as now we have, must needs decay and be brought to confusion; but one hope I have, that when I consider and daily behold your noble Personage, your Justice, your ardent Love towards your Country, and in like manner the great love of your Country towards you; I must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in store, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whose person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the present King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying: And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Linage, or your native Country, you must yourself take upon you the Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm; but if your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the faith you own to God, and by the love you bear to your native Country, to devise some way how the Realm may by your Princely policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Linage of Lancaster, or advance the eldest daughter of King Edward to some puissant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his dignity, but all Civil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while; which sore abashed the Bishop, and made him change colour: which the Duke perceiving, he said: Be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept: so for that time they parted. The next day, the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the Communication had between them the day before, he went on and said: My Lord of Ely, since I perceive your true heart and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own imaginations. After I had found the dissimulation and falseness of King Richard, and specially after I was informed of the murder of the two young Princes, to which (God be my Judge) I never condescended; I so much abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cause to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing less, then that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholick disposition, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butcher of his Royal seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I rested two daies at *Temkesbury*; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and specially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: for I suddenly remembered that the Lord Edmund Duke of Somerset, my Grandfather, was with King Henry the sixth, in two or three degrees of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster; so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke Edmund, that I was next Heir to King Henry the sixth, of the House of Lancaster: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Counsel, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in a maze, whether I were best suddenly to set this title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Warminster* and *Bridgenorth*, I met with the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, now Wife to the Lord Stanley, who is the Daughter & sole Heir to John Duke of Somerset my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my mind, as if I had never seen her) so that she and her Son the Earl of Richmond have both of them Titles before mine; and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastical imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, then that the Earl of Richmond, very Heir of the House of Lancaster, should take to wife the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King Edward, the very Heir of the House of York; that so the two Roses may be united in one: and now (faith the Duke) I have told you my very mind. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himself aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countess of Richmond the Earls Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in captivity, or at large in Britain. And thus was the foundation laid of a league, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talk-

of only, but presently put in execution; for now is Reynold Bray employed by the Bishop, to his Mistress the Duchesse of Richmond; Doctor Lewis the Duchesse's Physician was employed by her to the Queen Elizabeth; Hugh Conway and Thomas Rame were employed to the Earl of Richmond to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot; and to procure their promises to the propounded marriage; which was no hard matter to make them all willing to their own wives. This done, Instruments are employed to draw in parties to the confederacy; Bray by his credit drew in Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyne, Richard Guildford, Thomas Rame and others; Arswick likewise drew in Hugh Conway, Thomas Colepepper, Thomas Roper, with some others; Doctor Lewis drew in Edward Courtney and his Brother Peter Bishop of Exeter. It is memorable that Thomas Conway being sent most part by Sea, and Thomas Rame most part by Land; yet came to the Earl of Richmond in Britain, within the space of little more than an hour; upon whose information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of Britain with it, who, though by Hutton King Richard's Ambassador, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain him in prison; yet he both readily promised, and really performed both his advice and aid to the Earls proceedings. In this mean time Bishop Morton, not without asking the Dukes leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into his Isle of Ely; and there having done the Earl good Offices by procuring of friends, he thence passeth into Britain to him, from whence returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home and made him Archbishop of Canterbury.

But though all these things were carried closely, and Oath taken by all for secrecy, yet came it to King Richards knowledge; who notwithstanding dissembling it, sends for the Duke of Buckingham to come unto him; and he putting off his coming with pretended excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer, that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his own Fleish and Blood; and so from that time preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had gotten a good power of Welshmen; and the Marquess of Dorset having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in Yorkshire to raise Forces; the like did the two Courtneys in Devonshire and Cornwall, and Guilford and Rame in Kent. King Richard setting forward with his Forces; the Duke of Buckingham doth the like, intending at Gloucester to have passed the Severn; and so to have joyned with the two Courtneys; but such abundance of rain at that time fell, that the Severn was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the Welshmen seeing, and taking it for an ill sign, they secretly Aipt away: so as the Duke left well-neer alone, without either Page or so much as a Foot-man, repaired to the house of one Humphrey Bannister neer to Shrewsbury; who having been raised by him, and his Father before him; he thought himself safe under his roof: But Bannister, upon Proclamation made by King Richard, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungrateful and perfidious wretch, discovered him to John Mitton High Sheriffe of Shropshire, who took him in a pill'd black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behind the house; and carried him to Shrewsbury, where King Richard then lay; and there without Arraignment or Legal proceeding, was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether Bannister received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain from the hand of Divine Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was deflowered by one of his Carters, or as some say, stricken with a foul Leprosie; his eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy murdered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroners Inquest; and his younger Son in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

Upon this dyaster of the Duke of Buckingham, his complices shifted for themselves; some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many conveyed themselves into Britain to the Earl of Richmond; of whom the Marquess Dorset, John Lord Wells, the Bishop of Exeter and his Brother Sir John Bourchier, Sir Edward Woodville Brother to Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Cheyne and his two Brethren, Sir William Brackley, Sir William Brandon, and his Brother Thomas, Sir Richard Edgecome, Hollowell and Poynings Captains, were the chief. While these things are in doing, King Richard receives intelligence from Hutton his Ambassador lieger in Britain; that the Duke not only refused to refrain the Earl of Richmond, but intendeth also to give him assistance: whereupon the King took present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earls landing in any Port of England. He apprehended also in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of Richmond's confederation; but coming himself to the City of Exeter, and to the Castle there, and understanding that it was called Rugefont, he suddenly fell into a dump, and as one astonished, said: Well, I see my daies be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to Richmond, he should not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in respect of this Cattle; but in respect of Henry Earl of Richmond.

Upon the twelfth day of October in the year 1484. the Earl of Richmond with forty Ships, and five thousand waged Britains took to Sea; but that evening by tempest of weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed, so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coast of Cornwall; where discovering upon the shore great store of armed Souldiers, to resist his landing; he hoysed sayl, and returning toward France, arrived in Normandy; from whence sending Messengers to Charles the Eighth King of France, he was by him not only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with good sums of money to bear

Bishop Morton in disguise passeth over into Britain to the Earl of Richmond.

The Duke of Buckingham sent for by K. Richard, refuseth to come.

The Duke of Buckingham betakes himself to the house of one Humphrey Bannister his own servant, who betrays him. And is beheaded. The Judgment of God upon Bannister.

1484.

The Earl of Richmond is aided by the K. of France.

his charges. After this, the Earl returning into Britain, received there the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess Dorset, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: soon after whose coming, upon Christmas day before the high Altar in the great Church of Rheims, the Earl of Richmond gave Oath, to marry the Lady Elizabeth, as soon as he should be quietly settled in the Government of England; and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present, did him homage, and in the same place, each to other religiously Vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it; never to cease prosecuting war against King Richard, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

King Richard being informed of these things, makes diligent enquiry after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of Richmond's association; of whom Sir George Brown, and Sir Roger Clifford with four other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at London: Sir Thomas Sentleger, who married Anne the Duke of Exeter's Widow, this Kings own Sister, and Thomas Rame Esquire were executed at Exeter. Thomas Marquess Dorset, and all such as were with the Earl of Richmond, were at Parliament then holden attainted of Treason, and all their Goods and Lands seized on to the Kings use: Besides these, a poor Gentleman called Collingborn, for making a small ryme of three of his wicked Counsellors; the Lord Lovell, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby: which ryme was thus framed: The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog; rule all England under a Hog: was put to death, and his body divided into four quarters.

At this time, a Truce is concluded betwixt England and Scotland, for three years; and for feeling a firmer Amity between the two Kingdoms, a marriage is treated of between the Duke of Rohsay, eldest Son to the King of Scots; and the Lady Anne de la Poole, Daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, by Anne Sister to King Richard: which Sister he so much favoured, that after the death of his own Son, who died some time before; he caused John Earl of Lincoln, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of England.

And now King Richard, to take away the root of his fear, once again sent Ambassadors to the Duke of Britain, with order (besides the great gifts they carried with them). to make offer, that King Richard should yearly pay and answer the Duke of all the Revenues and Profits of all lands and possessions, as well belonging to the Earl of Richmond, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continual prison, and restrain them from liberty. But the Duke of Britain being at that time fallen into such infirmity, that the Ambassadors could have no audience; they addressed themselves to Peter Landois the Dukes chief Treasurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promised to satisfy their Request; and had done so indeed, but that Bishop Morton sojourning then in Flanders, had by his friends intelligence of his purpose, presently informed the Earl thereof. The Earl was then at Vannes; who, upon the Bishops information, taking with him only five Servants, as though he went but to visit some friend; when he was five miles forward on his way, suddenly turned into a Wood adjoining; and there changing apparel with one of his Servants, followed after as their attendant; and never returned, till by waies unknown he came to his company abiding at Angiers: yet was not his departure so secret nor so sudden, but that Peter Landois had notice of it; who sending Poits after him, was so neer overtaking him, that he was scarce entered one hour into France, when the Poits arrived at the Confines, and then durst go no further. In the mean time, Sir Edward Woodville and Captain Poynings, who with their companies were left behind in Vannes, had been in danger of Peter Landois his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellor of their case, not only protected them, but furnished them with all necessaries for their journey to the Earl: and was so incensed against Landois for this action of his, that for this and some other over-bold presumptions, he was afterward hanged.

The Earl having passed this danger in Britain, and being arrived in France, addresseth himself to the French King, imploring his aid; and hath it promised and performed: and in this time John Vere Earl of Oxford, who had long time been kept prisoner in the Castle of Hammes, so far prevailed with James Blunt Captain of the Fortrefs, and Sir John Fortescue Porter of the Town of Callice; that not only they suffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earl of Richmond, to whom Captain Blunt gave assurance that the Fortrefs remained wholly at his devotion. At this time also there resorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the University of Paris, proffering him their service; amongst whom was Richard Fox, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earl advised in all his affairs, made him one of his most Privy Council, and at last Bishop of Winchester.

But now King Richard having been disappointed of his design in Britain, hath another way in his head to disappoint the Earl of Richmond of his marriage with the Daughter of Queen Elizabeth; and to this end, he sent to the Queen (being still in Sanctuary) divers messengers, who should first excuse and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done against her; and then should largely promise promotions innumerable, not only to her self, but also to her Son that not only she began to relent, but at last was content to submit her self wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murder of her innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her royal Husband, the asperion of Adultery cast upon her self, the imputation of Bastardy laid to her Daughters, forgetting also her Oath made to the Earl of Richmond's Mother; seduced by flattering words, she first delivered into King

He takes Oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth K. Edwards eldest Daughter.

King Richard feels by great gifts to have the Earl of Richmond delivered to him.

Which plot the Earl escapes by Morton's information; and in what manner.

Peter Landois hanged.

Richard Fox made first known to the Earl of Richmond.

King Richard seeks to marry the Lady Elizabeth K. Edwards Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her consent.

King Richard's hands her five Daughters, and after sent Letters to the Marquess her Son, being then at Paris with the Earl of Richmond; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all speed to repair into England; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and she incorporated in the Kings favour. If we wonder at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive she was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope: she feared (no doubt) that if she denied the Kings request, he would presently take some sharp course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if she yielded to his request, he would undoubtedly perform his promise, seeing it was as easie for him to keep it as to break it.

1485.

King Richard  
rids himself of  
his present  
Wife: and by  
what devices.

But now King Richard's purpose being to marry one of his Brother King Edward's Daughters: there was one impediment which directly hindered it; that he had a wife living, and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aspersions upon himself, he could not well tell; yet this he resolved, that he rid of her he would by some way or other: but before he would use extremity, he would first try milder waies; and first he abtained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrenness; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cause her to die with grief: And when this device failed, he then caused a rumour to be spread among the people, that she was suddenly dead; hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: when this device also failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and mistrusting the worst, with a most sorrowful countenance came unto him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge her worthy to die? who answered with fair words, bidding her be of good cheer, for (to his knowledge) she should have no other cause) he then made sure work; for within few daies after, whether by poison, or by what other means, it is not certainly known, she departed this life; and with all solemnity, not without some formal tears of King Richard, was interred in St. Peter's Church at Westminster.

He makes love  
to the Lady  
Elizabeth.

King Richard now by his wives death, having made himself way to marry another; used all the alluring means he can devise, to win the love of the Lady Elizabeth his Niece; but meaning at last to purchase his desire by Rape, if he could not otherwise; and had perhaps done it, but that the storms threatened from beyond the Seas, growing every day more strong then other, forced him to prorogue the execution of his desires, and look to the prevention of his present danger. The Lord Stanley is commanded presently to levie Forces for the Kings aid, as he will justify his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Countrey, until he had left George Lord Strange his eldest Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behind him. And now King Richard being informed (though the information was craftily suborned by his enemies) that the Earl of Richmond was out of hope of any great assistance from France; discharged the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewise all the Souldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

Which makes  
him hasten his  
coming over.

At this time, one Morgan Kidwelly, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his life, passed over to the Earl; informing him, that King Richard by all means laboured to match himself with the Lady Elizabeth: which so wrought with the Earl, that he saw there was no lingering: and the more, being by him further informed, that Rice ap Thomas and John Savage, two powerful men in their Countreys, were ready with great Forces to assist him: Whereupon, not having above two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over; about the middle of August he put to Sea, and by the advice of the said Kidwelly, steered his course for Wales, and on the seventeenth day after his departure from Harflew, arrived at Milford Haven; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to Hereford, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth news by Captain Arnold Butler, that the Earl of Pembroke with all his retinue was upon the way to joyn with him; also thither came to him Richard Griffith and John Morgan, with a band of brave Welsh men; and the same day Sir Gilbert Talbot with all the Earl of Shrewsbury's Tenants, (being about two thousand well appointed men) came unto him: with these he marched towards Shrewsbury; at which time word is brought him, that Sir Robert Herbert and Rice ap Thomas, were ready with a great power to stop his passage: which somewhat troubled him, that his friends so suddenly should revolt: but it was but a trick of Rice ap Thomas to make his bargain the surer; soon after, Rice ap Thomas meets him, and offers him his service, so as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promise formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make Rice sole Governour of Wales; which was now assented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord Stanley with five thousand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of Leicester; but hearing of the Earls march that way, he left Leicester and went to Adderton, not daring to shew himself openly for the Earl; for fear the King should put his Son the Lord Strange to death, whom he had left an Hostage with him.

All this time King Richard lay at Nottingham, and was as it were fatally taken with a spirit of security, hearing that the Earl had but small assistance either from France or in England; and therefore slighting him as little able to do any greater matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and sends present direction to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland and Surrey, with Sir Thomas Brackenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, with all speed to bring their Forces to him at Lutetworth, from whence upon their arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamped at Lichfield, he marcheth thitherward: At which time,

A time, Sir Walter Hungerford and some others, withdrew themselves from King Richard's part: and Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Stanford, and Sir Simon Digby, with their several Forces, joyned with the Earl.

King Richard took the advantage of a large Plain near Bosworth, adjoining to a hill called Anne Beame; where he encamped: And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him battel, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vanguard was led by the Duke of Norfolk, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bow-men, flanked with two hundred Cuyrassiers, under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey: The Battail King Richard led himself, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled with two thousand Pikes: The Rereward was led by Sir Thomas Brackenbury, consisting of two thousand mingled weapons, with two wings of Horsemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square maniples; expecting the Lord Stanley's his coming with two thousand, most of them Horsemen: But the Lord Stanley carried himself so warily, that he might neither give cause of suspicion to the King, nor yet cause of disadvantage to the Earl: that when early in the morning the Earl sent unto him, desiring his present repair; he answered, that he must look for no aid from him, till the Battails should be joyned; and therefore advised him, with all possible speed to give the Onset. This answer somewhat staggered the Earl, because his number did but little exceed one half of the Kings: Yet to make the best shew he could, by the advice of his Council of War, he made his Vaward open and thin; of which John Earl of Oxford had the leading: the Earl himself led the Battail: Sir Gilbert Talbot commanding the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left: whose Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the reflexion of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of Pembroke, which consisted most of Horse, and some Pikes and black Bills. King Richard to encourage his Souldiers, made a solemn speech unto them: But alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whose hearts he had lost? or to raise alacrity in others, who had none in himself? For now the remembrance of his fore-passed villanies, and specially a fearful Dream he had the night before, (wherein it seemed to him, he saw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any rest or quiet) so damped his spirits, that although he set a good face upon the matter, yet he could not choose but have a prefiging fear that the date of his daies was not far from expiring. The Earl of Richmond on the other side, having a clear conscience in himself, and speaking to men that followed him for love; had the easier means to give them encouragement: which he did with so cheerful a countenance, as though already he had gotten the victory. After their military exhortations ended, King Richard commanded to give the onset. Between both Armies there was a great March; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Souldiers on that side; and besides by so doing, he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of the enemy. When King Richard saw that the Earls company was passed this March, he commanded with all speed to set upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both sides, and those spent, they came to hand-strokes; at which encounter comes in the Lord Stanley, and joyns with the Earl. The Earl of Oxford in the mean time, fearing lest his company should be compassed in with the multitude of his enemies, gave charge in every rank, that no man should go above ten-foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themselves together, and ceased a while from fighting: which the Enemy seeing, and mistrusting some fraud, they also paused and left striking. But then the Earl of Oxford, having brought all his Band together, set on the enemy afresh; which the enemy perceiving, they placed their men slender and thin before, but thick and broad behind; and resolutely again began the fight. While these two Vanguards were thus contending, King Richard was informed, that the Earl of Richmond with a small number was not far off: whereupon he presently makes towards him; and being of an invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the last proof, he made so furious an assault, that first with his own hands he slew Sir William Brandon who bore the Earls Standard; next he unhorsed and overthrew Sir John Cheyney, a strong and stout man at Arms; and then assaunted the Earl of Richmond himself, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the Kings fury held him off at his Launces point, till Sir William Stanley came in with three thousand fresh men: and then oppressed with multitude, King Richard is there slain. It is said that when the Battail was at the point to be lost, a swift Horse was brought unto him, with which he might have saved himself by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refused it, saying, He would that day make an end of all Battels, or else lose his life. In this Battel, Henry Earl of Northumberland, who led King Richard's Rereward, never struck stroke; as likewise many other, who followed King Richard more for fear then love: and so King Richard who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many: which was not unforeseen by some, who caused a Rhyme to be set upon the Duke of Norfolk's gate the night before the Battel; which was this:

Jack of Norfolk be not too bold,  
For Dickon thy Master is bought and sold.

Yet notwithstanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King Richard; and more considering what he was towards him, then what towards others; followed him at the last, and in his quarrel lost his life. This John Howard was the Son of Sir Robert Howard Knight, and

Near to Bosworth their  
Armies met:  
and how King  
Richard's Army was  
marched.

King Richard  
encounters the  
Earl of Rich-  
mond hand to  
hand.

John Howard  
Duke of Nor-  
folk firm to  
King Richard  
to the last.

Margaret eldest Daughter of Thomas Monbray Duke of Norfolk, in whose right he was created Duke of Norfolk by King Richard the Third, in the year 1483. having been made a Baron before by King Edward the Fourth. The whole number slain in this battel on King Richard's part, was not above a thousand persons; whereof of the Nobility, besides the Duke of Norfolk, only Walter Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more. Sir William Catesby, one of the chief Counsellors of King Richard, with divers others, were two daies after beheaded at Leicester. Amongst those that ran away, were Francis Viscount Lovell, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his Brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint Johns at Gloucester. Of Captives and Prisoners there were great number. Henry Earl of Northumberland, who though on King Richard's side, intermeddled not in the battel, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Council: But Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, though he submitted himself, yet as having been specially familiar with King Richard, was committed to the Tower; where he remained a long time: but at last was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of Richmond's part, were slain scarce a hundred persons; (some say, but ten) of whom the principal was Sir William Brandon, the Earls Standard-bearer. This battel was fought at Bosworth near Leicester-shire, the two and twentieth day of August, in the year 1485. having continued little above two hours. Presently after the battel, the Earl Knighted in the field, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Mortimer, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Rict ap Thomas, Sir Robert Poynts, Sir Humphrey Stanley, Sir John Turberville, Sir Hugh Pershall, Sir R. Edgecombe, Sir John Pykenill, and Sir Edmund Carem: and then kneeling down, he rendered to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed persons to be cured: whereat the people rejoicing, clapped their hands and cried, King Henry, King Henry: which good will and gladness of the people when the Lord Stanley saw, he took the Crown of King Richard, which was found amongst the spoils in the field, and set it on the Earl's head, as though he had been elected King by the voice of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when King Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent to the Lord Stanley to come presently to his presence; which if he refused to do, he swore by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his Sons head before he dined: whereto the Lord Stanley answered, That if he did so, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his pleasure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which answer when King Richard heard, he commanded the Lord Stanley immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in fight of each other; his Lords persuaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution; and so the Lord Stanley escaped.

### Of his Taxations.

WE must not look for Taxations in kind, in this Kings Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money so much as bloud; and the money he drew was moft by bloud, which drew on Confiscations: whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent: for where Taxations properly do but Tondere, these did Deglwhere. Yet in his second year, he called a Parliament, wherein, besides the great confiscations of those that were then attainted, he imposed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not Recorded.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HAVING gotten the Crown by Pestilent courses, he sought to establish it by wholesome Laws: for in no Kings Reign were better Laws made, then in the Reign of this man. Amongst other of his Laws, it was enacted, that from thenceforth, the Commonalty of the Realm should in no wise be charged by any imposition called a Benevolence, nor any such like charge; and that such actions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, shall be taken for no example to make any such like charge hereafter; but shall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may say, he took the waies of being a good King, if he had come to be King by waies that had been good.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, the troubles of the Temporalty kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complainings in the Streets, there was none in the Church. Only Shores Wife might complain, why he should do Penance for offending lightly against only the seventh Commandement; and King Richard do none for offending heavily against all the ten; but that perhaps he had gotten some good fellow to be his Confessor.

The Lord Stanley takes the Crown from King Richard's head, and puts it on the Earl of Richmond.

No Benevolence to be required.

### Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet some good works he did: he founded a Colledge at Middleham beyond York; and a Collegiate Chauntry in London, near unto the Tower, called our Lady of Barking: He endowed the Queens Colledge in Cambridge, with five hundred Marks of yearly revenue; and disforested the great field of Whitchwood, which King Edward his Brother had inclosed for Deer.

### Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second year, at the time when the Duke of Buckingham meant to pass with his Army over Severn, so great an inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houses were overturned, children were carried about the fields swimming in Cradles, beasts were drowned on hills: which rage of water continued ten daies; and is to this day in the Countreys thereabout, called the Great water, or the Duke of Buckingham's water.

### Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married Anne the second Daughter of Richard Nevil the great Earl of Warwick, being the Widow of Edward Prince of Wales, the Son of King Henry the sixth: she lived his Wife to the last year of his Reign; and then to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at rest in the Abby of Westminster: By her he had only one Son, born at Middleham near Richmond in the County of York; at four years old, created earl of Salisbury by his Uncle King Edward the fourth; at ten years old created Prince of Wales by his Father King Richard, but dyed soon after.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

THERE never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Minde then was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crook-backt, hook-shouldered, splay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round; his complexion swarthy, his left arm from his birth dry and withered: born a Monster in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And just such were the qualities of his minde: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, sternly when he executed. Those vices which in other men are Passions, in him were Habits: and his cruelty was not upon occasion, but natural. If at any time he shewed any vertue, it was but pretence; the truth of his minde was only lying and falshood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; Policy looking but to the Middle, Wisdom to the End: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty, that it might be in his power to kill at his pleasure: And to say the truth, he was scarce of the number of men who consist of flesh and bloud, being nothing but bloud. One Miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the truth of History to exceed the fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behind him: and it had been pity he should, at least in his own Image; one such Monster was enough for many Ages.

### Of his Death and Burial.

BEING slain in the battell at Bosworth, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behinde a Pursuivant at Arms, one Blanch Senglyer, or White-bear; his head and arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt, he was brought to the Gray-Fryers Church within the Town of Leicester, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funerall-pomp, was there interred. But after this, King Henry the seventh caused a Tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buryed, with a picture of Alabaster, representing his person; which at the suppression of that Monastery was utterly defaced: Since when, his grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone-chelt wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-trough for Horses, at a common Inne in Leicester, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarchs greatness. But his body (as is reported) was carried out of the City, and contemptuously

King Richard basely used, being dead.

temptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Stowe*, upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a Stone of some height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bisworth*, by chance strook his Spur: and against the same Stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the Horse side, his head was dashed and broken: as a wife Woman (forsooth) had foretold; who before his going to battel, being asked of his success, said, that where his Spur strook, his head should be broken. But these are but reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, reigned two, and two moneths.

### Of Men of Note in his time.

OF men of Note for wickedness and villany, enow have been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reign.

### Maors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his First year,  
*William Billesdon* was Maior.  
*Thomas Newland*, *William Martin*, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,  
*Thomas Hill* was Maior.  
*Richard Chester*; and he dying, *Ralph Ash*,  
*Thomas Britain*, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.



**HENRY** Earl of *Richmond*, born in *Pembroke Castle*, Son to *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Wife *Margaret*, sole Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, which *John* was Son of *John* Earl of *Somerset*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, by his third Wife *Katherine* *Swinford*; and by this descent, Heir of the House of *Lancaster*; having won the Battel at *Bosworth*, against King *Richard*; is by publick acclamations saluted King of *England*, on the 22 day of *August*, in the year 1485. and this was his first Title. And now to take away a root of danger, before his departure from *Leicester*, he sent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Cattle of *Sheriffhaton* in the

1485.  
King Henry's  
first Title.

County of *York*, for *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, being then of the age of fifteen years, whom King *Richard* had there kept a prisoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to *London*, and shut up in the Tower to be kept in safe custody. In the same Castle also King *Richard* had left residing the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth: and her now King *Henry* appoints honourably attended to be brought up to *London*, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards *London*; where at his approaching near the City, *Thomas Hill* the Maior, *Thomas Britain* and *Richard Chester* Sheriffs, with other principal Citizens, met him at *Shore-ditch*, and in great state brought him to the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of *St. George*; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarcenet; in the third was painted a dun Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After Prayers said, he departed to the Bishops Palace, and there sojourned a season: And in the time of his stay here, he advised with his Council and appointed a day for solemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: before which time notwithstanding, he went by water to *Westminster*, and was there with great solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of *England*, by the whole consent as well of the Commons as of the Nobility, by the name of *Henry* the Seventh, on the thirtieth day of *October*, in the year 1485. and this was his second Title. And even this was revealed to *Cadwalader* last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred ninety and seven years past; That his Off-spring should reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

*Edward Plantagenet*, Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, shut up in the Tower.

The Earl of *Richmond* is Crowned King.

On the seventeenth day of *November* following, he called his high Court of Parliament; where, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared: One concerning the Burgesses; for that many had been returned Burgesses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King *Richard*'s time, stood attainted still: and it was thought incongruous, for men to make Laws, who were themselves out-lawed: For remedy whereof an Act was presently passed for their restoring; and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by King *Richard*: but for this, it was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer Chamber, that the possession of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And so these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were Attainted, first *Richard* late Duke of *Glocester*, calling himself *Richard* the

The possession of the Crown takes away all defects.

Z

Third:

Lords and others attainted by Parliament.

Third : Then, his Affiliants at the battel of Bosworth : John late Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey, Francis Viscount Level, Walter Devereux late Lord Ferrers, John Lord Zouch, Robert Harrington, Richard Charlerton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berley of Wely, Robert Middleton, James Sapcote, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerk of Wenlock, Geoffrey St. Germain, Richard Watkins, Herald at Arms, Richard Sevel, Thomas Pulter, John Welsh, John Kendall late Secretary to the late King Richard, John Buck, Andrew Rat, and William Brampton of Burford. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid, were afterwards not only by King Henry pardoned, but restored also to their lands and livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon : whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places ; who submitting themselves, were received to mercy.

Dukes and Earls created.

And now King Henry considering that *Pena & Premio Respublica contingitur* ; after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Service : and first, Jasper Earl of Pembroke his Uncle, he created Duke of Bedford : Thomas Lord Stanley he created Earl of Darby : the Lord Chandon of Britain, his special friend, he made Earl of Bathe : Sir Giles Daubeny was made Lord Daubeny : Sir Robert Willoughby was made Lord Brook : and Edward Stafford eldest Son to Henry late Duke of Buckingham, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for setting the Crown upon the person of King Henry and the Heirs of his body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquess Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left Hostages in France for money : and called home Morton Bishop of Ely, and Richard Fox ; making Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of Winchester. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, Jasper Duke of Bedford, John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Darby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir William Stanley, Lord Chamberlain of his Household ; Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brook, Lord Steward of his Household ; Giles Lord Daubeny ; John Lord Dynham, after made Lord Treasurer of England ; Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Cheyney, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Richard Tussell, Sir Richard Edgcombe, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Edmund Poyning, Sir John Rifeley, with some other.

1486.

King Henry marries the Lady Elizabeth.

These things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make his Crown sit the surer on his head ; on the eighteenth day of January, he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth ; which gave him a third Title. And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three so indissoluble, that no age since hath ever questioned it : and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters side, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World continues.

The Kings Guard first ordained.

And now whether King Henry doubted any sudden attempt upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the example of France ; in the very beginning of his Reign, he ordained a band of tall personable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings guard ; which no King before, and all Kings since, have alwaies used. But though he provided a guard for defence of his own body, yet for the bodies of his people he could provide none ; for at this time a sickness (of the symptome called the sweating sickness) seized so violently upon them, that within a short time many thousands perished ; particularly in London, two Maiors successively, and six Aldermen within eight daies died : and for this sickness no Physick afforded any cure ; till at last, this remedy was found : If a man were taken with the sweat in the day time, that then he should presently lie down in his cloaths, and so lie still the whole four and twenty hours ; if he were taken in the night, then he should not rise out of his bed, for the space of four and twenty hours ; not provoking sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at least but very moderately. In this sickness there was one good circumstance ; that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long : for beginning about the one and twentieth of September, it cleared up before the end of October following.

The Lord Lovell raises an Army against the King, but upon Proclamation of Pardon is dispersed.

And now all things being set in good order in the South parts, there ariseth a little storm in the North, but was soon dispersed. For King Henry making a journey into the North parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been ; and where the respect to King Richard might have left some opposites : at his coming to Lincoln, was certified that the Lord Lovell and Humphrey Stafford were gone out of Sanctuary in Colchester ; but whether, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to York ; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, that the Lord Lovell with a strong power was at hand, and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great straight ; for neither had he any Army ready ; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this straight, he commanded the Duke of Bedford, with three thousand men to set out against him, but so ill armed, that their Armour for the most part were but of tanned Leather ; who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would submit themselves as loyal Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into grace : which Proclamation so prevailed, that it made the Lord Lovell secretly in the night to flee away ; and then the Army left without a head, submitted themselves to the Kings mercy. The Lord Lovell fled into Lancashire ; and there for a time lurked with Sir Thomas Bronghton, a man powerful in those parts. Humphrey Stafford took Sanctuary in a Village called Cuiham two miles from Abington : but the Sanctuary being judged by the Justices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawful defence for Traytors ; he was taken from

A Sanctuary no defence for Traytors.

A from thence by force, and conveyed to the Tower, afterward to Tyburn, and there hanged. His Brother Thomas was pardoned, because it was thought, he was drawn in by his Brother Humphrey.

In this year, John Perseval the Maior of London's Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London, only by Sir John Collets, then Maior, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, (as the custom is, to drink to him whom he list to name Sheriffe) and forthwith the said Perseval late down at the Maiors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Maior himself.

At this time a mean instrument attempted a great work ; by which we may see, how far imagination may out-go reason : One Richard Simond a Priest, a man of base birth, though some learning ; had a Scholar of baser birth, the Son of a Shoemaker (some say a Baker) named Lambert B Symmel ; but of a pregnant wit, and comely personage : Him he gives out to be Edward Earl of Warwick, lately (as was said) escaped out of prison ; both of them being of like years and stature : with this Scholar of his, he falls into Ireland, and so sets forth the matter, that not only the Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerard Earl of Kildare, and Deputy of Ireland ; but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words ; and as those that affected the House of York, were ready to take his part ; and even already saluted the young Symmel King. Withal they sent into Flanders to the Lady Margaret, Sister to the late King Edward, and Widow of Charles Duke of Burgoyne, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of York, bore an inward grudge against King Henry, being of the House of Lancaster ; and therefore though the well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it : and thereupon promised her assistance.

C King Henry being advertized of these things, advised with his Council ; by whom it was agreed, that two things presently should be done. First, to grant a Pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any offence whatsoever, though it were for High Treason ; the next, that the Earl of Warwick should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick places ; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in Ireland, might appear plainly to be false. Withal, the Queen Elizabeth, Widow of King Edward the fourth, and Mother to the present Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark ; where in great penitiveness within a few years she dyed. But for what cause this severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain : To say, (as was commonly said) that it was for rendering her self and her Daughters into the hands of King Richard, were manifest injustice, to punish her for doing a thing out of fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by force : and to say (as some also have said) that it was for giving aid, under hand to Perkin, were a manifest unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son in law : we must therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reason as a secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of Warwick, though it satisfied some, yet not all : for some gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true Warwick. At least the Earl of Lincoln, Son to John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth Sister to King Edward the fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that Symmel was but a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into Flanders, to his Aunt the Lady Margaret Dutchess of Burgoyne ; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord Lovell should go into Ireland ; and there attend upon the Counterfeit Warwick, and honour him as a King ; and with the power of the Irish men bring him into England : but it was concluded without, that if their actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit Warwick should be deposed, and the true be delivered out of Prison, and anointed King. And to this purpose, the Earl of Lincoln, by the aid of the Lady Margaret, had gotten together two thousand Almains, with one Martin Swart a valiant and expert Captain : to be their Leader. With this power, the Earl sailed into Ireland, and at the City of Dublin, caused young Lambert the Counterfeit Warwick, in most solemn manner, first to be Proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of England : and then with a great number of haggardly and armed Irish men, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Gerardine Earl of Kildare, they sailed into England ; and landed at a place called the Pile of Fowdrey, not far from Lancaster ; hoping thereby by the means of Sir Thomas Bronghton, a powerful man in that Country, to have their Army both furnished and increased. King Henry hearing that the Earl of Lincoln was landed at Lancaster, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford ; and with these he marched to Nottingham, and there by a little Wood called Bowser, he pitched his field ; whither there came unto him, the Lord George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheyney, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. In which mean time the Earl of Lincoln being entred into Yorkshire, passed quietly on his journey, without doing spoyl or hurt unto any ; trusting thereby to have won the people to come to his aid ; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined to venture a battel with the Army he had already ; and thereupon took his way from York to Newark upon Trent. King Henry understanding which way he took, came the night before the battel to Newark ; and going three miles further, near to a Village called Stoke, there waited the approach of the Earl of Lincoln ; so the next day they joyned battel ; where after a long fight, of at the least three hours ; though the Almains, and specially their Captain Martin Swart behaved themselves most valiantly ; yet their Irish, being in a manner but naked men, were at last overthrowen, four thousand slain, and the rest put to flight ; but not one of their Captains ; for the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovell, Sir Thomas Bronghton, Martin Swart, and the Lord Gerardine were all found dead in the very place

The Maiors Carver chosen Sheriffe of London, and by what occasion.

Lambert Symmel given out to be Edward Earl of Warwick.

Councenanced in Ireland. Chiefly by the Lady Margaret Dutchess of Burgoyne.

Queen Elizabeth hath all her goods confiscated, and herself confined.

By the plot of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lady Margaret, Symmel is conveyed into Ireland, and there crowned King of England.

1487.

King Henry goes with an Army against the Earl of Lincoln.

At Stoke he gives him battel, and overthrowes him.

Where he and divers other Lords are slain.

Saturday always  
fortunate to  
King Henry.  
Lambert is ta-  
ken into the  
Kings Kitchen.

1488.

A Truce for  
seven years be-  
tween K. Henry  
and the King  
of Scots.

Queen Eliza-  
beth is Crown-  
ed.

A Peace be-  
tween France  
and England.

The King of  
France over-  
throws the  
Duke of Bri-  
tains Army,  
where the Ld  
Woodville is  
slain.

K. Henry lends  
an Army to aid  
the Duke of  
Brittain.

The French  
King marries  
the Heir of the  
Duke of Bri-  
tains.

where they had flood fighting, that though they lost the battel, yet they won the reputation of hardy and stout Souldiers. Only of the Lord Lovell, some report, that attempting to save himself by flight, in passing over the River of Trent, was drowned. On the Kings part, though some were slain, yet not any man of note. This battel was fought on a Saturday (observed as always fortunate to King Henry) being the sixteenth of June, in the second year of King Henries Reign. The young Lambert, and his Master Simond the Priest, were both taken; and both had their lives saved; Lambert, because but a Child; Simond, because a Priest; yet Simond was kept in Prison, Lambert was taken into the Kings Kitchen, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune, and at last made one of the Kings Faulkners.

In the beginning of his third year, King Henry having been in Yorkshire, to settle the mindes of that people, about the midst of August came to New-castle upon Tyne, and from thence sent Ambassadors into Scotland, Richard Fox lately before made Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe Controller of his Houfe, to conclude a Peace or Truce with James King of Scots: A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardness, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed before the first seven years should be expired.

At this time, Ambassadors came from the King of France, to King Henry; who declared, that their Master King Charles was now at war with Francis Duke of Brittain, for that he succoured the Duke of Orleans and others Rebels against the Realm of France; and therefore requested, that for the old familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the Duke, but stand Neuter. King Henry answered, that having received courtesies from them both, he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the French Ambassadors were departed, he sent Christopher Twisick his Chaplain over into France, who should first go to the French King, and after to the Duke of Brittain, to mediate a Peace between them.

In the time of Twisicks Ambassage, King Henry caused his Wife the Lady Elizabeth to be Crowned Queen, on Saint Katherine's day in November, with all solemnity; and at the same time delivered the Lord Thomas Marquess Dorset out of the Tower, and received him again into his former favour.

Twisick travailed between the two Princes to procure Peace; but they, though making a shew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for War, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which time, Edward Lord Woodville Uncle to the Queen, made suit to the King, for leave to go over with a power of men, in aid to the Duke of Brittain; which suit though the King denied, yet the Lord Woodville would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly over, and joyned with the Britains against the French. This the French King took ill at King Henries hand; but being informed, that it was against the Kings will, he seemed satisfied; and a Peace was concluded between France and England, to endure for twelve moneths. But in conclusion, King Henry finding that the French King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with pretences; he called his high Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done: where it was concluded, that the Duke of Brittain should be aided; and to that end great sums of money were by Parliament granted: This determination of the Parliament, King Henry signifies to the French King, hoping, it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King of France little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courtes against the Britains; so as at last, on the eight and twentieth day of July, the Britains gave battel to the French, neer to a Town called St. Aubyn; having apparelled seventeen hundred of the Britains in Coats with red Crosses after the English fashion, to make the French men believe they were all English, although indeed they had no more English then the four hundred of the Lord Woodvilles. But notwithstanding this device, the Victory fell to the French; so that all the English men almost were slain; with the Lord Woodville himself; besides six thousand Britains. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange, who were on the Britains part, were taken Prisoners. The French lost twelve hundred men; and amongst other, that valiant Italian Captain James Galesot.

This news being brought into England, caused King Henry to make haste to send forth his Army; and thereupon, the Lord Brooke, with Sir John Cheyny, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Eaton, and Sir Edmund Cornwall, are sent over with all speed into Brittain; having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of Brittain against the French. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of Brittain dyed; leaving in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady Anne (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of Brittain falling at dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Country: whereupon the English returned home, within five moneths after their setting forth: and the French King getting the upper hand of the Britains, and marrying the Lady Anne sole Daughter of the Duke of Brittain, incorporated that Duchy to the Crown of France.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted, for the furnishing out an Army into Brittain; and it was agreed, that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance; to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Tax the most part of Yorkshire and the Bishoprick of Durham refused to pay: whereof the Collectors complained to Henry Earl of Northumberland, President of the North parts: The Earl signifies it to the King; and the King commands him to levy the same, by distress or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude mul-

A multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber; and alledging all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief author of the Tax; they cruelly murdered both him and divers of his household servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir John Egremond their Captain: Declaring, that in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King battel. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them: but when Thomas Earl of Surrey appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader John a Chamber was taken, and at York on a Gibbet set upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traytor was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the most part pardoned. But Sir John Egremond fled into Flanders, to the Lady Margaret Dutcheff of Burgundy; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King Henry. After this, the King appointed Sir Richard Tunstall to gather the Subsidy, and would not spare the payment of a penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

At this time, James the third, King of Scotland, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people; laboured with King Henry, as also with the Pope, and the King of France, to make an Accord between him and his people, who had compelled Prince James his Son, to be the Titular head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadors; but could receive no other but this outrageous answer, That there was no talking of Peace, unless he would resign his Crown. Which answer the Kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common injury to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable, for Subjects to lift their hands against their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battel, at Bannocks-burn by Strivelin; where King James, rashly beginning the fight, before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mill of that field, whither he fled, after the Battel ended.

About this time, a Difference fell out which grew to a War, between the Emperour Frederick, and some Towns of his in Flanders, especially Gaunt and Bruges: In this war, the Lord Ravenstein a principal person about Maximilian, not only forsook the Emperour and his Son Maximilian his Lord, (corrupted as was thought from France) but made himself head of the popular party, seizing upon the Towns of Ipre and Sluce; and not this only, but forthwith sent to the Lord de Cordes Governour for the French King in Picardie, to aid him against some Towns in Flanders: To which the Lord de Cordes, willing of any occasion to set foot in Flanders, was easily drawn. But King Henry not liking to have the French to near his English pale, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, who should joyn with the Lord Dawbeny then Deputy of Callice, to resist them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief; That the Lord Dawbeny, with the Lord Morley, Sir James Tyrrell Captain of Gasfines, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Humphrey Talbot Marshal of Callice, and others to the number of two thousand, issued secretly one night out of Callice, and came to Newport, and from thence to Dixmme; where the Lord Dawbeny commanded all men to send back their Horses: which the Lord Morley only refusing to do, was cause that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun: for the rest, after their arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the ground; by which means the Enemies Ordinance overshot the number of eight thousand; of the English part was slain the Lord Morley, and not above a hundred more. This victory so enriched the English, that they who went forth in cloth, came home in silk; and they who went out on foot returned back on Horse-back. Upon this defeat, the Lord de Cordes lying at Ipre with twenty thousand, and thinking to be revenged, besieged the Town of Newport; and so strongly assaulted it, that one day his men entered, and set up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town: when suddenly a Bark arriving with only fourscore fresh English Archers, so terrified them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the French were glad to leave their Banner behind them, and give over the assault; and the night following, the Lord de Cordes (who so much longed for Callice, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lie seven years in Hell, so that Callice were in the possession of the French) brake up his siege, and returned to Holding with as much shame, as the English to Callice with honour.

A little before this time, Francis Duke of Brittain dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady Anne, affianced to Maximilian King of the Romans; and in so solemn a manner, that she taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit Maximilian's Deputy, in presence of many Noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put his leg stript naked to the knee, between the spousal sheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Consummation. The King of France likewise had been contracted to the Lady Margaret Daughter to the forefard Maximilian, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithstanding, out of a violent desire to joyn the Duchy of Brittain to the Crown of France, he dissannulled and made void both the Contracts: But to the end he might do it without opposition of the King of England, he sent Ambassadors, the Lord Francis of Lutsemburg, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine, to King Henry; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King Henry's

The Earl of  
Northumber-  
land is slain in  
collecting the  
Subsidy.

1489.

John a Chamber  
King-leader of  
the Insurrec-  
tion is  
hanged.

James King of  
Scots in a Bat-  
tel at Bannocks-  
burn is slain.

King Henry  
sends an Army  
to assist the  
Emperour  
against the  
French.

The Lord  
Morley slain,  
and by what  
chance.

The French  
frighted with  
a conceit.

How much the  
French longed  
for Callice.

Two contracts  
of Marriage,  
formerly made,  
dissannulled by  
the King of  
France.



*Danby* was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir *William Stanley*, who came in to rescue the Earl of *Richmond*, when he was in danger of his life, who set the Crown upon his head, and was the cause of his being saluted King: And could it enter into his breast, to put him to death, that had saved his life, and done him so many great services besides? But it may be said, it was not the Earl of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*; for certainly, in many cases, a King is not at liberty to shew mercy, so much as a private man may. Though there be that affirm, the cause of his death was not words only, but real acts, as giving aid to *Perkin* underhand by money. And it seems there was some conflict in the mind of King *Henry*, what he should do in this case; for he stayed six weeks after his Accusation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progress to *Leamham*, to the Earl of *Dorset*, who had married his Mother, and was Brother to Sir *William Stanley*: perhaps to congratulate his own safety; perhaps to condole with him his Brothers death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any sinister opinion of him: For to think that Sir *William*'s suing to be Earl of *Chester*, (an Honour appointed to the Kings Son) or his great wealth, (for he left in his Castle at *Holt*, in ready money forty thousand Marks, besides Plate and Jewels) were causes that procured or set forward his death; are considerations very unworthy of so just a Prince, against a servant of so great deserving.

1495.

A hundred and sixty of *Perkin*'s followers executed.

*Perkin* received by the King of *Scots*, marries the Earl of *Huntly*'s daughter. The King of *Scots* in *Perkin*'s quarrel, enters and spoils *Northumberland*.

A Commotion in *Cornwall* by the Instigation of *Thomas Flambeck*, a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith.

The Lord *Audley* confederate with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

But in this mean while, *Perkin* having gotten a Power of idle loose fellows, took to Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where though he were repelled, yet some of his Soldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty persons were taken Prisoners, whereof five were Captains; *Mortford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintyn*, and *Gemyne*: The hundred and sixty persons were brought to *London*, rayled in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the Arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoining to the Sea-coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sayled into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, to be no competent assistants for him, from thence he sayled into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair words and colourable pretences (made no doubt before by the Dutches of *Burgoyne*) that he received him in great state, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*: and to persuade the World that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, Daughter to *Alexander Earl Huntley*, his own near kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin*'s quarrel, entered with a puissant Army into *England*; making Proclamation, that whosoever would come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kind of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin* at his return, expressed much grief, saying, It grieved him to the heart, to see such havoc made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his succour. King *Henry* incensed with this bold attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity he had of a present war to revenge his indignity offered him by the *Scots*, and thereupon requiring their aid by money, had a Subsidy of six score thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord *Danby* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwall*, for payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this Commotion were, *Thomas Flambeck* a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame of this exaction upon *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, as being chief of the Kings Council, exhorted the people to take up Arms, and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peryn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells* intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Danby*, appointed *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England* to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the mean time *James Twichel* Lord *Audley* confederated himself with the Rebels of *Cornwall*, and took upon him to be their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Aubergain*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edmund Poyning*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Blackheath*, four miles distant from *London*, and there in a plain on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof when the King had knowledge, he presently sent *John Earl of Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Sir *Humfrey Bowcher* to environ the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in *S. George's* fields; where for encouragement he made divers Bannerets. The next day he sent the Lord *Danby* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the Bridge at *Debitford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrows were reported to be full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding the Lord *Danby* coming in with his company, and the Earls assailing them on every side, they were soon overcome: In which conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand; taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none; for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms painted upon

upon paper, reversed and all torn; and there, on the four and twentieth day of *June* was beheaded. *Thomas Flambeck* and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn and quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon stakes, set up in *London* and others places. Of the Kings Army were slain not above three hundred. It is memorable, with what comfort *Joseph* the Black-smith cheered up himself at his going to execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this that his name and memory should be everlasting: so dear even to vulgar spirits is perpetuity of Name, though joyed with infamy; what is it then to Noble spirits, when it is joyed with Glory?

In the mean time the King of *Scots* taking advantage of these troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, foraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of *Durham* was owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph Earl of Westmerland*, *Thomas Lord Barnes*, *Ralph Lord Nevil*, *George Lord Strange*, and many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little less than twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admiral, set forward against the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raise their siege of *Norham* Castle, but followed them also into *Scotland*, where he overthrew and defeated the Castle at *Camelfrains*, the Tower of *Heten-hall*, the Tower of *Edington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and raised it to the ground. At the Earls being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* sent to him *Marchmont* and another Herald, requiring him at his election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or else they two to fight in single combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the *Scottish* King, the Earl should deliver for his Ransome the Town of *Barwick*: Whereunto the Earl made answer, that the Town of *Barwick* was the King his Masters, and therefore not for him to dispose of; but for his offer of single combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himself highly honoured by such a match: But *King James of Scotland* had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into *Scotland*; and then the Earl returned to *Barwick*. In the mean time, one *Peter Hyalae*, a man of great learning and policy, was sent Ambassador to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his motion, found after the King of *England* (who was never averse from Peace upon honourable Conditions) no less inclining to it: and so a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* should be sent out of the *Scottish* Dominions.

About this time, the Lord *Camphyre* and others sent from *Philip* Archduke of *Austria* and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to King *Henry* for a conclusion of Amity, and to procure the *English* Merchants resort again to his Countrey, for King *Henry* sometime before, upon displeasure with the *Flemings*, but specially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*, not only had banished all *Flemish* wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had also retrained all *English* Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, causing the Mart for all *English* Commodities to be kept at *Callice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his own Merchant-adventurers, and thereupon some insurrections had risen, he willingly condiscended to their Request, and so the *English* resorted again to the Archdukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with general Procession; so glad was that Town of the *English* mens returns.

In his eleventh year of the Kings Reign, dyed *Cicely* Dutches of *York*; Mother to King *Edward* the fourth, at her Castle of *Berkhamstead*, being of extreme age; who had lived to see three Princes of her body Crowned, and four Murdered: she was buried at *Fotheringham* by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the *Scottish* Dominions: who thereupon with his Wife and Family sailed into *Ireland*: where understanding that the *Cornish* men were ready to renew the war again, he thought best not to let pass so fair an occasion; and thereupon, having with him four small Ships, and not above sixscore men, he sailed into *Cornwall*, and there landed in the month of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair words and large promises, he so prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thousand persons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the fourth: and by the advice of his three Counsellors, *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Tailour, and *John Astley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt first the winning of *Exeter*; which with great violence he assaulted, and the Townsmen with as great valiantness defended: whereof when the King heard, he sent the Lord *Danby* to their rescue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and the valiant Lord *Williams* his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenohard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Falsford*, Sir *John Haleswell*, Sir *John Crier*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecombe*, *William St. Maure* with others came to their aid: upon whose coming, *Perkin* left the siege, and retired to *Taunton*; where he mustered his men, as though he meant to prepare for battle: but finding his number to be much diminished (for of six thousand which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled from him, when they saw no great ones to take his part) he began to distrust his cause; and hearing withall, that the King with a great Power was at hand, about midnight with three score Horsemen in his company, he departed in post from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beaulieu* near to *Southampton*. When King *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled; he sent after him to the Sea-side, to stop

The Lord *Audley* beheaded.

*Flambeck* and *Joseph* the Smith hanged and quartered.

1496.

The King of *Scots* invades the frontiers; but is repelled.

A Truce between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

*Perkin* thrust out of *Scotland*, sayled into *Ireland*, and from thence came into *Cornwall*, and there gets forces.

Followed by the Kings forces, he takes Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*.

stop his passage and apprehend him: But the Messengers that were sent, when they came to St. Michaels Mount, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his wife the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, whom they presently brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady: to whom, in honor of her birth, and commiseration of her beauty, the King allowed a competent maintenance, which she enjoyed during the Kings life, and many years after. King *Henry* being come to *Exeter*, stayed there a few days, about examination of the Rebellion, and execution of the chief Offenders: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving pardon, the King caused them all to be assembled in the Church-yard of St. Peter, where they all appeared bare-headed in their shirts, and halters about their necks: whom the King viewing out of a window made for the purpose; after he had paused awhile, made a speech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and then, in hope they would afterward be dutiful Subjects he pardoneth them all: whereat they made a great shout, crying all, God save King *Henry*! though some of them afterward, like ungrateful wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King thinking himself in danger as long as he was in safety, set a guard about the place, to keep him from escaping; whereby *Perkin* was restrained, that at last he submitted himself to the Kings mercy, and was thereupon sent to the Tower, to be there in safe custody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas Lord Darcy*, *Sir Amyas Pawlet*, and *Robert Sherborn* Dean of *Pauls*, to be Commissioners for making inquiry of the Offenders, and for assailing their Fines; which they did with great severity to some, with great mildness to others, to all with equity.

It was now the fourteenth year of the Kings Reign, when one *Sebastian Gabato*, a Genoveses Son, born at *Bristow*, periwaded the King to man and victual a Ship at *Bristow*, to search for an Island, which (he said) he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities, who setting forth with three other small Ships of *London* Merchants, returned home two years after, when he had made a large discovery Westward, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return: as likewise six years before, one *Christopher Columbus* a Spaniard, made the first discovery of *America*.

*Perkin* being in the Tower and carefully guarded, yet found means to escape; and fled to the Priory of *Sheen* near *Richmond*; where discovering himself to the Prior of that Monastery, he begged of him for Gods sake, to get the Kings Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Westminster*, and was one day set fettered in a pair of Stocks before *Westminster*-Hall, and there stood a whole day; the next day he was set upon a like Scaffold in *Cheapside*, and there standing the whole day also, he then read openly his confession, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the passages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the Tower, and care taken he should be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithstanding once again *Perkin* attempted to escape, and drawing into a Confederacy with him the young Earl of *Warwick*; by fair words and large promises corrupted his Keepers, *Strangwith*, *Blewet*, *Afwood*, and long *Roger*, Servants to Sir *John Digby* Lieutenant of the Tower, that they intended to have slain their Master, and set *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* at liberty. But this practice was soon discovered, so that *Perkin* and *John a Water*, sometime Mayor of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkins* chief founders, were on the sixteenth day of *November* arraigned at *Westminster* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged; where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confession he had formerly made, was true: soon after also *Blewet* and *Afwood*, two of the Lieutenant men, were in the same place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the same month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned at *Westminster* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for consenting to break Prison, but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition, and destroy the King; and upon his Confession, had Judgement, and on the eight and twentieth day of the same month, in the year 1499, was brought to the Scaffold on the Tower-hill, and there beheaded. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldest Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the last Heir-male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the Tower from his very Infancy out of all company of Men and sight of Beasts; so as he scarcely knew a Hen from a Goose, nor one Beast from another; and therefore could never know how to practise his escape of himself, but by *Perkins* subtilty: for which cause the King favoured him so far; that he was not buried in the Tower, but at *Bissum* by his Ancestors. And thus ended the designs of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King, the space of seven or eight years, a great part of the Kings Reign.

But in the time of *Perkins* being in the Tower, another like practice was set on foot: for an *Augustine Fryer* called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*; having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford* a Cordwayners Son, he caused him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great chance gotten out of the Tower; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived some light credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, desiring all men to assist him. But this practice was soon discovered, and both the Master and the Scholar were apprehended and attained; the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrovetides* day at *S. Thomas Waterings*, and the Frier was condemned to perpetual Penitence: for at that time so much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Priest though he had committed Treason against the King, yet had his life spared: And this practice was some cause to exasperate the King against the Earl

King Henry pardons *Perkins* followers.

*Perkin* submits himself to King Henry, and is sent to the Tower.

1499.

*Perkin* makes escape out of the Tower. Submits himself again, and is again sent to the Tower.

*Perkin* attempting again to escape, is hanged at *Tyburn*.

*Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* for plotting with *Perkin* is beheaded.

Another practice to set up one *Ralph Wilford*, to be the Earl of *Warwick*.

But the practice discovered, and *Wilford* hanged.

A Earl of *Warwick*, who though innocent in himself, yet was nocent in pretenders: and besides, King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his Sons succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived: and thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, then reigning in *England*; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne* about many important businesses: the King and Queen sayled over to *Callice*; where at an interview between him and the Duke, at Saint *Peters* Church without *Callice*, the Duke offered to hold the Kings Stirrup at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit; but descending from Horse-back, they embraced with great affection: and after Communication had between them, the King and Queen in the end of June returned into *England*.

In his seventeenth year, two great Marriages were solemnized: the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* was sent by her Father King *Ferdinand*, with a puissant Army of Ships into *England*, where she arrived at *Plimouth*, the second day of *October*; & on the fourteenth of *November* after, she espoused openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; he of the age of fifteen years, she of eighteen: at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before time he had not used to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the cause, he answered merrily, saying: I have been this night in the midst of *Spain*, which is a hot Country, and that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in Bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Ladies portion was two hundred thousand Duckats; her joynture; the third part of the principality of *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Chester*. At this Marriage

was great solemnity and Royal Justings; during which time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other Noble personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a conclusion of Marriage (before treated of) between the Lady *Margaret* the Kings eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl by Proxy in the name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady, which Contract was published at *Pauls* Cross, the day of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; and if such joy were made when the match was made, what joy should be made now at the issue of the Match, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one great *Britain*? The Ladies portion was ten thousand pounds, her joynture two thousand pounds a year, after King *James* his death; and in present one thousand. When this Match was first propounded at the Council Table, some Lords opposed it; objecting, that by this means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the Scottish Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*: and this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the Match proceeded, and in August following was consummated at *Edinburgh*, conducted thither in great state by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was sent again into *Wales*, to keep that Country in good order; to whom were appointed for Counsellors, Sir *Richard Poole*, his kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Phillips*, Sir *William Adall*, Sir *Thomas Englefeld*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Willeston*, *Henry Marton*, and Doctor *William Smith* President of his Council: but within five months after his marriage, at his Cattle at *Ludlow* he deceased, and with great solemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *Tork* was staid from the Title of Prince of *Wales*, the space of half a year; till to women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur* was with childe, or no. The towardliness in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of sixteen years, was said to have read over all or mozt of the *Latine* Authors, besides many other.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* left a young Widow; King *Henry* loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being delirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*: prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some reluctance, such as could be in those years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katherine* his Brothers Widow; for which marriage, a dispensation by advice of the most learned men at that time in *Christendome*, was by Pope *Julius* the second granted, and on the five and twentieth day of June, in the Bishop of *Salisbury* house in *Fleet-street*, the marriage was solemnized.

A little before this time, *Edmund de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to John Duke of *Suffolk*, and Lady *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the fourth, had in his fury killed a mean person, and was thereupon Indicted of Murder: for which although he had the Kings Pardon, yet because he was brought to the Kings Bench-Bar, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemish to his honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himself in debt; or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his Brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the King into some doubt of his intention; whereupon he hath recourse to his usual course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Cuyson* Captain of *Hammes* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth of

1500.

King Henry says to *Callice* to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

1502.

Prince *Arthur* espouseth the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain*: and lye together all night.

The King of *Scots* marries the Lady *Margaret*, Gave King Henry's eldest Daughter.

Prince *Arthur* within five months after his marriage dieth.

His towardliness in learning.

Prince *Henry* not above twelve years old is contracted to the Lady *Katherine* his Brothers Widow, by dispensation from the Pope.

*Edmund de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, his couces by which he offended King Henry, and what his end was.

of their intentions : And to take away all suspicion of his employment, the first Sunday of November, he caused the said Earl and Sir Robert Curson with five others, to be accused openly at Pauls Cross, as enemies to him and his Realm. In conclusion, Sir Robert Curson acquainted the King with divers of that faction ; amongst whom, William Lord Courtney, and William de la Poole, brother to the foresaid Earl of Suffolk, who were taken but upon suspicion, yet held long in prison : but Sir James Tyrrel (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the Tower) and Sir John Windham, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attained, and on the sixth day of May at the Tower-hill beheaded. Whereof when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good success, he wandered about all Germany and France, where finding no success, he submitted himself at last to Philip Duke of Austria, by whom afterward he was delivered to King Henry, by this occasion : Ferdinand King of Aragon, by his Wife Isabella Queen of Castile, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named Joan, was married to this Philip Duke of Austria; the younger, named Katharine, to Arthur Prince of England : and now Queen Isabella being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of Castile descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke Philip ; they were layed out of Germany into Spain, to take possession of the Kingdom ; but by tempest and contrary winds were driven upon the coast of England, and landed at Weymouth in Dorsetshire ; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir Thomas Trenchard (a principal Knight of that Countrey) to his house, who presently sent word to the King of their arrival. King Henry glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained : sent presently the Earl of Arundel to wait upon him, till himself might follow ; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horse, and for more State came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Message, though King Philip had many reasons of haste on his journey ; yet not to give King Henry disdain, and withall to give his Queen the comfort of seeing the Lady Katherine her Sister, he went upon speed to the King at Windsor, while his Queen followed by easie journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, King Henry taking an opportunity, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, said unto him, Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast : I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours. The King of Castile asking him, what he meant by that speech ? I mean it (saith the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of Suffolk, who being my Subject, is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of Castile answered ; I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts ; but if it trouble you, I will banish him. King Henry replied, that his desire was to have him delivered to him : with this, the King of Castile a little confused, said, That can I not do with my Honour : Well then (saith the King) the matter is at an end : at last the King of Castile, who held King Henry in great estimation, compelling his countenance, said, Sir, you shall have him ; but upon your Honour, you shall not take his life : I promise it upon my Honour, said King Henry : and he kept his promise ; for he was not put to death during all his Reign ; but yet he took such order, that in the Reign of his Son King Henry the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the King of Castiles being here, a Treaty was concluded, and bearing date at Windsor ; which the Flemings term *Intercursum malus*, for that the Free fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and Seas of England, granted in the Treaty of Undecimo, was not by his Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now, when King Henry had received the King of Castile into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince Henry admitted to the order of the Golden-fleece ; and that the Earl of Suffolk was brought over and committed to the Tower ; the King of Castile departed home.

In this Kings time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law : One in his eleventh year, in which were called nine Serjeants, Mordant, Higham, Kingesmill, Conisby, Butler, Taxely, Frowik, Oxenbridge, and Constable ; who kept their feast at the Bishop of Elys Palace in Holborn, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentieth year ; in which were called ten Serjeants, Robert Brudnel, William Greவில், Thomas Marow, George Edgew, Lewis Polard, Guy Palmes, and William Fairfax ; who kept their feast at the Archbishops house in Lambeth.

King Henry having gotten as much honour as the Estimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intente to getting of wealth ; wherein he quickly found Instruments fit for his purpose, but especially two, Empson and Dudley, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer ; Dudley of a goodly family, but Empson the Son of a Sieve-maker. These two persons being put in Authority, turned Law and Justice into Rapine. For first, their manner was, to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then presently to commit them ; and not produce them to their answer, but suffer them to languish long in Prison ; and by sundry artificial devices and terrours, extort from them great Fines, which they termed Compositions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictment ; but sent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others at their private houses, and there used to shuffle up a Summary proceeding by examination, without trial of Jury ; assuming to themselves, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and controversies Civil. Then did they also use to intrude and charge the Subjects land with Tenures in Capite, by finding false Offices ; refusing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false Offices as by Law they might.

Two Calls of Serjeants at Law.

Empson and Dudley King Henry's Instruments for raising of money, and by what unjust courses.

A might. Nay the Kings Wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive Fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums ; standing upon the strict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens lands and rents during the space of full two years, for a Pain in case of Outlawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct ; and if they did not, then convent, imprison, and fine them. These and many other courses they had of preying upon the people : but their principal working was upon Penal Statutes ; wherein they considered not whether the Law was obsolete, or in use ; and had ever a rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found, either for fact or Valuation. There remaineth to this day a Report, that King Henry was on a time entertained very sumptuously by the Earl of Oxford, at his Castle of Henningham : and at the Kings going away, the Earls servants stood in their livery-coats with cognifances, ranged on both sides, to make the King a lane : Whereupon the King called the Earl to him, and said : My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than is spoken ; These handfom Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I see on both sides of me, are sure your Menial servants. At which the Earl smiled, and said : It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease ; They are moit of them my Retainers, and are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. Whereat the King started a little, and said : By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good cheer ; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my sight : my Attorney must speak with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it cost the Earl for a composition, fifteen thousand marks. And to shew further the Kings extreme diligence : I remember (saith Sir Francis Bacon Lord of Verulam in his History) to have seen long since a Book of Account of Empsons, that had the Kings hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing ; and was in some places postilled in the Margent with the Kings own hand likewise, where was this Remembrance :

*Item, Received of such a one five marks for the Pardon to be procured ; and if the Pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the party be some other way satisfied.*

And over against this Memorandum (of the Kings own hand, ) Otherwise satisfied. This (saith he) I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a Nearness, but yet with a kind of Justness. In his three and twentieth year, there was a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capell, now the second time, for misgovernment in his Maioralty : The great matter was, that in some payments he had taken notice of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders ; for which and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds, whereof, being a man of stomach, he refused to pay a farthing ; and thereupon was sent to the Tower, where he remained until the Kings death. Kneshworth likewise, that had been lately Maior of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thousand four hundred pounds. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Maior of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand pounds ; and Sir Lawrence, for refusing to pay it, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place. By these courses he accumulated so great store of Treasure, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping at Richmond, (as is reported) the sum of neer eighteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling. But though by this course he got great store of Treasure, yet by it he lost the best treasure (the peoples hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such moneys as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

It seems King Henry, after the death of his Queen the Lady Elizabeth, had an inclination to marry again ; and hearing of the great beauty and virtue of the young Queen of Naples, the Widow of Ferdinando the younger ; he sent three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James Braybrook, and John Stile, to make two inquiries ; one of her person and conditions, the other of her Estate : Who returning their answer, that they found her Beauty and Vertues to be great, but her Estate to be only a certain Pension or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of Naples as he expected, he then gave over any further meddling in that matter. After this, another Treaty of marriage was propounded to the King, between him and the Lady Margaret Dutchess Dowager of Savoy, only Daughter to Maximilian, and Sister to the King of Castile ; a Lady wife and of great fame : In which business was employed, for his first piece, the Kings then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate, Thomas Woolsey. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the King, but with the promise of Futuro only. Which marriage was protracted from time to time, in respect of the Infirmy of the King : which held him by fits till he died.

He left Executors, Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz-James Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Treasurer of England, Edward Earl of Worcester and Lord Chamberlain, John F. Knight, chief Justice of the Kings Bench, and Robert R. Knight, chief Justice of the Common Pleas. A little before his death, he had concluded a marriage (in which negotiation Fox Bishop of Winchester was employed) between his younger Daughter the Lady Mary, of the age of ten years, and Charles King of Castile, not much elder : but though concluded, yet not solemnized ; and the war afterward married to Lewis the French King.

Chiefly upon Penal Statutes.

The Earl of Oxford entertains K. Henry to his cost.

1508.

King Henry at his death leaves 18 hundred thousand pounds in ready money.

King Henry had concluded to marry the Lady Margaret Dutchess Dowager of Savoy : but protracted by reason of his Infirmy. King Henry's Executors.

## Of his Taxations.

IN his third year, there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in *Britain*; that every man should pay the tenth penny of his Goods: which Tax though at first withstood in *Yorkshire* and *Durham*; yet was afterward levied to the uttermost. In his seventh year, towards his wars in *France*, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted, by which great sums of money were collected of the richer sort only. In his eleventh year, a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his wars with *Scotland*, which caused afterward the insurrection in *Cornwall*. In his nineteenth year a Subsidy was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth year, he raised great sums of money from offenders against Penal Statutes: the greatest, but the unjustest way for raising of money, that ever any King of *England* used; and not content with this, he required, and had at the same a Benevolence both from the Clergy and Laity. To the Clergy was employed *Richard Fox*, then Bishop of *Winchester*; who assembling the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberal in their contribution; but the Clergy being of two sorts, rich and poor, made each of them their several excuses: The rich and such as had great livings, said, they were at great charges in keeping hospitality and maintaining their families: and therefore desired to be spared: The poor sort alledged, that their means were small, and scarce able to find them necessities, and therefore desired to be forborn. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in hospitality, in apparel and other demonstrations of your wealth; and seeing you have store to spend in that order, there is no reason but for your Princes service you should do much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer sort he said, though your livings be small, yet your frugality is great, and you spend not in house-keeping and apparel as others do; therefore be content, for you shall pay.

Bishop Fox's Dilemma to draw the Clergy to contribute to the K.

## Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THIS King was the first that ordained a company of tall strong men, (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the person of the King; to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time, the authority of the Star-chamber, which subsisted before by the Common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent general Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all stranger rights: Another for admission of poor suitors, *In forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Attorney or Clerk. Another, that no person that did assist by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be Impeached therefore or Attainted either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the sums which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murderers should be burnt on the brawn of the left hand, with the letter M. and Thieves with the letter T. so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, that the Maior of *London* should have Conservation of the River of *Thames*, from the Bridge of *Stanes*, to the waters of *Tyndale* and *Medway*. In his seventeenth, *John Shaw* Maior of *London*, caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the waters-side when he went to *Westminster* to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the kitchens and other houses of office to be builded at the Guild-hall; where since that time, the Maiors feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylours-hall. In his eighteenth year King *Henry* being himself a brother of the Taylours Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, *Richard* the third, *Edward* the fourth, *Henry* the sixth, *Henry* the fifth, *Henry* the fourth, and *Richard* the second; also of Dukes: 1. Earls 28. Lords 48. he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

Yeomen of the Guard when first ordained.

Fines to be final, ordained by this King.

The Maiors Feast when first kept at Guild-hall.

The Title of Merchant-Taylors, when first given.

## Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the tenth year of his Reign, *Joan Boughton* widow, was burnt in *Smithfield*, for holding certain opinions of *John Wickliffe*. In his seventh year, King *Henry* finding great inconvenience by the privilege of Sanctuaries; wrote to Pope *Alexander*, desiring him by his authority, to adjudge all *English* men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be enemies to the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the priviledg of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before: which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500. a Jubilee in *Rome* was celebrated; whereof *Alexander* the then Pope, by his messenger *Gaspar Pons* a Spaniard, gave notice to the King, offering withal, that those who could not come to *Rome*, should notwithstanding at a certain price have Pardons,

The Priviledge of Sanctuaries abated.

A Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came; and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a war against the *Turk*; by which course he gathered great sums, for which he had other use, then to spend it so idly. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope *Alexander* the sixth dyed of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, where his Son *Valentino* meaning to poyson *Adrian* Cardinal of *Cornetta*, sent thither certain flaggons of Wine infected with Poyson, and delivered them to a servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before Supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for drink, his own provision being not yet come: The servant that had the poysoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son *Valentino* came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poysoned; but the Pope only overcame of the Poyson, dyed; his son by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Pope Alexander the sixth poysoned, by what chance.

## Works of Piety and other Structures by him, and others.

THIS King magnificently enlarged *Greenwich*, which *Humphry* Duke of *Gloucester* had formerly builded, calling it *Placentia*. In his sixteenth year, he new builded his Manour of *Shen*, and named it *Richmond*: He also new builded *Baynards Castle* in *London*. In his two and twentieth year, he finished the goodly Hospital of the *Savoy* near *Charing-cross*, to which he gave lands for the relieving of two hundred poor people: This was first called *Savoy-place*, built by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy* Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the nine and twentieth year of *Henry* the third, who made the said *Peter* Earl of *Richmond*. The house belonged since to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and at this time was converted to an Hospital, retaining still the first name of the *Savoy*. In this Kings time, *John Morton* being Bishop of *Ely*, bestowed great cost upon his house at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, now the house of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Salisbury*; and at *Wesbich* Castle in *Cambridgeshire*, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: Being afterward Bishop of *Canterbury*, he bestowed great sums in repairing and augmenting his houses at *Maidstone*, *Alington-Park*, *Charing*, *Ford*, *Lambeth*, and specially at *Knok* in *Kent*, where he dyed. King *Henry* also builded three houses of *Franciscan Friars*, which are called *Observants*; one at *Richmond*, another at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three other of *Franciscan Friars*, which are called *Conventuals*, one at *Canterbury*, another at *Newcastle*, and a third at *Southampton*. And drawing near his end, he did these works of charity: He granted a general Pardon to all men, for any offence committed against any of his Laws, Theeves and Murderers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Gaols in and about *London*, abiding there for that cause only: He paid also the Debts of all such persons as lay in the Counters or Ludgate for forty shillings or under, and some also for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the East-side of the high Altar at *Westminster* Church, with a Tavern called the *White-race* near adjoining, was taken down, in which place a most beautiful Chappel was then presently begun to be builded, by King *Henry*; the charges whereof amounted to the sum of fourteen thousand pounds (as *Stow* witnesseth.) In his second year, the great Conduit in *Cheap-side*, at the charges of *Thomas* *Ilam* Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Crofs also in *Cheap-side* was new builded, towards the charges whereof *Thomas* *Fisher* Mercer gave five hundred Marks. In his seventh year, the Conduit in *Grace-street* was begun to be builded by the Executors of *Sir Thomas* *Hill* Grocer, late Maior of *London*. Also this year, *Hugh* *Clapton* Maior of *London*, builded the great Bridge of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, as likewise a fair Chappel toward the South-eade of that Town; and near unto the same, a pretty house of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life: He glazed also the Chancel of the Parish Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from *Alisbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Alisbury*. In his tenth year, *John Tate* Maior of *London*, builded the Church of *Saint* *Anthones* with a Free-school, and certain Alms-houses for poor men. In his time, his Mother the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, builded two Colleged in *Cambridge*, one called *Christis* Colledge, the other *S. Johns*; and endowed them with large possessions; for the maintenance of learning. *Richard* *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, and *William* *Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-nose* Colledge: He also builded at *Lichfield* an Hospital, for a Matter, two Priests, and ten poor men, as likewise a Free-school, with a School-master and an Usher. *Anne* Aveling gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Cirester*. In his time also *John* *Alecok* Bishop of *Ely*, builded *Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*; and in his two and twentieth year *Tho. Knesworth* Maior of *London* builded the Conduit at *Bishopsgate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fish-mongers certain Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four pounds a year: also to poor people and prisoners in *Ludgate* something yearly. In his twentieth year, *Sir* *William* *Capell* Maior of *London*, caused all *Hompsteditch* to be paved over; which till that time, had lien very noyously to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth year, all the Gardens without *Morgate* (which had continued time out of minde) were destroyed; and of them was made a plain field, for Archers to shoot in. In this Kings time also, *Thomas* *Savage* Archbishop

*Greenwich* enlarged by King *Henry*.

*Richmond* new builded.

The *Savoy* made an Hospital.

The Crofs in *Cheap-side* new builded.

The Conduit in *Grace-street* builded.

*Christis* Colledge, and *S. Johns* in *Cambridge*, Founded.

*Corpus Christi* Colledge, and *Brazen-nose* in *Oxford*, Founded.

*Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*, Founded.

*Hompsteditch* was first paved.

of York, repaired the Cattle of Cowood, and the Manour of Scroby, and founded the Chappel at *Maclefield* in *Cheshire*, where he was born. Also in this time, *Stephen Gennings* Maier of *London*, founded a free Grammar School at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*, where he was born; and gave lands sufficient for a Matter and an Usher, leaving the oversight to the Merchant Taylors in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly so called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfrane-hampton*, upon this occasion: The Town was anciently called *Hampton*, to which a noble Woman named *Wilfrune*, a Widow, sometime Wife of *Athelm* Duke of *Northampton*; obtained of King *Ethelred*, to give lands to the Church there, which she had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the said *Wilfrune*. In this Kings time also *John Colet* Dean of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls* School in the Church-yard there.

*Wolverhampton*  
why so called.

*Pauls* School  
first founded.

### Casualties happening in his time.

Two sweating  
sicknesses.

IN his first year, happened the Sicknefs called the Sweating-sicknefs, which though it continued not long, yet took away many thousands: and in his two and twentieth year, the like Sweating-sicknefs happened again; but by reason of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

The price of  
Corn and o-  
ther things in  
his time.

In his second year Wheat was sold for three shillings the Quarter, Bay-salt at the like price: In his seventh year, Wheat was sold at *London* for twenty pence the Bushel, which was counted a great dearth. In his tenth year, Wheat was sold at *London* for six pence the Bushel, Bay-salt for three pence half-peny, *Nantwich* Salt for six pence, white Herrings nine shillings the Barrel, red Herrings three shillings the Cade, red Sprats six pence the Cade, and *Gascoigne* Wines for six pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth year, *Gascoigne* Wine was sold at *London* for forty shillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four shillings, and Bay-salt four pence the Bushel.

The two and twentieth of *August* 1485. the very day that King *Henry* got the victory of King *Richard*; a great fire was in *Bread street* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parson of *Saint Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parsonage there.

A dead body  
found whole of  
skin above a  
hundred years  
after it was bu-  
ried.

In his tenth year, in digging a new foundation in the Church of *Saint Mary Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred seventy five years before, was found whole of Skin, and the joynts of her Arms pliable, which Corps was kept above ground four days without annoyance, and then again buried.

Hayl-stones  
18. Inches a-  
bout.

In his twelfth year, on *Bartholomew* day, at the Town of *Saint Needs* in *Bedford-shire*, there fell Hayl-stones that were measured eighteen Inches about.

In his thirteenth year on the one and twentieth of *December*, suddenly in the night brake out a fire in the Kings Lodgings, being then at his Manour of *Sheen*; by violence whereof, a great part of the old Building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of *Brabam* in *Norfolk* was burnt: Also this year, a great Plague happened; whereof many people dyed in many places, but specially in *London*, where there dyed that year thirty thousand.

In his twentieth year, Alum which for many years had been sold for six shillings a hundred, rose to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of *Normich* was well neer consumed with fire. Also in the same year, in *July*, a Gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempest which drave King *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of *Pauls*; and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black Eagle, which was in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where the School-house now standeth; and battered it and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperial House, as indeed it proved; for this King *Philip* being the Emperours Son, arriving in *Spain*, sickned soon after; and being but thirty years of age, deceased: upon whose decease, his Wife Queen *Juan* out of her tender love to him, fell distracted of her wits.

### Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned: She lived his Wife eighteen years, and dyed in Child-bed in the Tower of *London*, the eleventh of *February*, the very day on which she was born; and is buried at *Westminster*, in the magnificent Chappel and rich Monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Issue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: his eldest Son *Arthur* was born at *Winchester*, the twentieth day of *September*, in the second year of his Reign; and dyed at *Ludlow*, at fifteen years old and a half; and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Maries* in *Worcester*, where in the South side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth day of *June*, in the seventh year of his Fathers Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdom.

Queen *Eliza-  
beth* dyed the  
very day in  
which she was  
born.

Births in the  
eighth month  
not long lived.

A His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth year of his Fathers Reign, and died at five years of age, at *Bishops Hatfield*, and lies buried at *S. Peters* in *Westminster*. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth day of *November*, the fifth year of her Fathers Reign; and at fourteen years of age was married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom she bare three Sons, *James* the fifth, *Arthur*, and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, which three last dyed all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King *James*, (slain at *Flodden* field in fight against the *English*) she was remarried to *Archibald Dowglass* Earl of *Angus*, in the year 1514. to whom she bare *Margaret*, espoused to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, Father of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the age of nine moneths, and lieth interred in the upper end of the Chancel in the Parish Church of *Stepney* neer *London*: Her second Son was *Henry* Lord *Dernly*, reputed for personage the goodliett Gentleman of *Europe*; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royal Parents of the most Royal Monarch *James* the first, King of great Britain. Her third Son was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henry*'s second Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was born in the year 1492. at three years of age died, and was buried at *Westminster*: His third Daughter the Lady *Mary*, had been promised to *Charles* King of *Castile*; but was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*; who dying three moneths after, she was then married to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*: His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katherine*, was born in the year 1503. in the eighteenth year of her Fathers Reign, and died an Infant.

*Margaret*  
Queen of *Scots*  
her Illue.

The Lady  
*Arbella*'s Pa-  
tentage.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Body lean and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher then the common sort, his eyes gray, his teeth tingle, his hair thin, of a fair complexion, and pleasing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the virtue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was Politick; if not rather, that he was Wise; for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not War, but in case of necessity; always Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was less addicted to bodily pleasures of any kind, then he. Three pleasures he had, but in three cases; One for Safety; another for Honour; and the third for Wealth: in all which he attained his end. His great respect of the Church, was seen by his great employment of Churchmen; for through the hands of Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Fox*, and his Chaplain *Urswick*, the greatest part of all his negotiations passed. He was Frugal from his youth, not Covetous, till ancient and sickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kind, must be attributed to age and weaknefs. The City of *London* was his Paradise, for what good fortune soever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of Women; yet all his great fortune both precedent and subsequent came by Women; His own title to the Crown, was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown, was by a Woman; his Transfession of the Crown to his Posterity, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady *Margaret*, descended from *John* of *Gunt*; the second by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of himself King of *England*, and married to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*; by means whereof, as he was the Prince that joyned the two Roses in one; so he was the Founder of joyned the two Kingdoms in one. And lastly, it may be said of him, as was said by one of *Augustus Caesar*:--- *Hic vir hic est, tili qui promitti sapius audis*: for *Cadwallader* last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred years before had prophesied of him; and of latter time, King *Henry* the sixth plainly fore-shewed him.

### Of his Death and Burial.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a Defluxion also taking into his Breast, waited his Lungs, so that thrice in a year, and specially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Tiffick, which brought him to his end; at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April* in the year 1508. when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight moneths: being dead, and all things necessary for his Funeral prepared; his Corps was brought out of his Privy Chamber, into the great Chamber, where it rested three daies; and every day had there a Dirge and Masse sung by a Prelate, Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained also three daies, and had a like service there; and so three daies in the Chappel. Upon Wednesday the ninth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corps was a picture of the late King, laid on Cushions of Gold; and the Picture, was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chaplain and a great number of Prelates set forward, praying; then followed all the Kings Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every side were carried Torches, to the number of six hundred; and in this order they came from *Richmond* to *S. Georges* field; where there met with it all the Priests and Religious men.

men within the City and without; the Maior and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all clothed in Black, met with the Corps at London Bridge; and so the Chariot was brought throughout the City to the Cathedral of St. Paul, where the body was taken out and carried into the Quire, and set under a goodly Hearse of Wax; where after a solemn Mass, was made a Sermon by the Bishop of Rochester: The next day, the Corps in like manner was removed to Westminster; Sir Edward Howard bearing the Kings Banner. In Westminster was a curious hearse full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by six Lords, and set under the Hearse, which was double railed: when the Mourners were set, Garter King at Arms, cried, For the Soul of the Noble Prince Henry the seventh, late King of this Realm: The next day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops, and after the Masses was offered the Kings Banner and Courser, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm, and at the end of the Mass, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin; and when the Quire sang *Liberate me*, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kings Household, brake their Staves and cast them into the Grave: Then Garter cried with a loud voyce; *Vive le Roy Henry le huitieme, Roy d' Anglitterre & de France, sire d' Irlande*: and thus ended the Funeral.

### Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be seen in the History of this Kings Reign: For men of Letters in his time, of Foreiners were *Sanctus Pagninus* a great Hebrician; *Landennus*, *Gattinaria*, *Cabellus* and *Optatus*, Physicians; *Augustinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulinus* and *Pighius*, Philosophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the famous Clerk *Reuchlin*, who restored again the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Countrey, there lived in his time, *Greg Rippley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boston*, who wrote divers Treatises in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer; *John Erghom* born in *York*, a Black Frier, studious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the works he wrote may appear. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welshman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round Table. *John Rouse* born in *Warwickshire*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatises of Historical Argument. *Thomas Scrop* surnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, entred into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himself to his house, where for twenty years he lived the life of an Anchorite; and after, coming abroad again was made a Bishop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambassage; from whence being returned, he went barefooted up and down in *Norfolk*, teaching the ten Commandments, and lived till neer a hundred years old. *John Tonneys* an Augustine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things printed by *Richard Pynse*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriffe of *London*, and an Historiographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the same man whom King Henry used to take the forfeitures of Penal Statutes; who wrote a Book intitled *Arbor Rei-publicae*. *John Bockingham* an excellent School-man: and *William Blackney* a Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian  
lived at this  
time.

### Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
Sir Hugh Bricc was Maior.  
John Tate, John Swan, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Sir Henry Collet was Maior.  
John Percivall, Hugh Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
William Horn was Maior.  
John Fensgill, William Remington, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Robert Tate was Maior.  
William Isaac, Ralph Tinley, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
William White was Maior.  
William Capel, John Brook, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
John Matthew was Maior.  
Henry Cote, or Coot, Robert Rezvell, and he dying,  
Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Hugh Clopton was Maior.  
Thomas Wood, William Brown, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir William Martin was Maior.  
William Purchase, William Walbeck, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Ralph Austrie was Maior.  
Robert Fabian, John Winger, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
Richard Chawrie was Maior.  
Nicholas Alwin, John Warner, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
Sir Henry Collet was Maior.  
Thomas Kneefworth, Henry Sommer, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
John Tate was Maior.  
John Shaa, Richard Hedon, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
William Purchase was Maior.  
Barthol. Rede, Thom. Window, or Windout, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Sir John Percival was Maior.  
Thomas Bradbury, Stephen Gennings, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Nicholas Aldmine was Maior.  
James Wilford, Thomas or Richard Broad, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
William Rennington was Maior.  
John Hawes, William Steed, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Sir John Shaa was Maior.  
Lawrence Aylmer, Henry Hede, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Anno Dom.  
1509.



ING Henry the Seventh being deceased, his only Son Prince Henry Heir by his Father of the House of Lancaster, and by his Mother of the House of York; by unquestionable right succeeded in the Crown, at the Age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of April, in the year 1509. who having been trained up in the study of good letters all his Fathers time; he governed at first as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in so regular and fair a manner, that as of *Neroes* Government, there was said to be *Quinquennium Neronis*; so of this Kings, there might as just be said,

*Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double so long a time, comparable with so much time of any Kings Reign, that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to such a degree of change as he did, we shall then have a fit place to shew, when we come to the time of his alteration. King Henry having learned by Books, that the weight of a Kingdom is too heave to lie upon one mans shoulders, if it be not supported by able Counsellors, made it his first care, to make choice of an able Council; to which he called *William Warham* Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, *Richard Fox* Bishop of Winchester, *Thomas Howard* Earl of Surrey, and Treasurer of England, *George Talbot* Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Steward of his Household, *Charles Somerset* Lord Chamberlain, *Sir Thomas Lovell*, *Sir Henry Wyke*, Doctor *Thomas Ruthall*, and *Sir Edward Poyning*; by advice of these Counsellors, his first Act after the care of his Fathers Funeral, was the care to perform his Fathers Will, in marrying the Lady *Katherine of Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which perhaps, but in respect of filial piety, he had not the greatest devotion; and for relinquishing whereof, he might (no doubt) more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope, then his Father had done, for getting it to be allowed: but obsequiousness to his Fathers desire, and respect to his Counsels advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned, till that were performed, that one Coronation might serve them both: and so on the third day of June following, he married the said Lady, at the Bishop of *Salisbury* House in *Fleets* street; where of many great solemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to shew she was a Virgin Widow, she was attired all in white, and had the hair of her head hanging down behind at the full length: and then (having made in the Tower four and twenty Knights of the Bath) two daies after being *Midsummer* day, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his Queen, by the hands of *William Warham* Archbishop of Canterbury; with all Circumstances of State in such cases usual; and then all the Nobility Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King, they all with one voice, cried, Yea, Yea.

This done, his next Act was another part of performing his Fathers Will, which was to proclaim Pardons for all Offences (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have restitution made of all goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instruments of such injustice

His choice of good Counsellors.

He marries the Lady Katherine the Relict of his brother Arthur.

He and his Queen Crowned.

are always most odious, and nothing gives the people so much contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished; he therefore caused *Empson* and *Dudley* the two chief Actors of the late unjust proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of their inferior Agents, called Promoters, as *Canby*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Derby*, *Wight*, *Simpson*, and *Stockton*, to be set on the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City, with their faces to the Horse tails; with the shame whereof in seven daies after, they all dyed in *Newgate*. Shortly after a Parliament was called; whereof *Sir Thomas Ingleby* was chosen Speaker; and therein *Empson* and *Dudley* were attainted of high Treason, and after arraigned; *Edmund Dudley* in the *Guildhall*, on the seventeenth of July, and *Sir Richard Empson* at *Northampton* in October following; and on the seventeenth of August the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the Tower-hill; and their Bodies and Heads buried, the one at the *White-Friers*, the other at the *Black*.

On *Midsummer* Eve at night, King Henry came privily into *Cheapside*, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the same: and this first year King Henry spent in Juits and Masks, which were almost perpetual, performed with great Magnificence alwayes; and sometimes with great Acts of Valour, on the Kings part specially.

In February the same year, Ambassadors came from the Kings Father in Law, the King of *Aragon*, requiring aid against the *Moors*; in which service, the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, a Knight of the Garter, making suit to be employed, he was sent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, Brother to the Marquess *Dorset*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolstan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, Esquires of the Kings House, *Sir Robert Constable*, *Sir Roger Hastings*, *Sir Ralph Elderton*, and others; who on the Monday in the Rogation week, departed out of *Plimouth* Haven, with four Ships Royal, and on the first of June, arrived at the Port of *Cadix* in *South Spain*; of whose coming the King of *Aragon* hearing, sent to bid them welcome, but advertizing them withal, that he had now by reason of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moors*; and therefore they might return again into their own Country, to whom yet he allowed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboard their Ships; but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolstan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, desirous to see the Court of *Spain*, went thither, and were honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolstan Brown* were made Knights by the King; who gave to *Sir Henry Guilford* a Canton of *Granado*; and to *Sir Wolstan Brown* an Eagle of *Sicily* on a Chief, to the augmentation of their Arms: *William Sidney* so excused himself, that he was not made Knight.

After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into England. During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in *Spain*, the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheis of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and Governess of *Flanders* and other the Low-Countries, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Castile*, sent to King Henry for fifteen hundred Archers, to aid her against the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon *Sir Edward Poyning* Knight of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings House appointed to go, accompanied with his Son in Law the Lord *Clinton*, *Sir Matthew Brown*, *Sir John Digby*, *John Werton*, *Richard Withervill*, and others to the number of fifteen hundred, took Shipping at *Sandwich*, and passing over to the said Lady Regent, did her there great service; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Linde* were Knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards, returned, not having lost in all the Journey, by war or sickness, above an hundred men.

In the third year of King *Henries* Reign, one *Andrew Barton* a Scottish Pirate, was grown so bold, that he robbed *English* men no less then other Nations, till the King sent his Admiral, *Sir Edward Howard*, to repress him, who in a fight so wounded the said *Barton*, that he dyed; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the men Prisoners to London; and though their offence deserved no less then death, yet the King was so merciful as to pardon them all; provided, they departed the Realm within twenty daies. The King of *Scots* hearing the death of *Barton*, and taking of his Ships, sent to King Henry, requiring restitution; but King Henry answered his Herald, that he rather looked for thanks for spairing their lives, who so justly had deserved death.

In the third year also of King *Henries* Reign, the French King made sharp War against Pope *Jules* the second; whereupon King Henry wrote to the French King, requiring him to desist from his War against the Pope, being his friend and confederate; but when the King of *France* little regarded his request, he then sent him word, to deliver him his Inheritance of the Duchy of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, and the Countreys of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as also his Crown of *France*, or else he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this threatening neither; King Henry then joyning in League with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and with divers other Princes, resolved by advice of his Council to make War on the King of *France*, and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

This year the King kept his Christmas at *Greenwich* in a most magnificent manner. On New-years day was presented one of his Jovial Devices, which only for a Pattern what his shows at other times were, I think fit to set down at large. In the Hall was made a Castle, garnished with Artillery and Weapons, in a most warlike fashion, and on the Front of the Castle was written, *la Fortresse Dangevense*: within the Castle were six Ladies, cloathed in Ruffet Satten, laid all over with leaves of Gold: on their heads Coys and Caps of Gold. After this Castle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it; in came the King with five other, apparelled in Coats, one half of Ruffet Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold; the other half of rich cloth of Gold: on their heads Caps of Ruffet Satten, embroidered with works of fine Gold.

*Empson* and *Dudley* committed to the Tower.

1510.  
Both of them beheaded.

*Sir Henry Guilford*, and *Sir Wolstan Brown* the honours done them in *Spain*.

*Sir Edward Poyning* sent to aid the Dutcheis of *Savoy*.

*Sir Edward Howard* Admiral, repressed *Andrew Barton* a Scottish Pirate.

Anno Reg. 3.  
1512.  
King Henry makes preparation for war with *France*.

One of King *Henries* Jovial Devices.

These six assaulted the Castle, whom the Ladies seeing so lusty and courageous, they were contented to folace with them; and upon further communication, to yield the Castle; and so they came down, and danced a long space: after that the Ladies led the Knights into the Castle, and then the Castle suddenly vanished out of their sights. On the twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more were disguised, after the manner of *Italy*, called a Mask, a thing not seen before in England. They were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with Vipers and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done, these Maskers came in, with six Gentlemen disguised in silk, bearing staffe Torches, and desired the Ladies to dance, and after they had danced and communed together, took their leave and departed.

The five and twentieth of January began the Parliament, of which was Speaker Sir Robert Sheffield Knight, where the Archbishop of Canterbury shewed the wrong which the King of France did to the King of England, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that War should be made on the French King and his Dominions.

At this time King Ferdinand of Spain, having War with the French King, wrote to his Son in Law King Henry, that if he would fend over an Army into *Biskey*, and invade France on that side; he would aid them with Ordinance, Horses, and all other things necessary; whereupon Thomas Gray Marquess Dorset was appointed to go, and with him the Lord Howard Son and Heir to the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Brook, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Ferrers, the Lords, John, Anthony and Leonard Grey, all Brothers to the Marquess; Sir Griffith ap Rice, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir William Sands, the Baron of Burford, and Sir Richard Cornwall his Brother, William Hussey, J. Melus, William Kingstone Esquires, and Sir Henry Willoughby, with divers others, to the number of ten thousand, who taking Ship at Southampton on the sixteenth of May, the third of June they landed on the coast of *Biskey*, whither within three days after their arrival, came from the King a Marquess and an Earl to welcome them; but of such necessities as were promised, there came none; so as the English being in some want of victuals, the King of Navarre offered to supply them, which they accepted; and promised thereupon not to molest his Territories. After the Army had lyeen thirty dayes, looking for aid and provision from the King of Spain, at last a Bishop came from the King, desiring them to have patience a while, and very shortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the English men forced to feed much upon Garlicke, and to drink of hot Wines; fell into such sickness, that many of them dyed, at least eighteen hundred persons: which the Lord Marquess seeing, he sent to the King to know his pleasure; who sent him answer, that very shortly the Duke of Alva should come with a great power, and joyn with him; and indeed the Duke of Alva came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him as was promised; but being come within a days Journey, he suddenly turned towards the Realm of Navarre; and entering the same, chased out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of Spains use. This Spanish policy pleased not the English, who finding nothing but words from the King of Spain, and being weary of lying so long idle; they fell upon some small Towns in the borders of *Guyen*, but for want of Horses as well for service as draught, were unable to perform any great matter; at which time, being now October, the Lord Marquess fell sick, and the Lord Howard supplied his place of General, to whom the King of Spain once again sent offering his present coming, and requiring him, seeing the time of year was now past, that he would be pleased to break up his Army, and disperse his Companies into Towns thereabouts, till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promises: Hereupon the Lord Howard and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord Willoughby to *Gorschance*, and Sir William Sands with many other Captains to *Fontaroby*. King Henry in the mean time, hearing what the King of Spain intention was; sent his Herald Windsor with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very shortly he meant to send them a new supply of Forces; under the conduct of the Lord Herbert his Chamberlain; but this message so incensed the Souldiers, that in a great fury they had slain the Lord Howard, if he had not yielded presently to return home; who thereupon was forced to hire Ships, and in the beginning of December they landed in England; being taught by this experience what trust is to be given to Spanish promises.

About the same time that the Marquess went into Spain, Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral of England, with twenty great Ships made forth towards Britain; where setting his men on land, he burned and wasted divers Towns and Villages, and being threatened by the Lords of Britain to be encountered, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir Edward Brook Brother to the Lord Colham, Sir Griffith Down, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Burdet, Sir William Pirton, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Bull. The Britains were ten thousand, the English but five and twenty hundred; yet the Britains not contented with this advantage of number, would needs use Policy besides, for by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his men that as soon as the Battels were joyned, they should retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the English into some disadvantage; but the common Souldiers not knowing their Generals purpose, and supposing he had seen some present danger, instead of retiring took their heels and fled; so giving the English by their British policy, if not a Victory, at least a safety to return to their Ships. After which the Britains sued for Truce, and could not obtain it; for the English Admiral pursued his foraging the Countrey, till fearing there were many French Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Isle of Wight. King Henry in the mean time followed his pleasures, and in June kept a solemn Just at Greenwich, where he and Sir Charles Brandon took up all commers; and the King shewed himself no less a King at Arms, then in Estate.

The war with France concluded by Parliament.

Upon the King of Spains promise of aid, King Henry sends a great Army to him, but is deluded.

An. Reg. 5.  
1514.

Policy to self-hurt.

After this, King Henry having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Governance of Sir Anthony Outbread, Sir Edmund Tichingham, William Sidney, and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Isle of Wight, there to joyn with the Admiral; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair Ships: and to Portsmouth the Regent, Sir Thomas Knevet Master of his Horse, and Sir John Carew of Devonshire, and another principal Ship called the Sovereign, he appointed for Captains, Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford; and then making them a Banquet, sent them going. The French King likewise had prepared a Navy of nine and thirty Ships in the Haven of Brest, whereof the chief was a great Carrick, called the Cordelger, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of Britain, and there entered a terrible fight; the Lord Admirall made with the great Ship of Deep, and chased her; Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford being in the Sovereign, made with the great Carrick of Brest, and laid itemme to itemme to her: but whether by negligence of the Master, or by reason of the smoko from the Ordinance, the Sovereign was cast at the Stern of the Carrick; whereat the French men shouted for joy; which Sir Thomas Knevet seeing, suddenly he caused the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get afunder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the stream the Ships turned, and the Carrick was on the Weather side, and the Regent on the Lee side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: But in conclusion the English men entered the Carrick, which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set fire on the Gunpowder, (as some say) though others affirmed, that Sir Anthony Outbread following the Regent at the Stern, bowged her in divers places, and set her powder on fire; but Sir Piers Morgan, and with him nine hundred men; in the Regent were Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir John Carew, and with them seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King Henry to repair the loss of the Regent, caused a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in England; and named it Henry Grace de Dieu.

Though King Henry had hitherto followed his pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer studies; for he frequented daily his Council Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with France, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advice of his private Council, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, that himself in person with a Royal Army, should invade France; and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

On May even this year, Edmund de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, was beheaded on the Tower Hill: This was that Earl of Suffolk, whom King Philip Duke of Austria, had delivered up into the hands of King Henry the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed, but his Son King Henry the eighth was not bound by that promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lisle.

For all the great preparation for France, King Henry forbore not his course of Revelling, but kept his Christmas at Greenwich, with divers curious devices, in most magnificent manner. In March following, the Kings Navy Royal, to the number of two and forty Ships was set forth, under the conduct of Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, Sir Woolstan Brown, Sir Edward Tichingham, Sir Anthony Poynings, Sir John Wollope, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Stephen Bull, William Fitz-williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who saying to Britain, came into Bertram Bay, and there lay at Anchor in sight of the French Navy, whereof one Prior John was Admiral, who keeping himself close in the Haven of Brest; the English Admiral intended to assail him in the Haven, but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned come abroad, he then called a Council, where it was determined, that first they should assail Prior John and his Gallies, lying in Blankesable Bay, and after set upon the rest of the French Fleet in the Haven of Brest; and it was further appointed that the Lord Ferrers, Sir Stephen Bull, and others should go on land, with a convenient number, to assault the Bulwarks, which the French so the French men might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lord Admiral had a trick by himself, for by the advice of a Spanish Knight called Sir Aphonso Charant, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him William Fitz-williams, William Coks, John Colley, and Sir Woolstan Brown, as enterprize with their assistants only; and so confident he was of success, that he wrote to the King to come thither in person, to have the honour of the enterprize himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon, on Saint Marks day the Admiral put himself in a small Row Barge; and appointing three other small Row Ships, and his own Ship Boat to attend him, and therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where Prior John had moored up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies with the Bulwarks on the land, shot most cruelly;

The two Fleets of the French and English have a terrible Fight.

Sir Tho. Knevet in the Kings Ship called the Regent drowned.

King Henry makes the great Ship called Henry Grace de Dieu.

It is concluded in Parliament that K. Henry in person should invade France.

Edmund de la Poole Earl of Suffolk put to death.

Sir Charles Brandon is created Viscount Lisle.

Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, following his own headstrong device, is drowned.

yet

yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the French men: the Bay was shallow, and the other Ships by reason of the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the French men perceiving, they entered the Gallies again with Morris Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, with a Pike was thrown over board and drowned; the just issue of his head-strong enterprise; the forenamed *Alphonso* was also there slain: upon which forrowful accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the rest, returned into England. After whose departure, *Prior John* came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the borders of *Sussex*, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother to him that was drowned; Son and Heir of the Earl of *Surrey*: who so scoured the Seas, that the French were no more to be seen on any Coast of England.

King *Henry* had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with less, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a War in France himself in person; he sent before to prepare the way for him, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* high Steward of his Household; accompanied with the Lord *Thomas Standley* Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Dowker* Prior of *Saint Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Colham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Cornwall* and others, to the number of eight thousand; who arrived at *Callice* about the middle of *May*; after him in the end of *May*, followed Sir *Charles Somerset*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Gray* Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Wiltshire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *Delaware*, Sir *Edward Hussy*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, with others to the number of six thousand: These Generals joyning together, issued out of *Callice*, and on the two and twentieth day of *June*, late down before the strong Town of *Terwyn*, which City was strongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord *Poulterey*, who had with him six hundred Horsemen, and five and twenty hundred *Almain*, besides the Inhabitants. Here at the very first happened two disasters to the English; one, that the Baron *Carew* was slain with a shot from the Town; the other, that Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe* coming from *Gaynes* with four and twenty Carts of Provision, were set upon by the Duke of *Vendosme*, Lieutenant of *Picardy*, and many of the English slain, and the Provision taken. In this state was the English Camp at *Terwyn*, when King *Henry* the last day of *June* came himself to *Callice*, and on the one and twentieth of *July* took the field, having in his Army of fighting men, not above nine thousand, but with Pioners and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thousand and three hundred men: His forward was led by *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Liste*, his main Battail by himself, and Sir *Henry Gylford* carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the siege of *Terwyn*, entering upon the French ground the five and twentieth of *July*. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that mistook the way, a great Gun called the *John Evangelist*, was overthrown in a deep Pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few daies after, the Master Carpenter taking with him a hundred labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was set upon by eight hundred French; and the most of his company slain: the Gun was taken by the French, and carried to *Bulloigne*. In the French Army were to the number of eleven thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horse; whereof were Captains, the Lord *De la Palaye*, the Lord *De Priennes*, the Duke *De Longueville*, the Earl of *Saint Paul*, the Lord of *Floranges*, the Lord of *Clermont*, and *Richard de la Poole* an English man, Son to *John Duke of Suffolk*. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and some light skirmishes passed between them, specially one; on a day called the dry Wednesday, for the day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army stood in order of Battel, from six a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards *Terwyn*; and as the Army marched, another of the Kings Bombards of Iron, called the Red Gun, was overthrown in a lane, and there left; which the French understanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord *Berners*, Captain of the English Pioners, prevented them; and though set upon by the French to the number of nine or ten thousand, yet by the valour of the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the bold adventures of Sir *William Tyler*, and Sir *John Sharp*, they recovered it, and brought it safe to the Camp. On the fourth of *August* King *Henry* came before the City of *Terwyn*, where he strongly fortified himself with Ordinance, and other Warlike defences. In which mean time, the Captain of *Bulloigne*, knowing that many of the Garrison of *Callice* were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their absence, and do some great exploit upon *Callice*; and thereupon with a thousand men, came to *Newnham Bridge*, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward some of his company going to fetch Booties, and coming so near the Walls of *Callice*, that they were descried; about sixcore Coopers and other Artificers issued forth, and driving them back, recovered again *Newnham Bridge*, and took divers of their prisoners; especially when the Gate of *Callice*, called *Bulloigne Gate*, was opened, and that *Colepepper* the under-Marshal, with two hundred Archers issued forth, and joyined with them: The French prisoners were brought to *Callice*, and there sold in open Market; amongst others, a Cooper of the Town of *Callice*, bought a prisoner that dwelt in *Bulloigne*, and had of the prisoner for his ransom, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the French man prayed the Cooper for his ransom, delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himself alone with

An Army of King Henries sits down before Terwyn.

The King comes thither himself, and has his Army marshalled.

The number of the French Army.

Callice defended by Coopers and other artificers.

A foolish Souldier well served.

A with the French man, till he came beyond the Cawley, and there would have departed; but the French man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no rescue was nigh by force took the Cooper prisoner, and carryed him to *Bulloigne*, making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

Whilst King *Henry* lay thus at the siege of *Terwyn*, on the eleventh of *August* the Emperor *Maximilian* was come to *Ayre*; which King *Henry* understanding, went and met him between *Ayre* and the Camp, where with great complements they saluted each other; but their complements were broken off by the extreme foul weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperor *Maximilian* came from *Ayre* to the Kings Camp, wearing a Cross of *Saint George*, as the Kings Souldier, and receiving wages of him for service, an hundred Crowns a day. An honour never done to any King of England before; and yet was no disparagement to the Emperor; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of cloth of gold; that as no Emperor before had ever been souldier to a King; so no souldier before was ever lodged in such a Tent. At this time the City of *Terwyn*, being in some distress for want of victuals; the French King appointed all his Horsemen to the number of eight thousand, to see victuals by any means conveyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to *Mountier De Priennes*; but King *Henry* by advice of the Emperor *Maximilian* had made Bridges to pass his men over the River, to the other side of the Town, where was easiest access; in such sort, that when the French Convoy came with their victuals, and thought to have entered the Town, they found the English Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce battel was fought between them: but in conclusion the French were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the battel of Spurs, for that they used more their spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this battel, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Lord of *Clermont*, Captain *Bayard*, and others, to the number of twelve score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the Kings presence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the battel, the King made Sir *John Pechye* Banneret, and *John Carre* Knight, who had both of them done great service in this encounter. King *Henry* having obtained this victory against the French Horsemen, and hindered the Town of *Terwyn* from relief of victuals, and wishal plying his battery more fiercely then before; made the Townsmen soon fall to desire compolition; and upon condition that the souldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the Kings hands. This was done on the eighteenth of *August*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entered the Town the same night; and set up the Banner of *Saint George* in the highest place of it, in sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of England. The four and twentieth of *August*, the King himself entered the Town, and dined in the Bishops Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of *Terwyn* should be razed, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace; all the Ordinance was sent to *Ayre*, to be kept there to the Kings use.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of *Tourney*; whereupon he set forward in three battels; the Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor, the Battail; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rereward. In this order the Kings Army marched forwards towards *Tourney*; by the way, he went and visited the young Prince of *Castile*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Governess of the Prince, in the Town of *Liste*, where with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three days, he took his leave, and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Camp lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so dark and mistie; by chance at last they met with a victualer coming from the Camp, who was their guide and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what distress a great Prince may be brought by a little over-sight.

On the one and twentieth day of *September*, the King removed his Camp towards *Tourney*, and being come within three miles of the Town, he sent *Garter King of Arms* to summon the Town; but they, though they had but few men of war amongst them, yet stood upon their guard; whereupon the King begirt it on all sides, and made such fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the gates of the Town, graven in stone, *Jamais tu ne as perdu ton Pucelage*; thou hast never lost thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to lose it: *Tourney* is delivered up to King *Henry*. and in conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy, and yielded it up; and paid ten thousand pounds sterling besides for redemption of their liberties: and then Master *Thomas Woolsey*, the Kings Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of England; the number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done, the King entered into *Tourney*, and calling into his presence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitzwilliam*, *John Danse*, *William Tyler*, *John Sharpe*, *William Hussy*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garnish*, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the order of Knighthood; and then remembering the great entertainment the Prince of *Castile* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Liste*, he would not be behinde them in such Courtship; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of *Tourney*, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in *Tourney*, amongst other complements of entertainment, there was had a Juits, where the King and the Lord *Liste* answered all comers: after the Juits, King *Henry* makes a solemn Juits in a Mask, all richly apparelled with Bonnets of gold: and when they had passed

The Emperor Maximilian, takes pay of King Henry as his souldier.

The English defeat the French in a battel called the battel of Spurs.

Terwyn is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry lays siege to Tourney.

Tourney is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry makes a solemn Juits in a Mask.

passed the time at their pleasures, the garments of the Maskers were cast off amongst the Ladies, A take them that could. This was King *Henries* disposition, that he could not forbear Revelling in the midst of his Arms; and Ladies must be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here *Maximilian* the Emperour finding the *French* Forces to be but weak, periwades King *Henry* to proceed on and pursue his victories: but he being young and of a quiet disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the war for any cause of his own, but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: and thinking by this already done, the *French* sufficiently lesson'd to acknowledge their error: and the rather, for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolv'd to put this end to the war: and so taking his leave of the Emperour; and leaving Sir *Edward Poyning*; Governor of *Towney*, he returned to *Calice*; and from thence into *England*: and then rode in Post to the Queen at *Richmond*.

The King of Scots invades the English borders, but is repelled.

Whilst King *Henry* was thus busied in his war with *France*, the King of *Scots*, though his Brother-in-law, yet incited by the *French* King, and taking advantage of King *Henries* absence, assembled his people to invade *England*; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain with seven or eight thousand men entred the borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of Cattle, in a field over-grown with Broom, called *Milfield*, he was encountered by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and four hundred taken prisoners; the Lord *Humes* himself escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken; and this, by the *Scots* was called, the *ill Ride*. In the mean time the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer then one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number; and with these, King *James* approaching the Borders, and coming to *Norham* Castle, laid siege unto it, which for want of Powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the North parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert Souldiers came and joyned: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed six miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Flodden*, where it was impossible to come near him, but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the hill, on the left hand, was a great marsh ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep that it was not passable; on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assailing him on that part; the forefront of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordinance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of *Surrey* found there was no possibility of a Battail, unless he could draw him from the Hill; whereupon he called a Councell, by which it was determined to send *Rouge-Cross* Pursuivant at Arms with a Trumpet to the King of *Scots* to let him know, that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battail, if he would abide it; whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Pursuivant *Ilay*, made answer, that at the day prefixed he should find him ready for Battail as he desired, that he would willingly have come to such a match if he had been at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compass, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the *Scottish* King, to come down out of his strength, or else stop him from receiving of victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This counsel of the Lord *Howard* his Father followed, and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it stood not with his honour to be fore-stalled out of his own Realm, and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other; which the Earl of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they should have leisure to fortifie their Camp; and herewith making a short Speech, for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battails; the Vanguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, to whom was joyned as a Wing, Sir *Edward Howard*; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself, and the Rear-ward was by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of Horsemen was set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordinance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: and in this order they march forward towards the *Scots*. On the other side King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *English* half mad, to venture a Battail upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battails in this manner; the main Battail he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Montrose*; the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, together with the Lord *Humes* Lord Chamberlain: and so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing; for when the Battail being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was so assaulted by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horsemen and trod under foot the *Scottish* Battail of Speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the *Scottish* Army being led

The battail called Flodden Field.

How the English Army was marshalled.

How the Scottish Army was marshalled.

by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montrose*, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battail put to flight. In another part also Sir *Edward Stanley* did the like, upon the Battail led by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight, with the slaughter also of these two Earls. King *James* notwithstanding, maintained the fight still with great resolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of success, he rushed into the thickest of his Enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, the Kings bafe Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners (as *Paulus Jovius* saith) amongst whom was Sir *William Scot* Chancellour to the said King, and Sir *George Forman* his Serjeant Porter; the Lord *Hume* and the Earl of *Huntley* got Horses and escaped. Neither was the Battail without blood to the English; for there was slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken prisoners; for many in pursuing the *Scots*, went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return, and by Bands of *Scots* that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Edward Howard* his Son, the Lord *Scroope*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Edward George*, and others. This Battail was fought on Friday the ninth of September, in the year 1513, called by some *Brumflon*, by some *Flodden* Field. King *James* here slain was the same that had married the Lady *Margaret* eldest daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh, and Sister to the present King *Henry*; and might have enjoyed many happy daies, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to *France*, he ended his life, though honourably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing, which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) *George Buchanan* relates concerning this King; that intending to make war with *England*, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blew garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the chair where the King sat, said, I am sent unto thee O King, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the war thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy ruine: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frightened with Phantasms, and no warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battail, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord *Dacres* and others, to be his; and thereupon bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of *Sheen* in *Surrey*, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a wattle room amongst timber and stone; which *John Stow* saith, he so saw, and further relateth, that the servants of *Lancelot Young*, Glazier to Queen *Elizabeth*, being at *Sheen*, in new Glazing the windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the lead, cut the head from the rest; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balsam, gave it to their Master; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining favour, though the moisture were clean dried up, whose hair both of head and beard was red: which afterward, he caused to be buried at St. *Michaels* Church in *Woodstreet*, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of *Stow*; *John Lesley* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord *Bauchard* slain in that Battail. *Buchanan* saith, of *Alexander Elphinstoun*, who in countenance and stature was like the King; and that King *James* was seen alive the same night at *Kelso*, whence he passed to *Hierusalem*, and there spent the rest of his daies in holy contemplation; but howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in *Scotland*.

The King of Scots slain.

The same that had married the Lady *Margaret* eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

A Vision that appeared to King *James* dehorting him from the battail.

King *Henry* being now returned from *Towney* into *England*, and finding the great services done in his absence against the *Scots*; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earl of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, he created Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Howard* high Admiral, he made Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* his chief Chamberlain Earl of *Worcester*, and shortly after Sir *Edward Stanley* he made Lord *Monteagle*; and in March following, Master *Thomas Woolsey* his Almoner, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, the Son of a Butcher, sent to *Oxford* by reason of his pregnancy of wit, so soon, that taking there the first degree of Art, he was called the Boy-Bachelor; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there; at which time the Marquess *Dorset* committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, sent for him one *Christmas*, and bestowed it upon him; whereof *Woolsey* going to take possession, at his being there, for what misdemeanour is not delivered, he was by Sir *Amias Paulet* set by the heels, which afterward he remembered to Sir *James* his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasure five or six years; all which time he lay in the Middle-Temple, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very sumptuously; setting the Cardinals Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir *John Naphant* Treasurer of *Callice*, and by him was preferred to be King *Henry* the seventh's Chaplain; and now being by this means in the Kings eye, he so diligently

Dukes and Earls created.

*Thomas Woolsey* his parentage, education and rising.

carried himself, that he soon got into the Kings heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperour Maximilian, about a business that required haste; for which employment no man was thought more fit then Woolsey; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bade him make all speed he could; Woolsey departed from the King at Richmond about noon, and by the next morning was got to Dover, and from thence by noon that day was come to Callice, and by night was with the Emperour; to whom, declaring his Message, and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to Callice, and the night following came to the Court at Richmond. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom Woolsey answered, that he had been with the Emperour, and had dispatched the business, and for proof shewed the Emperours lines: the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgotten; whereof Woolsey answered, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the way, but that business I had dispatched before, taking the boldness to do without commission, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldness I humbly intreat your Graces Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of Lincoln, and soon after made him his Almoner. In this state King Henry the eighth found him, with whom also he grew into such favour, that he made him of his Council; and having won Tourney, made him Bishop of that City; and returning into England, (the Bishoprick of Lincoln falling void by the death of Doctor Smith) made him Bishop of that Diocese. And thus far the story hath now brought him; but soon after he was raised higher; for Doctor Bambridge Archbishop of York dying; he was translated from Lincoln to that See; and that he might not be inferior to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat a Latere; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellor of England; and being come to his height of dignity, he so carried himself in Expenses of Household, in number of Retinue, and in all circumstances of State, that no Subject before or since hath in any degree come near him; and if we may say it, he was the first debaucher of King Henry; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himself, he perswaded the King that he should not need trouble himself with frequenting the Council Table as he did, but take his pleasure, and leave those things to his Council, whereof himself would alwaies give him true Information. This was plausible counsel, and no marvel if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of so great a Prelate.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of London finding themselves grieved with the inclosures of the common fields about Islington, Hogsdon, and Shorditch, and other places adjoining, went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat though the Kings Council were at first offended, yet the Mayor and City shewed them such reasons, that they rested satisfied, and the fields were never since hedged.

On the nineteenth of May this year, Pope Julius the Second sent to King Henry a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of France, transferred by Authority of the Lateran Council, the title of Christianissimo from him upon King Henry, which with great solemnity was published the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul; but this solemnity must not pass without Revelling, Masques, and Jests; wherein the King and the Duke of Suffolk were defendants against all comers; who having the Duke of Longueville, and the Lord of Clermont to be spectators, spread the fame of their Chivalry into foreign Nations.

And now the great love that had been long between King Henry and the Flemings, began to abate upon this occasion; King Henry the seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter Mary, and Charles Prince of Spain; but by reason of her young years, and for want of assurance of Jointure, the match was deferred during his time; but now King Henry the eighth seeing his Sister of convenient years, began to call upon it, and signified so much to the Council of Flanders; but they, whether having other ends, or out of Spanish delays, put him off with excuses, and at last sent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that year. The King of France had soon Intelligence how much King Henry distasted these Spanish dealings, and meant to make some good use of it, for the ends he began to propose to himself, which were to get the Lady Mary for himself, and thereby procure peace with England, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpose he got the new Pope Leo the tenth to be his mediator, and both of them send Embassadors to King Henry, the Pope to perswade him to have peace with France, the French King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady Mary; upon whose Embassages, King Henry partly to satisfy the Pope, and partly to advance his Sister, did not unwillingly hearken to the motions; but whilst this was in working, Prior John (who knew nothing of these intentions) began again to play his pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the coast of Sussex, burnt Brightelmsted, and took away the goods he found in the Village, whereupon the Lord Admiral sent Sir John Walsloppe to Sea, with divers ships, and eight hundred men, who for one village that Prior John burnt in England, burnt one and twenty Villages and Towns in France, to the great honour of himself, and his Country.

And now King Henry by advice of his Council, and specially of Woolsey Bishop of Lincoln, concluded both the peace with France, and the Marriage of his Sister the Lady Mary, with the French King; but yet it stuck a while upon some differences, King Henry demanding Bulloign, and the King

The fields about Islington, Hogsdon and Shorditch laid open.

The Pope gives King Henry the Title of Christianissimo.

A Peace is concluded with France; and the King of France marries the Lady Mary King Henry's younger Sister.

A King of France Tourney: in conclusion these demands were waved; and the principal conditions were; first concerning the Ladies Jointure, that she should have two and thirty thousand Crowns of yearly revenues if she survived the King; and then concerning this peace, that the French King should pay yearly to King Henry, for five years, one hundred thousand Crowns, & the peace to continue between them during their lives, and a year after, and bound reciprocally to assist each other with ten thousand foot, if the war were by Land, with six thousand if by Sea. All things thus concluded the Lady Mary was brought to Dover by King Henry and his Queen: and on the second of October taking shipping, was conducted by the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess Dorset, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Surrey, the Lord De la Ware, the Lord Berners, the Lord Montague, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir John Pechey, Sir William Sands, Sir Thomas Bulleyn, Sir John Carre, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not past half way over the Sea, their Ships by tempest were dispersed, and the Lady with some jeopardy landed at Bulles, where Sir Christopher Garnish was fain to stand in the water and take her in his arms, and to set her on shore, and there the Duke of Vendosme, with a Cardinal, and many other great States received her. From Bullen the eighth of October, she came to Abbeyle, where the Dauphin received her: on the morrow being Saint Dennis day, she came to Saint Dennis, where the marriage between the King of France and her, was solemnized (though some write it had been solemnized before at Abbeyle.) The fifth of November she was Crowned Queen of France, at which time the Dauphin held the Crown over her head as being too masie for her to wear; and the day following she was received into Paris in most magnificent manner. In honour of whose Marriage and Coronation, the Dauphin had caused a solemn Jests to be proclaimed, which should be kept in Paris the seventh of November. Upon report of this Proclamation in England, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess Dorset and his four Brothers, the Lord Clinton, Sir Edward Nevill, Sir Giles Cailly, Thomas Cheney, and others obtained leave of the King to be at the challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, but specially the Duke of Suffolk, whose glory the Dauphin so much envied, that he got a Dutch-man the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of France secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpose to have the Duke foyled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour, for he foyled the Dutch-man in such sort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by main strength took him about the neck, and fo pommelled him about the head, that he made the bloud issue out at his nose: many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three daies the Jests ended.

King Henry was not long behind to solemnize it in England also; for at Greenwich the Christmas following, on New-years night, and Twelfth night, he presented such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldom been seen; and the third of February following, he held a solemn Jests, where he and the Marquess Dorset answered all comers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountered him both man and Horse.

At this time preparation was making for King Henry in person to go to Callice; there to meet with the French King and Queen, but death hindered the design; for before the next Spring, the first of January the French King died at the City of Paris, fourscore and two daies after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady: King Henry hearing of the French Kings death, sent the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Richard Winkfield, and Doctor West, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the marriage; whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her husband, (which was no hard matter; that had been her first love) wrote to the King her Brother for his consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented, for he brought her into England unmarried, and then married at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in Paris, and after having received her Dowry, Apparel and Jewels; came with her to Callice, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into England, King Henry to shew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess Dorset, and the Earl of Essex, all richly apparelled, held a new kind of Jests; and running courses on Horseback in manner Volant, as fast as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

This year the King being at his Manor of Oke, Woolsey Archbishop of York came and shewed him letters, that he was elected Cardinal; for which dignity he disabled himself; till the King would him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal; but his Hat and Bull were not yet come; after which Doctor Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor of England, finding Woolsey being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourship; then he could well suffer; resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to Woolsey. About this time, Cardinal Campeggio was sent by Pope Leo to King Henry, to sollicite him to a War against the Turk, with whom Cardinal Woolsey was joyned in Commission, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinal, sent store of red cloth to Callice to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when Campeggio was landed at Dover, Cardinal Woolsey caused the Gentry of Kent to wait upon him to Blackheath, where he was met and received by the Duke of Norfolk and many Prelates; and there in a Tent of cloth of gold shifted himself into his Cardinals robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries; but Woolsey not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride; for in Cheapside his Mules by some mischance overthrew their Carriages

1515.

She is Crowned Queen of France. A Jests proclaimed in Paris by the Dauphin.

Where Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk won great honour.

The King of France 82. daies after his marriage, died.

An. Reg. 7. 1516.

The Duke of Suffolk sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of France; marries her.

A new kind of Jests used by King Henry.

Woolsey is made a Cardinal, and Lord Chancellour.

riages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shooes, broken meat, Mary-bones and crufts of Bread; expoling him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went joggling on afore with his Croffes, guilt Axe and Mace, unto *Pauls Church*; and by the way 'had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas More*, in name of the City, and then waited on with many Bishops, was conducted to *Bath place*, where he was lodged for his own particular: he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*; but the errand he came about, which was to have Aid by money for a War against the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a devise to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

An. Reg. 7.

In his seventh year, King *Henry* kept his Christmas at his Mannor of *Eltham*, where on Twelfth night according to his custom, was a stately mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dauncing, and a most magnificent Banquet.

An. Reg. 8.  
1517.

Margaret Q.  
of Scots King  
Henry's Sister  
comes into  
England.

It was now the eighth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the new league between him and the *French King* was proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this year *Margaret Queen of Scots* eldest Sitter to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus*; by reason of dissension among the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to flee into *England*, and to seek succour at her Brothers hands; who assigned to her the Castle of *Harbottell* in *Northumberland* to reside in; where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon the third of May, *Queen Margaret* riding on a white Palfrey (which the *Queen of England* had sent her) behind Sir *Thomas Parre*, came through *London* to *Baynards Castle*, and from thence went to *Greenwich*: but her Husband the *Earl of Angus*, was secretly before departed into *Scotland*; which when King *Henry* heard, he only said it was done like a *Scot*. And now in honour of his Sisters coming, King *Henry* the nine and twentieth of May, appointed two solemn daies of *Joits*; where the King, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the *Earl of Essex*, and *Nicholas Carew* Esquire, took upon them to answer all comers; amongst others, the King and Sir *William Kinston* ran together, which Sir *William*, though a strong and valorous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: all the rest was performed with no less valour then magnificence. This year died the King of *Aragon*, Father to the *Queen of England*; for whom was kept a solemn Obsequie in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*; and *Queen Margaret* after she had been a year in *England*, required into *Scotland*.

Twelve hundred  
Carpenters and  
Masons sent to  
build a Castle  
at *Tourney*.

Cardinal Woolsey  
creates di-  
vers new  
Colleges.

In this year were sent twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of *Tourney* in *France*, to build a Castle there, to keep the City in awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing so many causes himself, as were daily brought before him; obtained by the Kings Commission (after the pattern of *Moses*) divers Under-courts to hear complaints of Suiters: whereof one was kept in *Whitehall*, another before the Kings Almoner *Dokter Stokesley*, a third in the Lord Treasurers lodging near the Star-chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls in the afternoon: these Courts for a time were much frequented; but at last, the people perceiving that much delay was used in them, and that sentence given by them bound no man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and resorted to the common Law. By occasion of this Government of the Cardinal, who under colour of Justice, did what he pleased: many great men withdrew themselves from the Court, as first the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, who went and lived in their Dioceses; then the Duke of *Norfolk*; and at length the Duke of *Suffolk*, being run deep into the Kings debt, by reason of his many Employments into *France*, and his great House-keeping since his marriage with the Kings Sister, hoping the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinal opposed it, to the end the Duke should be the more at his command.

In October this year, *Matthew Bishop of Sion* commonly called the Cardinal of the *Swissers* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, by whose soliciting and Cardinal *Woolsey's* perswasion, the King lent the Emperor a great sum of money; for *Woolsey* being angry with the King of *France*, for detaining the revenues of his Bishoprick of *Tourney*, perswaded King *Henry* that the best way to abate the *French Kings* power, was to furnish the Emperor with money, the better to maintain war against him: and what *Woolsey* said, was in those daies to King *Henry* an Oracle.

King Henry in  
great danger  
by a fall in his  
Hawking.

This year the King kept his Christmas at his Mannor of *Greenwich*, where on Twelfth night according to his custom, rare devices with great magnificence were presented; after which time the King exercised himself much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good sport to him; for one time following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake; so that if one *Edmund Mody* a foot-man had not leapt into the water, and lift up his head which he had fallen in, he had been drowned.

An Insurrection  
in London  
against stran-  
gers; especial-  
ly Artificers.

In this year also there happened in the City of *London*, an insurrection against strangers, specially of Artificers, complaining that strangers were permitted to resort hither with their Wares, and to exercise Handy-crafts, to the great hindrance and impoverishing the Kings own Subjects; and not only so, but that they were borne on in many great Insolencies, and wrongs, they offered to the *English*, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in *London* called *William* had bought two Pigeons in *Chapp-side*, and was about to pay for them, when a *French man* took them out of his hand, saying, they were no meat for a Carpenter: well (said *William*) I have bought them, and I will have them; nay (said the *French man*) I will have them for my Lord

A Lord Ambassadour; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the *French Ambassadour*, who so aggravated the matter to the Maior, that the Carpenter was sent to prison, and when Sir *John Baker* sued to the Ambassadour for him, he answered, By the body of God, the *English* knave was worthy to lose his life for denying any thing to a *French man*; and other answer he could have none. Many like and worse Insolencies were offered by strangers; which one *John Lincoln* a Broker drew into Bill, and prevailed with Doctor *Beale*, Preacher on *Easter Tuesday* at the *Spittle* to read it openly in the Pulpit, which so stirred up many, that strangers could hardly pass the streets, but were stricken, and sometimes beaten down. At last, one evening, many Prentises and others assembling, rifled some strangers houses, and much mischief was like to be done: but by the care of the Maior and Aldermen, and by the industry of *Robert Brooke* Recorder, and Sir *Thomas More*, that had been Under-Sheriffe of *London*, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the disturbers were sent to prison, whereof *Lincoln* and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their shirts, bound in ropes, and halters about their necks (and thereupon called the black wagon) were brought to *Westminster*, where the King himself late that day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the greatness of their offence; they all cried, Mercy, Mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchased the King no small love amongst the people.

How pacified.

In his ninth year, in June, King *Henry* had many Ambassadours at his Court; for whose entertainment he prepared a costly Joits; himself and twelve more against the Duke of *Suffolk* and other twelve. The King had on his head a Ladies sleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps something else of the Ladies in his heart, which made him perform his courtes with the applause of all beholders. This year, by reason of a sweating sickness *Michuemas Term* was adjourned; and the year following, *Trinity Term* was held one day at *Oxford*, and then adjourned again to *Westminster*.

An. Reg. 9.  
1518.

About this time Cardinal *Woolsey* obtained of Pope *Leo*, authority to dispense with all offences against the Spiritual Laws; by virtue whereof he set up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legat*, in the which he proved Testaments, and heard Causes; to the great hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realm; and to the debauching of Priests and Religious Persons, who relying upon his greatness, took such a liberty of licentiousness to themselves, that none was more disorderly then those that were in Orders: and supposing perhaps, they might lawfully commit such sins themselves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinals carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he said Mass, he made Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, with a say taken, and to hold the basin at the Lavatory: and when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, writing a letter to him, subscribed, Your Brother *William* of *Canterbury*, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

Cardinal Woolsey makes  
Dukes and  
Earls to serve  
him of wine,  
and to hold the  
basin at the  
Lavatory.

It was now the tenth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the King of *France*, longing much to have *Tourney* restored to him: by great gifts and greater promises, won the Cardinal *Woolsey*, to move the King in it; who upon his perswasions, was contented to be treated withall about it; to which the King of *France* sent the Lord *Bouquet* high Admiral of *France*, and the Bishop of *Paris*, who in their attendance, having above fourscore Gentlemen, and with their servants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in *England*; and on Munday the seven and twentieth of September, were met at *Black-heath* by the Earl of *Surrey* high Admiral of *England*, attended likewise with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodged at Merchant-Taylors Hall: The last of September, the Ambassadours went to the King at *Greenwich*, where after long communication, an Agreement was at last concluded under pretence of a marriage to be had between the Dauphin of *France* and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*; that in name of her marriage money, *Tourney* should be delivered to the *French King*, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Castle he had made in that City, six hundred thousand Crowns in twelve years, but fifty thousand yearly: and if the Marriage should chance not to take effect, then that *Tourney* should be again restored to the King of *England* for performance of which Articles, Hostages should be delivered: namely, Monsieur de *Montmorency*, Monsieur de *Montpelier*, Monsieur de *Noy*, and Monsieur *Morret*; and moreover, the *French King* should pay to the Cardinal of *England* a thousand Marks yearly, in recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Bishoprick of *Tourney*: All things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambassadours a solemn Banquet, and after presented them with a stately Mummery.

An. Reg. 10.  
1519.

A Treaty be-  
tween the  
Kings of *France*  
and *England*,  
to have *Tourney*  
delivered back,  
and upon what  
conditions.

The eighth of October, the King feasted them at *Greenwich*, and at night presented a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence. The next day Sir *Thomas Euxem* Maior of *London*, feasted them at Goldsmiths Hall, and then delivering their four Hostages, they took their leave. At whose departure the King gave to the Admiral of *France*, a garnish of gilt Vessel, a pair of covered Basons gilt, twelve great gilt Boles, four pair of great gilt Pots, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Pearls, and to some other he gave Plate, to some other Chains of Gold, to some rich Apparel; to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord of *Saint John*, Sir *Nicholas*, Sir *John Peck*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*, as Ambassadours from the King of *England*, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others to the number of above four hundred, sailed over to *Calles*, and from thence went to *Paris*; where after Royal entertainment by the King, with divers Masks and stately shews, they took their leaves, and rode to *Tourney* to see the City delivered to the *French men*, on the eighth of February, to

to the great grief of the English Garrison. After the English Ambassadors were returned, A King Henry to cheer up the four French Hostages, left here for performance of Covenants, on the seventh of May, presented a solemn and stately Mask, wherein himself, the Duke of Suffolk and French Queen were Actors: and on the eighth of March following was a solemn Juits holden, and with great magnificence performed.

An. Reg. 11.  
1520.

The Emperour Maximilian dyeth. Charles King of Castile is elected in his place, called Charles the fifth.

Young Gentlemen after the French fashion, being over-familiar with the Kings are banished the Court.

A Mask of all Lords.

An Enterview agreed upon between the two Kings of France and England.

The Emperour Charles comes into England.

The two Kings meet in so magnificent manner, that the place was called the Camp of cloth of Gold.

In the eleventh year of King Henry's Reign died the Emperour Maximilian, for whom, the King caused a solemn Obsequie to be kept in Pauls Church. After whose death the French King and the King of Spain, endeavoured by sundry plots each of them to get the Empire; but in conclusion, Charles King of Castile, (afterwards called Charles the fifth) was elected Emperour; for joy whereof a solemn Mass was sung at Pauls, the seventh of July, at which were present the Cardinal Campeius, the Cardinal of York, the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, and Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, France, Venice, and Scotland: And this year the King kept Saint Georges Feast at Windsor, with great solemnity.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in France, after the manner of that Country, carried themselves so familiarly with the King; that the Lords of his Council thought it a disparagement to him: and thereupon, with his leave first obtained, they banished them the Court: and in their places brought in more stayed and graver men: namely, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Jerningham, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston.

In the summer of this year, the Queen lying at her Mannour of Havering in Essex, desired the King to bring thither the four Hostages of France, to whom she made a Royal Banquet, and in September following, the King lying at his Mannour of New-hall in Essex, otherwise called Beaulieu, where he had newly built a stately Mansion, invited the Queen and the French Hostages thither, where after a sumptuous Banquet, he presented them with an extraordinary Mask; for the Maskers were the Duke of Suffolk, and Earl of Essex, the Marquess Dorset, the Lord Abergavenny, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston, the youngest of whom was fifty years old at least, that the Ladies might see what force they had to make age young again.

At this time, the French King was very desirous to see the King of England, with whom he had entered into such a league of alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinal, that there might be an Enterview between them at some convenient place: to which the Cardinal, notwithstanding much to satisfy the French King, as to shew his own greatness in France, easily condescended; and thereupon perswaded King Henry, how necessary it was, that such an Enterview should be; and then were sent to Guyenne, under the rule of Sir Edward Belknap, some say three thousand, but Godwyn faith, eleven hundred; whereof three hundred Maçons, six hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaziers, and other Artificers, who spent two months in erecting the building builded on the Plain before the Castle of Guyenne, a most stately Palace of Timber, curiously garnished without and within: whither both the Kings in June next, following, agreeing to come and to answer all comers at the Tilt, Tournies and Barriers, whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of England, by Orleance King of Arms of France, and in the Court of France by Clatius, King of Arms of England: whilst these things were preparing on Candlemas Even, as the King and Queen were come from Even-song at their Mannour of Greenwich; suddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entered into the Queens Chamber, four Gentlemen, who brought with them a wagon, in which sat a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen there present, were come for the love of their Ladies, to answer all comers at the Tilts on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on Shrove-tuesday next ensuing, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

By this time King Henry was ready for his journey into France, and so removing from his Mannour of Greenwich, on Friday the five and twentieth of May, he with his Queen arrived at Canterbury, where he meant to keep his Whitsuntide. At which time the Emperour Charles returning out of Spain, arrived on the coast of Kent, where by the Vice-Admiral of England, Sir William Fitz-Villiams, he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in great state. After which the King himself rode to Dover, to welcome him: and on Whitsunday early in the morning conducted him to Canterbury, where they spent all the Whitsuntide in great joy and solace. The chief cause that moved the Emperour at this time to come on land, was to have disswaded the King from any Enterview with the French King: but when he saw him so forward in that journey, he then only endeavoured to perswade him, that he should put no trust in the French Kings words, and with great gifts and promises, prevailed with the Cardinal to joyn with him in this perswasion. The last of May, the Emperour took his leave, and the same day, the King made sail from Dover and landed at Callice, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of June the King and Queen removed from Callice, to his Princely Lodging beside the Town of Guyenne, the most Royal Building that ever was seen; likewise Francis the French King had his lodging prepared close to the Town of Ard, in a strange but most magnificent fashion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinal to affirm and confirm, bind or unbind, whatsoever should be in difference between them; no less an honour to the Cardinal then a confidence in the Kings. On Thursday the seventh of June, the Kings met in the vale of Andren to magnificently attired, both themselves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of cloth of Gold. Here they spent that day in loving complements; and at night departed, the one to Guyenne, the other to Ard. On Saturday the ninth

A of June were set up in a place within the English pale two Trees of honour, with stately rooms and stages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, most Royally accompanied; where in most magnificent manner they performed Acts of Valour, both on foot and horseback; and after them all the great Lords both of France and England did the like: this solemnity of Juits and Masks was continued to the four and twentieth day of June; at which time, the Kings and Queens took leave of each other; the French King and Queen removed to Ard; the King and Queen of England to Callice, where he remained till the tenth of July, and then riding toward Graveling, was by the way met by the Emperour, and by him conducted thither, and there in Graveling manner entertained; whereof when the French King heard, he began from that day forward, to have King Henry in a kind of jealousy, as though to love him and the Emperour both were inconsistent, and could not stand together. On Wednesday the eleventh of July, the Emperour and his Aunt the Lady Margaret Dutcheffs of Savoy, came with the King of England to the Town of Callice, and there continued with Feasting, Dancing and Masking, till the fourteenth of July. In which time, all the Articles of the league Tripartito, between the Emperour and the Kings of England and France were reviewed; to which the King of France had so fully condescended, that he had sent Monsieur de Roche to the Emperour with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably observe and keep them all: all which notwithstanding, he dispensed with his conscience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday July 14. the Emperour took his leave and went to Graveling; the King with his Queen returned into England.

C It was now the twelfth year of King Henry's Reign; when being returned from Callice, he kept his Christmas at Greenwich with great magnificence; and on Twelfth-day he and the Earl of Devonshire, maintained a solemn Juits against all comers.

The Cardinal had long born a grudge against the Duke of Buckingham, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said, that the Duke once holding the Baton to the King; the Cardinal when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water; which the Duke disdaining, shed the water in his Shoes; with which the Cardinal incensed, threatened him that he would sit upon his skirts. The Duke to shew that the King might take notice of the Cardinals malice, came the next day to Court richly apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that strange D fashion; he answered readily, that it was done by way of prevention; for now the Cardinal should not sit upon his skirts. But this Jelt did the Duke no good; for the Earl of Surrey, Lord Admiral, who had married the Dukes Daughter, the Cardinal had caused to be sent Deputy into Ireland; and the Earl of Northumberland, the Dukes special friend, he had caused upon certain suggested crimes to be imprisoned; so as the Duke having his friends sequestered from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not long be wanting; for the Duke having some time before put from him in displeasure, one Charles Knevet, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him; him the Cardinal gets to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire of revenge, or out of hope of reward, or that the matter was so indeed, this Knevet confessed to the Cardinal, that the Duke had once fully determined to make away the King; being brought into a hope to be King himself by a vain Prophecy, which one Nicholas Hopkins (a Monk of an house of the Charter Order, besides Bristow, called Henton) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him fondly for his manifold misdoings. And now had the Cardinal matter enough for Accusation, which he so aggravated to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henry Morney, Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of April, and shortly after in Guild-hall before Sir John Brugge, then Lord Maior, was indicted of divers points of high Treason: the substance whereof was, that in the second year of the Kings Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the Kings death at London and at Thornbury in Gloucestershire; and that in the sixth year of the Kings Reign, he went in person to the Priory of Henton, and there had conference with the foresaid Nicholas Hopkins, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord Abergavenny who had married his daughter, that if King Henry dyed without issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these points, he was arraigned in Westminster-hall, before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting then as high Steward of England, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess Dorset, the Earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford and Darby, the Lords of Saint Johns de la VVare, Fitz-water, VViloughby, Brook, Cobham, Herbert and Morley. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all booted not; for by these Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of May, was led by John Keyme and John Skevinton Sheriffs of London to the Scaffold on Tower-hill, and there beheaded. The Augustine Friars took his body and head, and buried them. This Edward Bohun Duke of Buckingham was the last High Contable of England (the greatest place next the High Steward, in the Kingdom) whose Power extended to retrain some actions of the King. He was also Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton: he married Elianor the Daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland, and had Issue, Henry Lord Stafford, (Father to Henry Lord Stafford late living) and three Daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, Katherine married to Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmerland, and Mary married to George Nevill Lord of Abergavenny.

The King of France is jealous of King Henry's kindness to the Emperour. Articles of league between the Emperour and the two Kings of England and France, broken by the King of France.

An. Reg. 12.  
1521.

The Cardinal had long born a spleen against the Duke of Buckingham, and now finds means to work his will.

The Duke of Buckingham is beheaded.

His Honours and Issue.

The Cardinal is sent to make a Peace between the Emperor and the King of France, but deals not fair in it.

The Cardinal carries the Great Seal over with him, and the inconveniences by it.

The Cardinal seeks to be Pope, but too late.

Doctor Pace, the Cardinals Agent, falls mad and dieth.

An. Reg. 13. 1522.

King Henry for writing a Book against Luther, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

Upon differences between the Kings of England and France, the French Ambassador is commanded to keep his house.

In this mean while, a new War was begun between the Emperour and the King of France; for composing whereof, the Cardinal of York was sent attended with the Earl of Worcester, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of Saint John, the Lord Ferrers, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armagh, Sir Thomas Bullen, Sir John Pechy, Sir John Hufsey, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Henry Guilford, and many other Knights, Gentlemen and Doctors. On the twelfth of July he arrived at Calice, whither came to him the Chancellour of France, and the Count de Polix attended with four hundred Horse, as Ambassadors from the French King; and from the Emperour the like, with commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to Rome about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinal went to Bruges, to speak with the Emperour, with whom having stayed thirteen daies, after most Royal entertainment, he returned back to Calice, and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace, with the French Commissioners, but was colder in the matter then he was before, as having had his edge taken off by some dealing with the Emperour, so as nothing was concluded; but that the Fishermen of both the Princes might freely fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of February following; whereof he sent advertisement to both the Princes; to the Emperour by the Lord of Saint John and Sir Thomas Bullen; to the French King by the Earl of Worcester and the Bishop of Ely. During all which time of the Cardinals stay in Calice, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriff could be chosen for lack of his presence, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in person. Before he returned, he made a new League wit the Emperour, and intimated to the French King, that he doubted the King of England would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereas, though the King of France were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of Englands friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many Penions which he had before given to some English. Presently upon this, was Tourney besieged, by the Lord Hugh de Moncada a Spaniard, and though the French King sent great Forces to succour it; yet it was rendred up to the Emperour the last of November, in the thirteenth year of King Henries Reign.

This year Pope Leo died the first of December, suspected to be poysoned by Barnabie Ades, his Chamberlain, whose Office was alwaies to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor Pace was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of York; who was brought into a hope through the Kings favour to be elected Pope; but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor Pace could get to Rome, Adrian the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor Pace was a very learned and Religious man, yet thorow crosses in his employment, fell mad and died; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor Stephen Gardiner.

On the second of February, King Henry being then at Greenwich, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him, for writing a Book against Luther as it was given out: but thought to be written by Sir Thomas Moore, or by Fisher Bishop of Rochester; of which Book (saith Holingshead) I will only say thus much, that King Henry in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam against Luther, to raise out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law; which Book Luther answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

In this mean time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of England and France, specially two: one, that French men seized upon English Ships as they passed: for remedy whereof, one Christopher Cee an expert Sea-man, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of Albany was returned into Scotland, contrary to that which was Covenanted by the League, which though the King of France denied to be done with his privy, yet King Henry knew the Duke of Albany had Commission from the French King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Mutters made in England, and a note taken of what substance all men were.

This year died the Lord Brook, Sir Edward Poynings Knight of the Garter, Sir John Pechy, and Sir Edward Belknappe, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poysoned at a Banquet made at Ard, when the two Kings met last.

At this time, Owen Dowglas Bishop of Dunkell, fled out of Scotland into England, because the Duke of Albany being come thither, had taken upon him the whole government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon Clarentiaux the Herald was sent into Scotland, to command the Duke of Albany to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herald was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the French King seized all English mens goods in Bourdeaux, and imprisoned their persons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of Tourney, but also withheld the French Queens Dower: whereof, when King Henry understood, he called the French Ambassador residing in England, to give account thereof; who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house; and the French Hoitages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of Tourney, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint John, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Andrew Windsor, and Sir Thomas Nevile; each of them to keep one; and withall, all French men in London were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all Scotch men much more. There were then also sent

A sent to Sea under the conduct of Sir William Fitz-Williams Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards Scotland; who set fire on many Scottish Ships in the Haven, and at length took many prisoners and returned.

King Henry hearing, that the Emperour would come to Calice, so to pass into England, as he went into Spain; appointed the Lord Marquess Dorset, to go to Calice, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at Dover. The Cardinal taking his Journey thither on the tenth of May, rode through London, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin, and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of May being Sunday, the Marquess Dorset with the Bishop of Chichester, the Lord de la Ware, and divers others, at the water of Graveling, received the Emperour, and with all honour brought him to Calice, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord Berners Lieutenant of the Town. On Monday he took Shipping at Calice, and landed at Dover, where the Cardinal with three hundred Lords, Knights and Gentlemen received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being Ascension Even, the King came to Dover, and there with great joy and gladness the Emperour and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from Dover, and came that night to Canterbury, and from thence next day to Greenwich, where the Queen received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperours presence, Royal Jufts and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of Devonshire and ten Aydes, kept the place against the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess Dorset and other ten Aydes, on their part. On Friday the sixth of June, the Emperour and the King with all their companies went to London, where the City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperour was lodged at the Black-fryers, and all his Lords in the new Palace of Bridewell. On Whitsunday, the King and the Emperour rode to the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and at the last Lavatory two Dukes, which pride the Spaniards much disdained. After many Feastings in other places, at last they rode to Windsor, where they stayed a whole week; and there on Corpus Christi day, the Emperour wore his Mantle of the Garter, and late in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to Winchester: before whose coming thither there was come to Hampton, the Earl of Surrey Admiral of England, with all the Kings Navy, and with him the Lord Fitz-water, the Baron Cresson, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Jerningham, Francis Brian, Sir William Barentine, Sir Adrian Fosken, Sir Edward Donne, Sir Edward Chamberlain, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Anthony Poyns, Sir Henry Shirborn, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir William Fitz-Williams, Sir Edmund Bray, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir William Pirton, John Cornwallis, Sir John Wollope, Sir Edward Ichingham, Sir William Sidney, Anthony Brown, Giles Hufsey, Thomas Moore, John Russell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Colham, Thomas Oldball, Thomas Lovell, Robert Ichingham, Anthony Knevet, Sir John Tremaine, Sir William Skevington, Master of the Ordinance, and John Fabian serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noysed only that it was but to scowre the Seas for the safe conducting of the Emperour. For the Earl of Surrey having waited the Emperour over to the Coast of Biskay; upon his return, made to the Coast of Britain; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of Morleys, and by assault took it: having won this Town, the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir Francis Brian, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Thomas Moore, Sir Giles Hufsey, Sir John Russell, Sir John Ruinsford, Sir George Colham, Sir John Cornwallis, Sir Edward Ridgley, and some others; and after the Earl had lyen a while on the Coast of Britain, he was commanded home by the Kings Letters: who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the Cow under the Isle of Wight, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Governance of the Vice Admiral Sir William Fitz-Williams.

In this mean time, divers exploits were achieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of Calice, and the French men of Bulloign, where the French commonly had the worst: but being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same time the Lord Roffe, and the Lord Dacres of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against Scotland, burnt the Town of Kelfie, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King Henry intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in France, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey, he sent over to Calice; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battails; the first was led by Sir Robert Ratcliffe Lord Fitz-water, the middleward by himself and his Brother the Lord Edmund Howard, the rearward by Sir William Sands and Sir Richard Winkfield, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir Edmund Guilford was Captain of the Horse-men. In this order the Earl entred the French ground the second of September, and took his Journey towards Hedring. By the way there came to him a great Power of Burgognians, sent by the Lady Margaret, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Country through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of Selloys, the Town of Brunbrigg, Seneker, Borington and Manstier, with divers others. On the 16. of September, they came before the Castle of Hedring, and

The Emperour comes into England, and with what state he is received.

The Earl of Surrey Admiral, surpriseth Morleys in France.

The Earl of Surrey wins many Towns in France.

and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having not battering Ordnance, which by reason of the foul weather, he could not bring with him, after eleven days he raised his siege, and passing from thence to *Dorles*, burnt the Town and razed the Castle, as also the Town of *Dorchester*; and then the year being far spent, came back to *Callice* the sixteenth of *October*.

At this time, the Duke of *Albany* being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army, would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Warden of the East and middle Marches, to enter into *Trinidad*, and so forward ten miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottish* ground, and the next day being *Good-Friday*, with drew back into *England*, with a head of four thousand Cattel having burned *Grimsley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myle*, *Ackforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Towns and Villages.

An. Reg. 14.  
1523.

A Parliament  
holden at  
*Black-fryers*.

The Speaker  
makes two Pe-  
titions to the  
King.

A Subsidy with  
much ado  
granted.

How many  
Parishes in the  
Kingdom.

The Cardinal  
makes a false  
report to the  
House of  
Commons.

In King *Henry's* fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Black-fryers*, whither the King came, and there fate down in his Royal Seat; at his feet on the right side fate the Cardinal of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behinde, stood Doctor *Tunfall* Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Forain Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the good of the Common-wealth; whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who as first disabling himself, at last made two Petitions to the King: one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and mistake their intent, he might then with the Kings pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their meaning. The other, for the House of Commons, that if in communication and reasoning, any man should speak more largely then of duty he ought to do, yet all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entered of Record. Which Petitions were granted; and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded, but as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no less amongst the Clergy in the Convocation House; for *Richard* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *John* Bishop of *Rochester* were much against it, but most of all, one *Roland Philips*, Vicar of *Croyden*, and a Canon of *Pauls*; but the Cardinal taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather (as one saith) giving over his hold, the rest soon yielded; and so was granted the half of all their spiritual yearly Revenues, to be paid in five years following: The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentieth of *April*, the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there shewing the great charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars: demanded the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands, which was four shillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir *Thomas More*; but the Burgesses were all against it, shewing, that it was not possible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands, had not the fifth part thereof in Coyn. And further alleadged, that there be not many Parishes in *England*, one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, (at this day there are but 9285.) how could such a sum be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinal, to be a means to the King to accept of a lesser sum; but the Cardinal answered, he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with a pair of Pincers, then make to the King any such motion. Whereupon the Cardinal came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand; to which it was answered, that the order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinal was gone, the Commons after long debating the matter, at last, agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings, twelve pence, and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in two years: when this was told to the Cardinal, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pound Land and upward, by the motion of Sir *John Hussey*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three years. The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it; saying withal, that ere it were long he would look to things himself, without any Substitute. Which speech of the Kings, though it danted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as peremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during which prorogation, the Common people said to the Burgesses, We hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinal by his power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at *Pauls*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy, to the Convocation at *Westminster*: which was never seen before in *England* (saith *Hall*). The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned

to *Westminster*; and there continuing till the thirteenth of *August*, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved.

About this time, the Bishop of *Darham* died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of *Bath* to Doctor *John Clerke*, Master of the Rolls; and Sir *Henry Marney*, that was Vice-chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord *Marney* also during this Parliament, Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, Balthard Son to King *Edward* the fourth, at *Bride-well*, was created Vicount *Lisle*, in the right of his Wife who was Wife before to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded.

The fifteenth of *June*, in the fifteenth year of the Kings Reign, *Christian* King of *Denmark*, with his Queen, driven out of his own Countrey, came into *England*, and was lodged at *Bath* place; who after he had been feasted by the King, and by the City of *London*, and received great gifts of both, returned again into *Flanders*, where he remained as a banished man: Some years after, King *Henry* sent Doctor *Henry Standish*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and Sir *John Baker* Knight, into *Denmark*, to persuade the people to receive him again into his Kingdom; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

About this time, the Earl of *Kildare* having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into *Ireland*, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild *Irish* to indifferent conformity: Altho this while had *England* Wars both with the *French* and with the *Scots*. In *Scotland* the Marquess of *Dorset* threw down the Castles of *Wederborne*, of *Nesgate*, of *Blackwater*, of *Mackwall*, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In *France* the Lord *Sands*, Treasurer of *Callice*, with twelve hundred men went before *Bulloign*, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned back to *Callice*, with the loss only of a dozen men. King *Henry* being advertised that the Duke of *Albany* was providing of Forces in *France*, with which to return into *Scotland*, sent forth his Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of *Treport*; where with seven hundred men, he beat six thousand *French* that sought to impeach his landings, took their Bulwarks and much Ordnance in them; burned the Suburbs of the Town of *Treport*, and all in five hours, and then returned.

All this while King *Henry* had played with the *French*, but now he means to be in earnest, and therefore sends over the Duke of *Stafford* with an Army, the four and twentieth of *August*; attended with the Lord *Montacute* and his Brother Sir *Arthur Poole*, the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Marney*, the Lord *Sands*, the Lord *Barkley*, the Lord *Poyntz*, and the Baron *Cursyon*, Sir *Richard Winckfield*, Chancellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, Sir *John Vere*, Sir *Edward Neville*, Sir *William Kingstone*, Sir *Richard Weston*, Sir *Andrew Wainford*, Sir *Robert Winkfield*, Sir *Anthony Winkfield*, Sir *Edward Guilford*, Sir *Edward Greville*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Everard Digby*, Sir *Adrian Fokeys*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *William Sydney*, Sir *Henry Owin*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demy-lances, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on foot, and five thousand *B* II-men. Also seventeen hundred

taken out of the Garrisons of *Hammes*, *Guisnes*, and *Callice*, in all ten thousand and five hundred, besides two thousand six hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of *Stafford* took the field; his Vauanguard was led by the Lord *Sands*; Captain of the right Wing, was Sir *William Kingstone*; and of the left, Sir *Everard Digby*: Captain of all the Horsemen was Sir *Edward Guilford* Marshal of *Callice*; the Duke himself led the Battail, and Sir *Richard Winkfield* the Rere-ward. The Dukes enterprise was the winning of *Beil* Castle, which the Lord *Sands* and the Lord *Ferrers* assaulted, and had it yielded to them; and then Sir *William Skevington* was placed Captain in it. At this time the Duke of *Bourbon*, high Constable of *France*, began to have his mind alienated from the King of *France*, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of *Stafford* sent Sir *John Russell* (afterward created Duke of *Bedford*) to him, who passing in disguised Apparel, so prevailed with him, that he professed to take part with the Emperour, and the King of *England*, who having ten thousand *Almans* in his pay, it was thought fit (for encouragement of the *English*) to proclaim in the Army, the access of so powerful an assistant; and thereupon the Duke of *Stafford* removed to *Arde*, and so forward into *Picardy*. At Cordes between *Termin* and *Saint Omers*, there came to him the Lord of *Isenstein*, and with him of *Spaniards*, *Almans* and others, three thousand footmen, and five hundred Horse. With these Forces, the Duke marching on, took first the rich Town of *Anchor*, then the Castle of *Bounguard*, and then by assault the Town of *Bray*, though two thousand good men of War were in it. After this, the Towns of *Cappe*, and *Roy*, *Libome* and *Davenker*, and then came before the Town of *Mount-Dedey*, in which were a thousand foot and five hundred Horse; yet upon Sir *Will. Skevington's* Batteries, was yielded to him. From hence he removed to *Roy*, where he rested a while with his whole Army: and there on *Allholland* day, in the chief Church of *Roy*, made Knights, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Poyntz*, *O*ver *Manners*, *Arthur Poole*, *Richard Sands*, *Robert Jerningham*, *Robert Salisbury*, *Edward Beningfield*, *Richard Corbert*, *Thomas Wentworth*, *William Storton*, *Walter Mantell*, *George Warram*, and *Edward Seymour* (that was after Duke of *Somerset*). The day after, the Army removed to a place called *Nele*, from thence to *Veane*, and then to *Beauford*, where the Duke made *John Dudley*, and *Robert Hreight* Knights, and from thence on the eighth of *November*, to a place called *Mont Saint Martin*; here the *Westmen* began to murmur, that they might

The Parlia-  
ment dissolved  
at nine a clock  
at night.  
Sir *Henry Mar-  
ney* created  
Lord *Marney*.  
Sir *Arthur*  
*Plantagenet*  
base Son of  
King *Edward*  
the fourth is  
created Vi-  
count *Lisle*.

An. Reg. 15.  
1524.

The Earl of  
*Kildare* doth  
good service in  
*Ireland*.

The Marquess  
*Dorset* in *Scot-  
land*.

The Lord  
*Sands* in  
*France*.

Sir *William*  
*Fitz-williams*  
with 700 beat  
six thousand  
*French*.

The Duke of  
*Stafford* is sent  
with an Army  
into *France*.

How marshal-  
led.

He wins many  
Towns.

not return home, the Winter being so far spent; but there was to the number of a thousand persons, under the leading of Sir John Walloppe, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by some Kreekers, and these had more desire to stay, then the *Welchmen* had to be gone; for the great gains they made, by the spoils of so many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of November, the Duke removed to a place within two miles of *Bagham* Castle, defended by great Marishes, that lay before it, but the frost being at that time so great that many lost their Fingers and Toes with cold, and some dyed; Sir Edward Guilford acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Marishes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordinance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he resolutely did, and had the Castle presently delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what state the Army stood, had prepared six thousand men to be sent to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord Montjoy; but before they could be put in order to pass the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was constrained to break up his Army, and return to *Calice*.

In this mean time, the Scots knowing that the strength of England was gone into France, took boldness to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of *Surrey*, Treasurer and high Admiral of England, with six thousand men, being sent against them, took divers of their Castles and Holds; and at *Yedworth*, skirmishing with a great Garrison of Scots, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Castle. And now the French King finding that the Scots did not work any great trouble to the English, whereby to keep them from molesting of France, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of *Albanies* presence, whom they accounted their Governor; he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to transport him into Scotland; but when the Duke of *Albanies* heard that Sir William Fitz-Williams was sent with a great Fleet to stop his passage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Brest*, and gave it out that he would not go into Scotland that year; which being told to the King of England, he commanded that his Ships also should be laid up in Havens, till the next Spring. And now fee the cunning of the Sea; for when he saw the Kings Ships discharged, he then boldly took Shipping himself, and sailed into Scotland; whither being come he presently levied a great Army, and approached the English Borders, but when he heard the Earl of *Surrey* was coming against him with a mighty power, he then sent a Herald to him, promising of his Honour, to give him Battail; and if he took him prisoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl answered, that he would not fail to abide his Battail; but if he took him prisoner, the quarter he would give him, should be to cut off his head, and send it for a Present to his Master the King of England. At this time to the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnewick*, came the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*, and *Darcie*, with many Knights, Gentlemen and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thousand; and from the Court, came the Master of the Horse, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The last of October, the Duke of *Albanies* sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the Castle of *Wark*; who by battery of their Ordinance won the outermolt Ward, called the *Barnekins*; and continuing their battery, won the second Ward; but then Sir William *Lisle*, that was Captain of the Castle, issuing forth with those few he had left, drove the French-men from the place, and slew of them to the number of three hundred: a memorable service, and for which the Earl of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commission was only to defend England, and not to invade Scotland. Shortly after the Queen of Scots, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother the King of England, for an abstinence from War, till a further communication might be had, which being granted, the English Army brake up, and the Earl of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

And now for a while we must be content to hear of petty occurrences, because greater did not happen; which if it make us like the Story the worse, it may make us like the times the better; seeing they are ever the best times that afford least matter to be talked of: but this time will last but a while; for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty years consummation; Houses built in Piety, under preence of Piety demolished; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a prisoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church itself so shaken, that it hath stood in distraction ever since.

At this time, the Emperour Charles sent to the King of England two Mules trapped in Crimfon Velvet, richly embroydered; also eleven goodly Jennets, trapped with Russel Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of strange Timber, and work richly garnished; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he sent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the Spanish fashion: which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

At this time in the moneth of October, the Cardinal sent out Commissions, that every man being worth forty pounds, should pay the whole Subsidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better then any words he could devise.

A great Frost.

A policy of the Duke of Albany.

The Earl of Surrey his service against the Scots.

Presents sent to the King and Queen by the Emperour.

The Cardinal requires the Subsidy to be paid by Anticipation.

In this year the King sent the Lord Morley, Sir William Hufsey Knight, and Doctor Lee his Almoner, to *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of *Nuremberg*, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognostications, foretelling much hurt to come by waters and floods, many persons withdrew themselves to high grounds, for fear of drowning; specially one *Bolton*, Prior of *Saint Bartholomews* in *Smithfield*, builded him an House upon *Harrow* on the Hill, and thither went and made provision for two moneths. These great waters should have fallen in February, but no such thing happening, the Astronomers excused themselves, by saying, that in the computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred years.

In this mean time, many enterprises were attempted, between the English-men of *Calice* and *Guyfnes*, and the French-men of *Bulloigne* and the Frontiers of *Picardie*, and still Sir William Fitz-Williams, Captain of *Guyfnes*, Sir Robert *Jerningham*, Captain of *Newnham* Bridge, Sir John *Walloppe*, and Sir John *Gage*, were the men that did the French most hurt.

This year, the first of September, was Doctor *Thomas Hannibell* Master of the Rolls, received into London, by Earls, Bishops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambassadour from Pope Clement: who brought with him a Rose of Gold for a present to the King: and on the day of the Nativity of our Lady after a solemn Masse sung by the Cardinal of *Tork*, the said present was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with branches, leaves, and Flowers resembling Roses.

About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called *Kreekers*, being not above two hundred; and of them, five and twenty Horse-men, made an attempt to fetch some booty from a Village not far from *Muttrell*, whereof the Earl of *Dammartin* having notice, he set upon them with a far greater number, and slew most of them, and this was the end of the *Kreekers*, as brave men as ever served any Prince.

In December this year, there came to London divers Ambassadours, out of Scotland, about a Peace to be had; and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of Scots, and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of England.

At this time, the Lord *Leonard Gray*, and the Lord *John Gray*, Brothers to the Lord *Marquesse Dufes*, Sir *George Cobham* Son to the Lord *Cobham*, *William Carye*, Sir *John Dudley*, *Thomas VVynt*, *Francis Poynts*, *Francis Sidney*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Oliver Manners*, *Percivall Hart*, *Sebastian Newdigate*, and *Thomas Calen*, Esquires of the Kings Household, made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of *Christmas*, which was proclaimed by *VVindfor* the Herald, and performed at the time appointed very Nobly, at *Tilts*; *Turneys*, *Barriers*, and the assault of a Castle erected for that purpose, in the Tilt-yard at *Greenwich*, where the King held his *Christmas* that year with great state and magnificence.

About this time, *John Jokyn* Steward of the Household to the French Kings Mother, came into England, and was received in secret manner, into the house of one Doctor *Lurke*, a Prebendary of *Saint Stephens*; who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal, about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of England and France; of whose often meetings Monsieur de *Prate* the Emperours Ambassadour, grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of January, Monsieur *Brynon* President of *Roan*, came to London as Ambassadour from the French King, and was lodged with the said *John Jokyn*; which small things should not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of March, were received into London Monsieur de *Bever* Lord of *Campher*, Admiral of *Flanders*, Monsieur *John de la Coefe* President of *Malines*, and Master *John de la Gache*, as Ambassadours from the Lady *Margaret* in the name of the Emperour, who required three things. First they demanded the Lady *Mary* the Kings only Daughter, to be presently delivered, and she to be named Emperess, and as Governess take possession of all the Low-Countries. Secondly, that all such sums of money as the King should give with her in marriage, should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, that the King of England should pass the Sea in person, and make War in France the next Summer. The first two demands were not agreed to for certain causes; and as to the third, the King said he would take time to advise.

On Thursday the ninth of March, a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady *Margaret*, with Letters signifying, that whereas the King of France had long lye at the siege of *Pavia*, he had now been forced to raise his siege, and was himself taken prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in London, and on the twentieth of March being Sunday, the King himself came to *Pauls*, and there heard a solemn Masse. But for all this shew of joy, it was thought if the King of France had not now been taken prisoner, that the King of England would have joyned in amity with him, as being angry with the *Flemings*, for Inhabling his Coyne in *Flanders*, which caused much money to be conveyed out of England thither. The King of France being taken prisoner, was after some time conveyed into Spain, and at last brought to *Madrid*, where he fell so sick, that the Physicians had little hope of his life, unless the Emperour would be pleased speedily to visit him; upon whose visitation he recovered his health, though not presently his strength: In which time many propolitions were made for his delivery, but the Emperour would accept of none, without restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgoyne*. At last, the French King weary of imprisonment, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any conditions: the chief whereof were, that the French King by a certain day should be set at liberty, and within six weeks after should relign to the Emperour the Dutchy of *Burgoyne*; with all Members pertaining

A great Inundation threatened by Prognostications, but mistaken.

A present sent to the King from the Pope.

The Adventurers called Kreekers, all destroyed.

1525.

The King of France is taken prisoner.

Upon delivery of the Dutchy of Burgoyne to the Emperour, he is set at liberty.

to it; and at the same instant, should put into the Emperours hands, the Dauphin of France, and with him either the Duke of Orleans his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of France, whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League and perpetual confederation for defence of their estates. Of whose atonement when King Henry heard, as before he had expressed gladness that he was taken prisoner, so now he sent Sir Thomas Cheney to him, to express his joy for being set at liberty; so sudden is the interchange of love and hate amongst great Princes. The French King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady Isabel, Daughter to Emanuel King of Portugal; and had with her in Dower eleven hundred thousand Ducats; though three years before being at Windsor, he had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady Mary King Henry's Daughter.

The Cardinal suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colleges.

At this time Cardinal Woolsey obtained license of the King to erect a Colledge at Oxford, and another at Ipswich; and towards the charge of them, got leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the maintenance of those two Colleges; a pernicious Precedent, and that which made the King a way afterward, to make a general suppression of all Religious Houses, though indeed there be great difference between converting of Monasteries into Colleges, and utter subverting them.

In March King Henry sent Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Winkfield Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, into Spain, to confer with the Emperour about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in France, and yet were these two Princes at this time in League: but he that shall observe the carriage of these three Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace; shall find it a strange Riddle of *Ragion di Stato*, and their Leagues to have been but meer complements, where the scale was turned with the least grain of a circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: for while one gave the occasion, and the other took it, though they were both accessaries, yet neither was principal; and where there is not a principal, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon those hinges did the friendship of these Princes turn, as at this time the Emperour, though not long before he had parted with the King of England, in the greatest kindness that could be; yet gave not the English Ambassadors so kind entertainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what cause was not apparent, unless upon some sinister report made to him, by Monsieur de Prate; who having been his Legier with the King of England, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperour before the English Ambassadors came.

The Cardinal seeks to raise money by a Commission: which the people oppose, and the King disclaims.

But howsoever, King Henry being determined to make War in France himself in person, his Council fell into consideration how the charge of the War should be maintained: which care the Cardinal takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commissioners in all Shires, to sit and draw the people to pay the sixth part of every mans substance, in Plate or Money: but the people opposed it, alleging, that it was against the Law of the Realm, for any mar to be charged with such payments, unless by Parliament: and as the Cardinal continued to press it, so the people continued to deny it; and when some for denying it were committed to prison, the Commons in many Countreys made great assemblies for their defence: the report whereof at last came to the King, who thereupon came to Westminster and protested openly, that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning, to ask any thing of his Subjects but according to Law: and therefore desired to know by whose Authority it was done. Here the Cardinal excused himself and said, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Council, that he might lawfully demand any sum, so it were done by Commission, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a distinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any such thing hereafter: and signified so much by his Letters into all the Shires of England: giving also a general Pardon to all that had offered to rise upon it; which though he did of his own free grace, yet the Cardinal to win a good opinion in the Commons; gave out, that it was by his means the King granted the Pardon.

An. Reg. 17. 1526.

Dukes and Earls created.

King Henry's seventeenth year, was honoured with the advancing of many in honour; for on the eighteenth of June at his Palace of Bridewell, the Kings Son (which he had by Elizabeth Blunt Daughter to Sir John Blunt Knight) called Henry Fitz-Roy, was created first Earl of Nottingham, and after on the same day Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Henry Courtney Earl of Devonshire was created Marquess of Exeter, the Lord Brandon, Son to the Duke of Suffolk, and the French Queen (a child of two years old) was created Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Mannors, Lord Roffe, was created Earl of Rutland, Sir Henry Clifford was created Earl of Cumberland, Sir Robert Ratcliffe Lord Fitz-Water was created Vicount Fitz-Water, and Sir Thomas Bullen Treasurer of the Kings Household, was created Vicount Rochford.

A Peace between England and France, for which a great sum of money paid to King Henry.

At this time the French Kings mother, as then Regent of France, procured by her Ambassadors, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with England, which was proclaimed in London, the eighth of September. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of England should receive at certain daies twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which in sterling money amounted to the sum of four hundred thousand pound; whereof fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir William Fitz-Williams, and Doctor Tylow, was sent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporal Oath, and

and likewise King Henry the four and twentieth of April, at Greenwich, in presence of the Ambassadors of France, Rome, and Venice, took his corporal Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the French King, during his life, and one year after.

In this Winter was a great mortality in London, so as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmas at Eltham, with a small number, and was therefore called the still Christmas. At which time, the Cardinal coming to the Court, took order for altering the state of the Kings House: many Officers and other servants were discharged, and put to their pensions, in which number were fourscore and four Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but six pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countreys.

The still Christmas by reason of the sickness.

On Shrovetide day this year, a solemn Jufts was held at Greenwich, the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marquess of Exeter and eleven other of the other part.

In his nineteenth year, King Henry kept a solemn Christmas at Greenwich, with Revels, Masks, disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of December and third of January were solemn Jufts holden, when at night the King and fifteen other with him, came to Bridewell, and there putting on masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinals place, where were at supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmas was a Play at Grays-Inne, made by one Master Roe a Serjeant at Law, the effect whereof was, that Lord Governance was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose evil order Lady Publick Weal was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him, and thereupon sent the said Master Roe to the Fleet; though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any authority: by which we may see how inseparable a companion suspicion is to a guilty conscience.

An. Reg. 19. 1528.

The King visits the Cardinal in a mask.

The fourteenth of January came to the Court Don Hugo de Mendoza, a Grandee of Spain, as Ambassadors from the Emperour to the King, with a large Commission, to make King Henry Judge; how just the conditions were, which the Emperour required of the King of France: and about this negotiation tarried two years in England, so delirious the Emperour was to continue good correspondence with the King of England.

King Henry made arbiters between the Emperour and the King of France.

On Shrovetide day the King and the Marquess of Exeter with others, in most sumptuous attire came to the Tilt, and ran so many courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves went into the Queens Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing; for hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassadors from the King of France, requiring to have the Kings Daughter, the Lady Mary, to be given in marriage to the Duke of Orleans second Son to their Master the French King, wherein they that were the suiters for it, were the hinderers of it; for amongst them was the President of Paris, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King Henry and the Lady Katherine of Spain, having been his Brothers Wife, were lawful or no: But howsoever the French Ambassadors at Greenwich on Sunday the fifth of May, in the name of their Master the French King, took their Oathes to observe the League concluded between them during their lives. And shortly after were sent Sir Thomas Bullen, Vicount Rochford, and Sir Anthony Brown Knight, as Ambassadors to the King of France, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

The first exception taken to the lawfulness of the Kings marriage.

But enough of small Occurrence; and indeed there will be Occurrences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard; for now the Duke of Bourbon General of the Emperours Army in Italy, was slain by a shot from the Walls of Rome, as he was passing by; upon whose death the Army entred and sacked the City; made the Pope flee to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and there cooped him up; abused the Cardinals, and put them to grievous ransomes, spared neither Sacred places, nor Religious persons, but committed all manner of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. These Insolencies of the Emperours Army committed against the Pope; together with the hard conditions the Emperour had imposed upon the King of France, for setting him at liberty; and the Emperours breach of promise in not marrying the Lady Mary King Henries Daughter; were the apparent causes of King Henries breaking League with the Emperour Charles; but a more enforcing though concealed cause, perhaps was the growing greatness of the Emperour, by his acquits in Italy and other places; enough to breed a jealousy in all neighbouring Princes; and indeed King Henry had some cause to think the Emperours spirits were grown higher with his Victories, seeing where before he was wont always to write Letters to King Henry with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and faithful friend, now after his Victories in Italy, he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only Charles. And yet a more pressing cause though not avowed, might be the Cardinals spleen against the Emperour, for denying him the Bishoprick of Toledo in Spain. But whichever of these was the predominant cause, all of them together made a cause sufficient for King Henry to fall off from amity with the Emperour; and his falling off from the Emperour, cause sufficient to fall in with the King of France: and thereupon, the two Kings send their several Heraulds to the Emperour: King Henry Clarentius, the French King his Herauld Guyen, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperour, and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to defie him as their Enemy. The Emperour heard the Heraulds with great temper, and answered Clarentius very mildly; that he knew his Masters grievance was grounded upon misinformation, wherein

Rome sacked by the Imperials, and the Pope and Cardinals coopt up as prisoners. Causes of King Henries breaking League with the Emperour.

wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more then to continue his friend; but *Guyen* he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master that he had broken his faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with these answers dismissed them; only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his answer, being in such terms, by word of mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heraults being returned home, and delivering the answers; the King of France was so incensed, to be charged with breach of faith, that soon after he sent another defiance to the Emperour; telling him in plain terms, that he layed in his throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combate; requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the weapons. The Emperour accepted the challenge, but other occurrences intervening, hindered the performance.

In this mean time, the Cardinal was appointed to go Ambassadour to the King of France; carrying with him twelve score thousand pounds, to be employed by the French King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperour, who the eleventh of July took shipping at Dover, and landed that day at Calice; with whom was *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of London, the Lord Sands Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guilford, Sir Thomas More, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of twelve hundred Horse. At Amiens he was received by the French King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of France: By whom it was agreed, that Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperour; which if refused, then the French King should marry the Lady Mary King Henry's Daughter, and they both to be Enemies to the Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinal returned, and on the last of September came to the King at Richmond. In October following, there came Ambassadors from the French King, to take King Henry's Oath, for observing the League with the King of France; and on Sunday the tenth of November, King Henry at Greenwich received the Order of Saint Michael, by the hands of the Lord *Annas de Montmorency* great Master of the Kings Household, and Monsieur *Humeries*: as likewise the same day at Paris the French King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord *Lisle*, Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Master of the Kings Horse, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesley* Knight, otherwise called Garter King of Arms, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Coller and other Habillments of the Order.

Upon King Henry's defiance of the Emperour in the French Kings quarrel, English Merchants their Ships and Goods were attached in Spain, and in the Low-Countries, as likewise all Spanish and Flemish Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimental to both Nations; at last, by mediation of *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperours Ambassadour Legier, a reconciliation was made, and free traffique between the Nations was revived.

In his twentieth year, on the two and twentieth of February, Sir *Piers Butler* of Ireland, was created Earl of *Osory*. And now King Henry began to be troubled in minde about his marriage with Queen *Katherine*; but whether his trouble of mind grew for scruple of Conscience, or from desire of change, was by many men doubted; some thought he had set his affection upon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, whom afterward he married, and to make way for that marriage moved this scruple, that he might be divorced; but this is not likely, for he married not the said Lady, till above three years after this doubt had been moved; and three years was a long time to have affection been delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay: if King Henry's own protestation may be taken, it was very scruple of Conscience that troubled his minde; but then by what means this scruple came first into his head, is another doubt; some thought it was first moved by his Confessor Doctor *Longland*, telling him, that the marriage with the Relict of his Brother, could not be lawful; but neither is this likely; for Doctor *Longland* was not like to tell him so, who knew the marriage had been made by dispensation from the Pope, an authority in that time beyond exception; some thought it was a plot of *Woolsey*, thereby to make variance between King Henry and the Emperour, with whom he was at variance himself, and for spleen to the Nephew, he revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely: or else the Cardinal was much deceived in his plot; for though the Emperour laboured *Milan* and some other Univerities, to forbear giving sentence against the marriage, yet he continued amity with King Henry as much afterward as before: If we will believe the King himself, it was the President of Paris, coming Ambassadour from the King of France, that first moved it, upon a proposition of marriage between the Lady Mary, King Henry's Daughter, and the Duke of Orleans, second Son to the French King; but by what means forever his scruple had beginning, King Henry's desire was now it should have an ending; and that the matter might be debated with indifference, he allowed the Queen to make choise of what Counsel she thought best; who thereupon chose *William Warham* Archbishop of Canterbury, and *Nicholas West* Bishop of Ely, Doctors of the Law; *John Fisher* Bishop of Rochester, and *Henry Standish* Bishop of Saint Asaph, Doctors of Divinity, with many other; in the mean time he sent to all the Universities in Italy and France, to have their opinions, but specially to the Court of Rome, desiring the Pope to send his Legat to hear the cause; who thereupon sent Cardinal *Campeius*, and joynd Cardinal *Woolsey* in Commission with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to sit and to hear the cause, was at the *Black-fryers*: where in the great Hall preparation was made of seats, and all things necessary for such a session. Amongst other Officers of the Court, *Stephen Gardiner* (afterward Bishop of Winchester) late as chief Scribe. The Court being set, the Judges commanded silence, whilest their Commission was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call

The King of France gives the Emperour the lye, and challengeth him to a Combate.

The Cardinal goeth into France with a train of 1200 Horse.

1529.  
King Henry begins to be troubled in minde about his marriage.

The Queen is allowed her Counsel to debate the lawfulness of her marriage.

The Pope sends his Legate to hear the cause.

King Henry is cited to the Court and appears.

A call the King, by the name of King Henry of England, come into the Court; who answered, Here: then called he the Queen, by the name of *Katherine Queen of England*, come into the Court: the Queen though present, yet answered not, but rising from her seat, went to the place where the King sat, and kneeling down, said in effect; Sir, I humbly desire you to take pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a stranger, and I have here no indifferent Counsel, where all are your Subjects, and less assurance of friendship when they all depend upon your favour; I have been your Wife these twenty years, and have born you divers children; if you can charge me with dishonesty or unfruitfulness, I am content to depart from you to my shame; but if you cannot, I then desire you to do me justice, and to spare me until I may know what counsel my friends in Spain will give me; but if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled: and having so said, she rose up, and making a low courtesie, departed. The King being advertised that she was going out of the House, commanded the Crier to call her again; who thereupon called her, saying *Katherine Queen of England*, come into the Court, which her Gentleman-usher Master *Griffith* hearing, told her, Madam, you are called; Well (said she) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way: and thus she departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himself. The Queen being gone, the King said, I confess she hath been to me the most dutiful and loving wife, that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this scruple of my conscience, I would not leave her for any woman living: and having now referred the judgement of the cause to these Commissioners, I should be most glad they could find the marriage between us to be in such sort lawful, that with obedience to the Law of God, we might continue together; for I take God to witness, there is nothing I more desire. This said, the King rose, and the Court was adjourned to another day; for notwithstanding the Queens Appeal (from which she would by no means be drawn) the Cardinals continued their Session weekly, and heard all of both sides: the Point that was chiefly stood on, was, whether Prince *Arthur* had ever had carnal knowledge of her, or no; the Kings counsel alleadged, he had, and proved it; first, by Prince *Arthurs* speech, the next morning after his marriage, that he had been that night in the midst of Spain; and then by the words of the last dispensation, *Vel forsan cognitam*: the Queens Advocates alleadged the contrary, appealing to the Kings own Conscience; whom the Queen charged that he knew her to be a Virgin when he married her; (though to say the truth, it were strange, Prince *Arthur* and the having lyen 5. moneths together, and he no less then almost 16. years old.) But whilest Arguments were thus urged on both sides, and no certainty could appear; the King sent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying then in *Bridewell*, to persuade her, she should submit her self to the Kings pleasure, and not to stand so peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her found her at work amongst her Maids, with a skain of white thread about her neck: who having heard their message, answered, That in all other things she would willingly submit her self to the Kings will, but in this which concerned her honesty, and the legitimacy of her children, she durst not, but would relie upon the wisdom and piety of both their Fathers, who (she knew) would never have assented to the marriage, if there had been the least scruple of unlawfulness in it; and other answer she would not give. Upon their return to the King, when he perceived she could not be removed from her opinion; he commanded the Court to go on; so that at last it came to judgement; which every man expected should be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in so secret a manner that he might hear and not be seen) where the Kings Counsel at the Bar calling for Judgement; Cardinal *Campeius*, as being chief Commissioner, stood up and said; I find the case very doubtful, and the party defendant standing to her Appeal, I will therefore give no Judgement, till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this time, according to the Order of the Court of Rome, which hears no causes judicially from the last of July till the fourth of October; at which protraction of time, King Henry was not a little angry, and the Duke of *Suffolk* being present, in a great rage said; it was never merry in England, since we had Cardinals amongst us. Soon after this, the Cardinal took his leave of the King, and returned to Rome: he was indeed commanded so to do by the Pope, who would else most willingly have gratified King Henry, that had bestowed upon him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*. Whilest these things were in acting, Cardinal *Woolsey* had an inkling of the Kings affection to *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of the Vicount *Rochford*; and that the Divorce once passed, he meant to marry her; which match, because for many reasons, he disliked, one perhaps, because she was a *Lutheran*, he sent privily to the Pope, that by no means he should give sentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the Kings mind another way; for his desire was, that the King should marry the Dutcheess of *Alanson* the French Kings Sister. This packing of *Woolsey* was not so closely carried, but that it soon came to the Kings knowledge; and the King finding him a rub in his way, whom he expected to have expedited his proceeding, began to think it necessary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatness which had made him so presuming; and indeed he made short work with him; for soon after he sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the Kings own hand. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker then of the Parliament (the first Lay-man that bore that Office in any memory;) and in his room was chosen Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, Attorney of the Dutchie. *Woolsey* now removed from his Chancellourship, was in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of Treason; but that charge was so clearly taken off by his servant *Thomas Cromwell*, who was then of the House, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of *Cromwell*, both for abilities in himself, and faithfulness to his Master.

The Queen is cited and appears: but making her protestation departs: and appeals to the Pope.

King Henry justifies his Queens duty.

The chief point of difference was, whether Prince Arthur had ever carnal knowledge of her.

The Queen continues in her Appeal.

Cardinal Campeius adjourns the Court.

Woolsey seeks to cross the King about his marrying the Lady Anne Bullen, and why.

Woolsey hath the Great Seal taken from him: and is charged with Treason, but acquitted.

After

Wolsey is in a Præmunire: and is confined to Asher.

After this, the King being informed, that all those things which the Cardinal had done by his power Legatine, were within the case of Præmunire; he caused his Attourney Christopher Hales to sue out a Præmunire against him; and thereupon the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent unto him, to let him know, the Kings pleasure was, he should go to Asher, a House neerto Hampton-Court, belonging to his Bishoprick of Winchester, and there to reside: whereupon the Cardinal having first delivered up all his Moveables to the Kings use; (the greatest store and richest that was ever known of any Subject) went presently to Putney by water, and from thence rode to Asher, where he and his family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-clothes, or Dishes to eat their meat in, or money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of Carlisle. After this, his matter for the Præmunire being called upon in the Kings Bench, his two Attornies confessed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the Kings protection; but the King of his clemency sent him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of York and Winchester, with Plate and stuffe convenient for his dignity. His Bishoprick of Dunelm was given to Doctor Tunstall, Bishop of London; his Abbey of Saint Albans to the Prior of Norwich; and the Bishoprick of London to Doctor Stokesley, Embassadour then beyond the Seas.

In this mean while, Margaret Dutches of Savoy, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Lady Ledy Dutches of Angoulême, Mother to the French King, met at Cambray to treat of a Peace between the Emperour, the Pope and the Kings of England and France, where were present Doctor Tunstall Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, then Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaster, Commissioners for the King of England; after long debating, through the diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was thereof called, The Womans Peace, and was indeed as fickle as women, for it was soon broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other ere the more for it.

King Henry before this time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy, but now growing sensible of that error, he called his High Court of Parliament; in which the Commons complained sharply of their grievances against the Clergy, specially in six things.

The first, for that they exacted unreasonable sums of money, as due fees, for the probate of men's last Wills and Testaments: in so much, that Sir Henry Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings House declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir William Compton, payed for the probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury a thousand marks.

The second, the extreme exaction, which spiritual men used in taking of corps or mortuaries. The third, that spiritual men became Farmours of great Granges and Farms to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, because many Abbots, Priors, and other spiritual men, kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold Wool, Cloth, and other wares, as temporal Merchants.

The fifth, because such Clergy men as had the best livings, would take the uttermost of their right, and yet live in the Court or in Noblemens or in Bishops houses, where they spent nothing.

The sixth, because divers ignorant men, amongst them, held ten or twelve Benefices to themselves severally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at small pension.

These things before this time might not be touched, because the Bishops were Chancellours, and had all the rule about the King: but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to these complaints: whereupon the Burgesses drew up three Bills; one of the probate of Testaments; another for Mortuaries: and the third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking of farms by spiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries passed first the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords: when two days after, was sent up the Bill of probate of Testaments, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the Bishops much frowned, but specially John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, who rose up and said: My Lords, you see what Bills come daily from the Commons House, and all is to the destruction of the Church; for Gods sake, consider what a Realm Bohemia was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of that Kingdom. Now with our Commons is nothing but down with the Church; and all this me seemeth, is for lack of faith only. When these words were reported to the House of Commons, they took the matter very hainously; and thereupon sent their Speaker Thomas Audley, with thirty of the House to the King, complaining what a dishonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to say, that they which were elected for the wisest men of all Shires, should be charged to lack faith, which was all one as to say, they were Infidels and no Christians, so as what Acts or Laws forever they made should be taken as Laws made by Paynims and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men. And therefore humbly besought his Majesty, to call the said Bishop of Rochester before him, to give an account of the words he had spoken. Whereupon within few days after, the King sent for the Bishop, & acquainted him with the Commons complaint against him, who excused himself, by saying, he meant the doings of the Bohemians for lack of faith, and not the doings of the House of Commons; of which excuse, the King sent word to the House by Sir William Fitz-Williams Treasurer of his Household, but it pleased the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and Commons, about the Bills of probate of Testaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own laws, and constitutions, and the Spirituality defended them, by prescription, and usage; to whom a Gentleman of Grayes-Inn made this answer, The

An Inconsiderate speech of Fisher Bishop of Rochester;

And how he excused it.

The usage hath ever been of thieves to rob on Shooters-hill; is it therefore lawful? Whilest these Bills were in debate, an Act was passed, which released to the King all such sums of money as he had borrowed at the Loan, in the fifteenth year of his Reign; which Bill at first was much opposed, but the most part of the House being the Kings servants, it was at last assented to, which once known in the Countrey abroad, made much murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill spoken of; for every man counted it a sure debt, so as some made their Wills of the money, and some turned it over in satisfaction to their creditors. To qualifie which grievance, the King granted a general pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means also to have the three Bills passed; one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by spiritual persons, though this last with some qualifying.

During this Parliament, the King created Vicount Rochford, Earl of Wiltshire, the Vicount Fitz-Water Earl of Essex, and the Lord Hastings Earl of Huntingdon.

By this time, the Lords of the upper House, had drawn certain Articles against the Cardinal, and sent them down to the House of Commons, the chief whereof were these:

First, that without the Kings assent, he hath procured himself to be made a Legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Secondly, that in all his writings which he wrote to Rome, or to any forain Prince, he wrote Ego Rex meus, I and my King; so preferring himself before the King.

Thirdly, that without the Kings assent, he carried the great Seal of England with him into Flanders.

Fourthly, that having the French-pox, he presumed to come and breathe upon the King.

Fifthly, that he caused the Cardinals Hat to be put upon the Kings Coin.

Sixthly, that he would not suffer the Kings Clerk of the Market to sit at Saint Albanes.

Seventhly, that he had sent infinite store of treasure to Rome for purchasing of his dignity.

These Articles were read in the House, and if not otherwise proved, yet confessed afterward under the Cardinals own hand, which added to the former Præmunire; all his Lands and goods were seized on to the Kings use.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to Greenwich; and there kept his Christmas with his Queen Katherine in great state; for though this matter of making void the marriage between them, was hotly perused by the King; yet abstaining only from her bed, he conversed with her still, and they kept Court together, in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King Henry understanding that the Pope and the Emperour were to meet at Bologna, he sent Embassadours thither, the Earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Stokesley Elect of London, and Doctor Lee, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperour, the opinions of divers learned men in the matter of his marriage; who all agree that it was against the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Justice; and shewing to the Emperour, that the King moved this matter for discharge of his Conscience only, and to no other end. To which the Pope answered, that when he came to Rome, he would hear the matter disputed, and do the King right. The Emperour answered, that he would in no case be against the Law of God, and if this marriage were judged such by the Court of Rome, he would rest contented: with these Answers the Embassadours returned.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King Henry's reign, when the Emperour gave to the Master of S. Johns of Hierusalem the Island of Malta, in supplying of the Island of Rhodes, which the Turk sometime before had won from that Order.

In this year, the New Testament having been Translated into English, by Tindall, Joy, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were sharply punished by command of the Bishops and Sir Thomas More then Lord Chancellour; but none was more violent in the matter then the Bishop of London, who caused all the Books to be brought into Pauls Church-yard, and there burned.

King Henry having heard by good information, that when Campejus was sent Legate into England, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Popes mind, commanded to burn it; saw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it a foot for his own ends; neither to displease the Emperour by granting nor King Henry by not granting it, but promising expedition to keep him in expectance; yet using delays to keep him in dependence; and therefore resolved now to take such a course, that he should not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon caused a Proclamation to be published, that no person of what estate or condition soever should purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome, any thing prejudicial to the Jurisdiction, or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of imprisonment, and other punishments at his Graces pleasure; and shortly after an Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annats, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Bishops, since the fourth year of King Henry the seventh, an hundred and threescore thousand pounds, besides what had been paid for Pardons and other dispensations. Another Act was also then made, that no person should appeal for any cause, out of this Realm to the Court of Rome, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King; and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation.

At this time the Cardinal lying still at Asher, & his Adversaries do being left lying so near the King, he might one time or other get access to the Kings presence, and come again into favour; they

Prescription not enough to make a thing lawful.

Earls created:

Articles drawn by the Parliament against the Cardinal.

An. Reg. 22. 1531.

The Island of Malta given by the Emperour to the Master of Saint Johns of Hierusalem.

An Act made that no more Annats should be paid to Rome. Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

The Cardinal is commanded to his Diocese of York.

He prepares to be installed, and sends to the King for his rich Miter and Pall.

He is arrested by Sir Walter Walsh one of the Kings Privy-chamber.

He falls sick.

And dies.

His many honours, and great reclus.

White-hall given by the Cardinal to the King.

they used means to have him sent further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his Diocese of York, and not to come Southward without special licence; whereupon in Lent he made great preparation for his journey, and having in his train to the number of an hundred and threecore persons, by easie journeys came to Peterborough, and there kept his Easter; the week after he went to Stamford, then to Newark, and so to Southwell, where he continued most part of all that Summer; and then rode to Scroby, where he stayed till Michaelmas, and then came to Cawood Castle, within seven miles of York, where he kept a plentiful house for all comers: and repaired the Castle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At last, he determined to be installed at York, the next Munday after Allholliday; against which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinal sent to the King, to lend him the Miter and Pall, which he used to wear at any great solemnity. At which presumption the King marvelled not a little, saying to those that were about him, what a thing is this, that pride should thus reign in a man that is quite under-foot? but before the day of instalment came, he was arrested in this manner: Sir Walter Walsh one of the Kings Privy-chamber, was sent down to the Earl of Northumberland, with whom he was joynt in Commission to arrest the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to Cawood, where the Cardinal lay: and being entred into the house, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of Northumberland was come, and in the Hall; then (quoth the Cardinal) I am sorry we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complemental manner, as if he had come but only to visit him: but being come into the chamber, the Earl with a soft voice, laying his hand upon the Cardinals arm, said, My Lord, I arrest you of High Treason: the Cardinal somewhat astonished, asked to see his Commission, which the Earl denying to shew; then (saith the Cardinal) I will not obey your arrest; at that instant Master Walsh came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him if he were joynt in Commission with the Earl; who answered, he was: well then, said the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the Kings Privie-Chamber, your name is Walsh; I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, unless I see his Commission: the meane of the Kings Privie-Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm, by the Kings commandment, without any Commission. Then the Earl took the Cardinals keys from him, and put him in custody of his Gentlemen: some few daies after, he was conveyed from Cawood to Pomfret, and after to Sheffield Park, where he had kind entertainment, and staid with the Earl of Shrewsbury and his Lady eighteen daies, till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change, and being asked how he did; not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at my stomach, as cold as a whetstone, which I know is wind; I desire to have something from the Apothecary, to break wind; which was brought, and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke wind indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he fel soon after into such a loofness, that the night following he had above fifty stools; yet the next day he rode to Nottingham, and the day after to Leicester Abbey, being so sick by the way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule; coming to the Abbey gates, the Abbot with all the Covent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am comblither to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his chamber, and went to bed; where growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master Kingston Lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did; I do but tarry (saith he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poor soul into his hands; for this is my case, I have a Flux with a continual Fever, the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight daies, either excoiation of the entrails will ensue, or frenzie, or else present death; and the best of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eighth day. Sir (saith Master Kingston) you are afraid of that you have no cause; for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did; No, no (Mr. Kingston) said the Cardinal, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs; but it is a just reward for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God, to do him pleasure: and having so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost, which made some about him remember, how he had said before, that at eight of the clock they should lose their Master. Being dead he was buried in the Abbey of Leicester. This man held at once the Bishoprick of York, VVinchester, and Durham, the dignities of Lord Cardinal Legat and Chancellour of England, the Abbey of Saint Albans, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in Commendam: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of Bath, Worcester and Hereford, which having been given by Henry the Seventh to strangers, that lived out of the Realm, they suffered Woolsey to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand persons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which greatness as it came by the Kings favour, so by the withdrawing of his favour, it was overthrowen: so true is that saying of Salomon, The Kings favour is as dew upon the grass; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death. After this the King removed from Hampton-Court to Greenwich, where with his Queen Katherine he kept a solemn Christmas, and on the twelfth night he ate in state in the Hall, where was divers Enterludes, costly Masques, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Mannor of Westminster, which before was called York Place; for the Cardinal had made a Peofment of it to the King, which the Chapter of York confirmed, and then it was no more called York Place, but the Kings Mannor of Westminster, now VVhite-hall.

A box

About this time was a Call of eleven Serjeants at Law; namely Thomas Audley, Walter Lake, John Bawdewine, John Hynde, Christopher Jenney, John Denfel, Edward Merwyne, Edmund Knightly, Roger Chomely, Edward Mountague, and Robert York; who kept their Feast at Ely House five days together: where on the last day the King and Queen dined: which John Denfel of Denfel in the County of Cornwall, was of Lincoln-Inne, and dyed the third day of January, Anno Christi 1535. and lieth buried within the Church of S. Giles in the fields, in Middlesex: Leaving by Mary his Widow the Daughter of Sir Lucas in Warwickshire Knight, two Daughters and Coheirs, Anne the eldest married unto Sir William Hollys of Houghton, in the County of Nottingham Knight; Grandfather unto John Hollys Knight Earl of Clare, &c. deceased, and Alice the other Daughter married unto Master Reskimer.

At this time the whole Clergy of England was charged by the Kings learned Council, to be in a Præmunire, for supporting and maintaining the Cardinals Legatine power; and were thereupon called by process into the Kings Bench to answer; but before their day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand pound to have their pardon by Parliament, which offer, after some labour, was accepted, and their pardon promised. In which submission the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the Kings hand, and sent to the Lords; who assented to it; and then sent it to the Lower House: but here, divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unless themselves also might be included in it; who (they said) having had something to do with the Cardinal, might be brought into the same case as the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker Thomas Audley, with a convenient number of the House, was sent to the King about it; to whom the King made answer, that he was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his Great Seal without them; and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it: with this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented; and some said that Thomas Cromwell, who was newly come into the Kings favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this displeasing Answer. But soon after the King of his own accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn; and signed it; which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation of the Kings judgement, to deny it at first when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace.

In this Parliament time, on the thirtieth of March, Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellour with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the matter of the Kings Divorce, he might sufficiently rely upon the judgement of learned men in his own Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into France, Italy, the Popes Dominions, and the Venetians, to have their opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box certain writings sealed, which were the determinations of the Universities of Orleans, of Paris, of Anjou, of Burges, of Bologna, of Padua, and of Toulouse: all which were prepotent in these two Points; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is nor in the power of the Pope to dispense with it: and now (said they) you may know, that the King hath not fought this Divorce for his pleasure; but for discharge of his conscience; and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoicing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loss of so good a Wife; yet conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations; in Whitsunweek after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recal her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords; which she utterly refused, using her usual Answer, that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of Rome, but of no other. After Whitsuntide, the King and Queen removed to Windsor, and there continued till the fourteenth of July, on which day the King removed to Woodstock and left the Queen at Windsor, where she remained a while, and after removed to Easthamstead, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to persuade her to be conformable to the law of God; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should be at either of these three places, his Manor of Okeing, or of Easthamstead, or the Monastery of Bisham, and there to continue without further molesting him with her suits.

And now Cranmer is to play his part. It chanced that Doctor Stephens, Doctor Fox, and he met at Waltham one day at dinner; where falling into discourse, about the case then in agitation, of the Kings marriage with Queen Katherine; the other Doctors thought the marriage might be proved unlawful by the Civil Law: but (said Cranmer) it may better be proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to do it; which words of his being made known to the King, Cranmer is sent for, and commanded to set his reasons down in writing: which having done, and shewed them to the King; he was asked whether he would stand to that which he had written: who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself, if his Majesty pleased: marry (saith the King) and to the Pope you shall go: and thereupon sent him to the Court of Rome, and with him Thomas Bullen Earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Stukesley Elect of London, Doctor Lee the Kings Almoner, and others: who coming to Bologna where the Pope was, had a day of audience appointed, but was hindred by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiss his Toe,

The King first called the Supreme head of the Church.

The Kings wisdom is granting his Pardons.

The Pope cannot dispense against the Law of God.

Notwithstanding the determinations of Universities; yet the Queen stands still to her Appeal.

The Queen is confined.

Cranmer is sent to Rome to prove the Kings marriage unlawful.

The Queen is by Parliament divorced.

Sir Thomas More delivers up the great Seal: and Thomas Audley Speaker of the Parliament is made Lord Chancellor. The Lady Anne Bullen is created Marchioness of Pembroke. King Henry meets the King of France at Callice.

He marries the Lady Anne Bullen. Crommer is made Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Order of Knighthood imposed upon all men of Forty pounds Land.

Cromwell is taken into the Kings service. Queen Anne Bullen is crowned.

An. Reg. 25.  
1534.

The Queen is delivered of a Daughter named Elizabeth.

The Judgement of God upon an unhallowed oath.

as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kiss. After this, when *Crommer* had made his Proposition, he was told, it should be answered when the Pope came to Rome: so the Embassadors were dismissed, and *Crommer* went to the Emperours Court; where in private conference he satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to be of his opinion. *Crommer* returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction; the Kings marriage with Queen *Katherine* was soon after dissolved by Parliament, and the Bishop of *Canterbury* accompanied with Doctor *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop of *Bathe* and *Lincoln*, and other learned men, rode to *Dunstable* where Queen *Katherine* then lay; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the marriage declared to be void and of none effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but *Princess Dowager*: after which time, the King never saw her more.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King *Henries* reign, Sir *Thomas More*, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to *Thomas Audley* Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament begun at the *Black Friars*, was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therefore called the black Parliament. This *Thomas Audley* was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellor; in whose room of Speaker *Humphrey Wingfield* of *Grays Inn* was chosen. On the first of September this year, the King being at *Windsor*, created *Anne Bullen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, giving her a thousand pounds last year: and then being desirous to talk with the King of *France* in person on the tenth of October, taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Dorset* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Essex*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, *Suffex* and *Huntington*, with divers Vicounts, Barons and Knights, he sailed over to *Callice*; and on the twentieth of October met with the King of *France* at *Bulloigne*, with whom he staid four days; in which time to do him honor, the King of *France* honored the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with the Order of *Saint Michael*, and then both Kings went to *Callice*, where the French King staid certain days; in which time to do the King of *France* honor, King *Henry* honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter, and then after great magnificence in revelling and feasting, on the twentieth of October the French King departed from *Callice*, and King *Henry* returned into *England*, where on the fourteenth of November following, he married secretly the Lady *Anne Bullen*, which marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived she was with child; at which time *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died; *Thomas Crommer* was elected Archbishop in his room.

After that the King perceived his new wife to be with childe, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on Easter-eve he went to her closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on Whitunday following, and writings were sent to all Sheriffs, to certify the names of men of forty pounds, to receive the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine: the Assessment of which fines was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell* Master of the Jewel-house, and of the Kings Council; a man newly come into the Kings favour, by whose industry great sums of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of May, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to do any service at the Coronation, by way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claim three weeks after Easter in the Star-chamber, before *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, for that time high Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners. Two days before the Coronation were made Knights of the Bath, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Hurlston*, Sir *Thomas Poyning*, Sir *Henry Savill*, Sir *George Fitzwilliams*, Sir *John Tindall*, and Sir *Thomas Jeremy*. On Whitunday the Coronation was kept in as great state and pomp for all circumstances as ever any was, and the day after a solemn Juils was holden.

In May this year Pope *Clement* sent a messenger to King *Henry*, requiring him personally to appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the year following; but when his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of this said Council; and so with an uncertain Answer to an uncertain Demand, the Messenger departed.

It was now the five and twentieth year of the Kings reign, when on Midsummer day, Mary the French Queen, and then Wife to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, died; and was buried at *St. Edmundsbury*; and on the seventh of September following, between three and four a clock in the afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named *Elizabeth*; the Godfather at the Christning was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmother the old Dutcheff of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness *Dorset* widow; and at the Confirmation the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*: the Christning was performed with exceeding great state, and great gifts were given by the Godfathers.

This year, one *Pavier* the Town-clerk of *London* hanged himself, whom *Hollinshed* saith he heard once swear a great oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in English, rather than he would live to see that day, he would cut his own throat: which I therefore relate, that the judgement of God may be seen upon such unhallowed Oaths.

A little

A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy maid of *Kent*, came to be discovered, whose abettors were *Richard Maffer* a Priest Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Rocking* Doctor of Divinity, a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Deering* a Monk, *Edward Thways* Gentleman, *Henry Gold* Parson of *Aldermay*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryer Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst others, said, that by Revelation from God and his Saints she was informed, that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one month after. And here we may see how credulous oftentimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rockester* were thought to give credit to this Counterfeit, that we need not wonder at *Saint Austins*, who though he gave credit to many lying miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them then this, which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abettors was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged.

In this mean time the Scots had been troublesome, and made inroads upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners, being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of May this year, was openly Proclaimed.

About this time, at the suit of Lady *Katherine Dowager*, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come neerer: and because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to lier, lying then at *Engden* besides *Huntington*, to discharge a great part of her household servants; yet leaving her a convenient number like a Princess.

It was now the six and twentieth year of King *Henry's* reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown, upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights and Burgesses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Popes authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rockester*, Sir *Thomas More* Knight, and Doctor *Wilson* Parson of *Saint Thomas Apostles* in *London*, expressly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor *Wilson* recanted, but the other two persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Callice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned and very wise, but so given to a vein of jesting and merry scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death: as when he was carried to the Tower, being demanded his upper garment (meaning his Gown) you shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; saying, it was the uppermost garment he had: also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my Head, my neck is so short: and when he was to lay his head down upon the block, having a great gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jesting matter; for he used to wear a shirt of hair next his skin for a perpetual penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Masse; which he forbore not to do even when he was Lord Chancellor of *England*, as one time the Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him; one, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of riches; that having passed through so many great employments, and born so many great Offices; yet in all his time, he never purchased above one hundred pounds land a year, nor left any great stock of money behind him, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellor of *England*, at the same time that his Father was a Judge of the Kings Bench, he would alwaies at his going to *Westminster*, go first to the Kings Bench and ask his Father blessing; before he went to sit in the Chancery.

The ninth of July, this year the Lord *Dacres* of the North was arraigned at *Westminster* of high Treason, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as high Steward of *England*; his Inditement being read, he so answered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found not guilty; a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of September Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolls, was discharged of that Office; and the nineteenth of October following, *Thomas Cromwell* was sworn in his place.

This year the King of the Scots was installed Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord *Erskin*; and *Stephen Gardiner*, who after the Cardinals death, was made Bishop of *Winchester*, was sent Embassador Legier into *France*, where he remained three years. Also in January, of this year, *Katherine* Princess Dowager, fell into her last sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperours Embassador Legier, desiring her to be of good comfort; but she finding her death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to him

D d

The holy maid of Kent her Imposture discovered, and she hanged.

The Popes authority in England abolished by Parliament. Fisher Bishop of Rockester and Sir Thomas More beheaded: and why.

Sir Thomas More given to jesting at his Devotion.

The Lord Dacres arraigned of high Treason. Cromwell is made Master of the Rolls.

Queen Katherine Dowager dies at Kimbolton.

him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her; and then desiring him further, to have some consideration of her Servants. On the eighth of January, at *Kimbolton*, she departed this life, and was buried at *Peterborough*. A woman of so virtuous a life, and of so great obsequiousness to her husband, that from her only merit, is grown a reputation to all Spanish wives. Also the nine and twentieth of January this year, Queen Anne was delivered of a child before her time, which was born dead.

And now King Henry began to fall into those great disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes; for first, in October this year, he sent Doctor Lee and others, to visit the Abbeyes, Priories, and Nunneries in England; who set at liberty all those religious persons, that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the age of four and twenty years; and in December following, a survey was taken of all Chantryes, and the names of such as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of February, an Act was made, which gave to the King all Religious houses, with all their lands and goods, that were of the value of three hundred marks a year and under: the number of which Houses was three hundred seventy and six: the value of their lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their movable goods, one hundred thousand, the Religious persons put out of the same houses above ten thousand. This year William Tindall was burnt at a Town in Flanders, between Brussels and Mechlyn, called *Villefort*, for translating into English the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord Cromwell's writing for his Deliverance, in all haste brought to the fire, and burnt.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King Henry's Reign, when on Monday there were solemn Jufts holden at Greenwich, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to Westminster, whose sudden departure stroke great amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without cause; for the next day, the Lord Rochford her Brother, and Henry Norris were brought to the Tower of London, prisoners, whither also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon, was brought Queen Anne her self, by Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, and Sir William Kingston Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate, fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused: on the fifteenth of May, she was arraigned in the Tower, before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting as High Steward of England. When her Inditement was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all matters laid to her charge: but being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of Suffolk was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgement pronounced by the Duke of Norfolk; immediately the Lord Rochford her Brother, was likewise arraigned and condemned: who on the seventeenth of May, together with Henry Norris, Mark Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the Kings Privy-Chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-hill. Queen Anne her self on the nineteenth of May, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the sword of Calib by the hangman of that Town; her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chapel there. This Queen Anne, was the Daughter of Thomas Bullen Earl of Wiltshire, and of Lady Elizabeth Daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk; the Earls Father was the Son of Sir William Bullen, whose Wife was Margaret the second Daughter and Co-heir of Thomas Butler Earl of Ormond, and the said Sir William was the Son of Sir Godfrey Bullen, Lord Mayor of London, who lieth buried in Saint Leonards Church in the Jewry, whose Wife was Anne eldest Daughter and Co-heir to Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings; and his descent was out of the house of the Bullens in the County of Norfolk; thus much for her Parentage: for her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: in Almes-deeds so liberal, that in nine moneths space, it is said she distributed amongst the poor, to the value of fifteen thousand pounds: Now for the crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest:) proofs of her guiltiness there are none recorded; of her Innocency many; first, her own clearing of all objections, at the time of her arraignment: then Cromwell's writing to the King, after full examination of the matter; that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some circumstances had been acknowledged by Mark Smeton: (and what was Mark Smeton, but a mean fellow, one that upon promise of life, would say any thing: and having said something, which they took hold of, was soon after executed lest he should retract it) lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the death: even Henry Norris, whom the King specially favoured, and promised him pardon if he would but confess it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming on morning into her chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold for a proof: and it need be no marvel, if we consider the many adversaries she had; as being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, then Authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty. But howsoever it was, that her death was contrived: certain it is, that it cast upon King Henry a dishonourable Imputation; in so much, that where the Protestant Princes of Germany had resolved to choose him for head of their League; after they heard of this Queens death, in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honour: and it is memo-

Queen Anne is delivered of a child before her time: and born dead.

All religious Houses of a certain value given by Parliament to the King. William Tindall burnt in Flanders, for translating into English the New Testament.

1537.

Queen Anne is committed to the Tower.

She is beheaded.

Her Parentage.

Her Religion and Almes-deeds.

Her Innocency.

A memorable what conceit Queen Anne her self had of her death; for at the time, when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the Kings Privy-chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him; he is constant in his course of advancing me; for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me Marquess, from a Marquess, a Queen; and now, that he had left no higher degree of worldly honor for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King married Jane Seymour, Daughter to Sir John Seymour, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen; and on Tuesday in the Whitsun-week her Brother Sir Edmund Seymour, was created Vicount Beauchamp, and Sir Walter Hangerford was made Lord Hangerford.

The eight of June, the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord Thomas Howard, withogethe the Kings assent, had affianced the Lady Margaret Douglas, Daughter to the Queen of Scots, and Niece to the King, for which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long time remained there a prisoner; yet afterward was set at liberty, and married Matthew Earl of Lenox, who by him had Henry, Father of James the first King of Great Britain.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at Pauls Church in London; where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a Book of Religion; intituled, Articles devised by the Kings Highness: in which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments: namely Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holy-days were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest time.

The two and twentieth of July, Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, base Son of King Henry by Elizabeth Blunt, died at Saint James, and was buried at *Westkone in Saint James*.

The nine and twentieth of June the King held a great Jufts & Triumph at Westminster, but a disastrous Sea-fight was on the water, where one Gates a Gentleman was drowned in his harness, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were sore maimed: in July following, Thomas Cromwell, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolles, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy-seal: and the nineteenth of July the Lord Fitz-Warren was created Earl of Bath, and the day after, the said Cromwell was made Lord Cromwell; and on the eighteenth of July, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sat divers times in the Convocation House, amongst the Bishops as head over them: and now was the state of Religion in England come to a strange pass; because always in passing, and had no confidence; for at first, the authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward, his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only: a while after, in many more: that the fable of *Proteus* might no longer be a fable, when the Religion in England might be his true Moral: and indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed *per saltum*; but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progress of the story: for where at first, it was permitted only to read the Bible in English, now it came to be permitted to pray in English; for now in September, the Lord Cromwell set forth Injunctions, to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the ten Commandments, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into English, and to be taught by all Parsons and Curates to their Parishioners: which Innovation so stirred up the people, that in Lincolnshire they assembled to the number of twenty thousand; against whom the King himself went in person, who winning by persuasion their chief leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himself done the work of mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of Suffolk, with Sir Francis Brian, and Sir John Russell, to do the work of Justice; who caused Nicholas Melton, and a Monk naming himself Captain Cobler, and thirteen other (Ringleaders of the sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there rose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Ensignes, they had Christ hanging on the Cross, on the other side the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the holy Church now oppressed: but these were opposed by George Earl of Shrewsbury, who having raised an Army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for pardon and Commission to proceed: at which time a rumour being raised amongst his Souldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the tryal, he would not stick to joyn with them, and take their parts: to remove which Opinion out of their mindes, he caused all his souldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an Oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crown, and never to be assenting to any Rebels; to his aid were sent the Duke of Norfolk, with the Marquess of Exeter, the Earls of Huntington and Rutland: who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond Duncenfer, in the way towards York, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no persuasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to Battel; but see here the great goodness of God; for the night before the day appointed for battel, it happened that a little Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon a small rain grew to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; so as the Armies having time to consider,

The King marries the Lady Jane Seymour.

Articles devised by the Kings Highness.

Cromwell is made Lord Keeper.

The Lord Fitz-Warren is created Earl of Bath.

Cromwell is made Lord Cromwell: and Vicar General over the Spirituality.

Religion altered in England by degrees.

An Insurrection on Lincolnshire for Innovation of Religion.

The King goes in person; and suppresseth it.

Another Insurrection in the North: for suppressing whereof the Earl of Shrewsbury raised an Army: and having done it without commission, was glad to ask the King Kings Pardon.

A miracle of the suddain swelling of the River Dun.

Sir Ralph Evers his valiant carriage. Another In-surrection.

And yet another.

And yet another.

Queen Jane is delivered of a child named Edward; but died.

The miserable dissolution of the Family of the Geraldines or Fitz-Garrets in Ireland.

Edw. Seymour Vicount Beauchamp is made Earl of Hartford.

Sir William Fitz-Williams Lord Admiral is created Earl of Southampton.

and considering perhaps this miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon pardon disbanded and returned to their houses: but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of Scarborough, where the resolute carriage of Sir Ralph Evers is memorable; who held the Castle by only his own servants and Tenants, and that, when for twenty days together, he had no other sustenance but bread and water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very time, there was another great Army assembled out of Cumberland, Westmerland, and the North-parts of Lancashire, marching South-wards; but by the diligence of the Earl of Darby, to whom also the Earl of Suffex was sent; they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of Wally, Sanley, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an end of Commotions; for now in February, Nicholas Musgrave, Thomas Tilby, with others to the number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged Carlisle, but by the power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountered by the Duke of Norfolk, who caused seventy four of them by Martial law to be hanged on the walls of Carlisle. But neither was there yet an end of Commotions; for now in Settrington, Pickering, Leigh and Scarborough, began a new Rebellion, by procurement of Francis Bigot; who had a great power, and meant to have taken Hull, but by the industry of Sir Ralph Ellerker, and the Maior of the Town, three score of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was there an end of Commotions; for in the latter end of this eighth and twentieth year, the Lord Darcy, the Lord Hussey, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, Sir Thomas Percy Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest Esquire, and others began to conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this as being but the fagge end of the Commotion, was soon suppressed, the Lord Darcy was beheaded on the Tower-hill, the Lord Hussey at Lincoln, Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains at Hull, Sir John Bulmer's Paramour was burnt in Smithfield, and most of the other were executed at Tyburn: *Tha vultis erat;* so great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so great innovations of Religion.

This year on Saint Georges Feast, the Lord Cromwell was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of October, which is Saint Edwards-even, at Hampton-Court, the Queen was delivered of a Son; (but with so hard a labour that she was fain to be ripe) the child was named Edward, whole Godfather at the Christning were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk, his Godmother was his Sister the Lady Mary: at his Bishoping, his Godfather was the Duke of Suffolk: on the eighteenth of October, he was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester: but the birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the death of his Queen brought him sorrow; for within two days after she died, and was buried at Windsor, and so much was the Kings grief for her death, that he continued a widower two years after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befell the family of the Geraldines or Fitz-Garrets (Earl of Kildare in Ireland) about this time; for Gerald Fitz-Garret, who had been ten years Deputy in Ireland, upon the complaint of some fault, was sent for over into England, where not making a satisfysing answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own son, a young man of not above twenty years of age, but yet ripe of understanding and fit for the place: this young Lord hearing that his Father was committed prisoner to the Tower; and soon after, as the rumour increased, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms; and having five Uncles in the Countrey (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwillingly) to take his part; amongst other outrages he committed, the Archbishop of Dublin was slain in his presence: the Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very grief died; the Son and his Uncles, upon the Kings sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into England, those of his Uncles, that against their wills had been drawn into the Action had good hopes of their lives, till entering the ship of passage, which was called the Cow, they then presently despaired, because of a prophesie, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into England in the belly of a Cow, and never after return: and indeed it fell out true, for through the malice of their adversaries, (exasperating the King against them, and saying, there would never be quietness in Ireland, as long as any of the Geraldines were left alive) they were all put to death: one only Son of the family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at that time sick of the Small-pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight; fled first into France, and frighted from thence, afterward into Flanders, and driven from thence, at last into Italy, where protected by Reginald Poole, at that time made Cardinal by Pope Julie the third, he was afterward, by his means, restored to his dignity and his patrimony.

This year Edward Seymour, Vicount Beauchamp, the Queens Brother was created Earl of Hartford, and Sir William Fitz-Williams Lord Admiral, was created Earl of Southampton, Master Pank was made Vice-Treasurer, Sir John Russell was made Controller of the Kings House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights.

In February divers Roods were taken down by the Kings commandement; as the Rood of Boveley, called the Rood of grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips; also the Rood called Saint Savours at Bermondsey Abbey in Southwark, and divers others. In May a Frier Observant, called Frier Forrest, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church; was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the Oath with his outward man, but his

his inward man never consented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle, and arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire wherewith he was consumed: A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of Wales, which the Welch men had in great reverence, called *Darvel Gatheran*, of which there went a Prophesie, that this Image should set a whole Forrest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Frier Forrest on fire, and consuming him to nothing.

In September, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable Images, unto which were made any special Pilgrimages and offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of *Spaldingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilton*, with many other; and forthwith by means of the said Cromwell, all the orders of Friars and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints; amongst others, the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the Kings use, and his bones, skull, and all which was there found, with a piece broken out by the wound of his head, were all burnt in the same Church by command of the Lord Cromwell: and the one and twentieth of October, the Church of *Thomas Becket* in London, called the Hospital of Saint Thomas of Acre was suppressed: the sixteenth of November the *Black-fryers* in London was suppressed; the next day the *White-friars, the Gray-friars*, and the Monks of the *Charter-house*, and so all the other immediately after: only three Abbots relicted, the Abbot of *Colechester*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, who therefore were all taken and executed. The four and twentieth of November the Bishop of *Rochester* preached at *Pauls-Cross*, and there shewed the blood of *Hales*, affirming it to be no blood, but Honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides four score and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chantries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new B. shopricks, as at *Wymminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester*; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

The third of November *Henry Courtney* Marques of *Excester*, and Earl of *Devonshire, Henry Poole Lord Montacute, Sir Nicholas Carew* of *Bedington*, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Kings Horse, and *Sir Edward Nevill*, Brother to the Lord *Alurgeiney*, were sent to the Tower, being accused by *Sir Geoffrey Poole* the Lord *Montacute's* Brother of high Treason; they were indicted for devising to promote and advance one *Reinold Poole* to the Crown, and put down King *Henry*. This *Poole* was a near kinsman of the Kings (being the Son of the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*) he had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Dean of *Excester*; but being sent after, to learn experience by travail, he grew so great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King *Henry*, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Julius* the third made Cardinal; for this mans cause, the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed; the Lord Marques, the Lord *Montacute*, and *Sir Edward Nevill*, beheaded on the Tower-hill, the ninth of January, *Sir Nicholas Carew*, the third of March; two Priests condemned with them were hanged at *Tyburn*; *Sir Geoffrey Poole* though condemned also, yet had his pardon.

About this time one *Nicholson, alias Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him; whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Palace at *Westminster*, for the King to sit; and when the Bishops had urged their arguments, and could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of converting an Heretick, when the Bishops could not do it, and withall promised him pardon if he would recant; but all would not do; *Nicholson* remained obstinate, the King mist his honour, the delinquent mist his pardon, and shortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by instigation of Cardinal *Poole*, had earnestly moved divers great Princes to invade England; he as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnestly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified, and in needful places B. larks to be erected: He caused his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readiness at any short warning: He caused Musters to be taken in all Shires; and lifts of all able men in every County, in London specially; where *Sir William Forman* the then Maior, certified the number of fifteen thousand; not that there were no more, but that so many were ready prepared; and these on the eighth of May, the King himself saw mustered in Saint James Park; where the Citizens strove in such sort to exceed each other in bravery of arms, and forwardness of service, as if the City had been a Camp; and they not men of the gown, but all profest soldiers; which they performed to their great cost; but greater commendation.

It was now the one and thirtieth year of King *Henries* reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a suitor for a wife, for he was sued unto to take one. The Emperor solicited him to marry the Dutchess of *Milan*; but to marry her he must first obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was resolved rather to have no wife, than to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Clare* made suit unto him, to marry

D d 3

Frier Forrest hanged by the middle and wital burnt; by which a prophesie fulfilled.

All Images put down.

All orders of Friars and Nunneries suppressed by Cromwell.

The number of Monasteries suppressed. In lieu of the suppressed Monasteries the King erects six new Bishopricks.

Divers Lords and Knights executed: and why.

Cardinal Pool his parentage and education.

An. Reg. 31.  
1540.

The King inclines to marry again.

And by the  
comendacion  
of Cromwell  
marries the  
Lady Anne Si-  
ster to the  
Duke of Cleve.

Sir William  
Hollys Knight,  
Lord Maior of  
London.  
The Lord  
Cromwell is  
made Earl of  
Essex.  
How the Earl-  
dom of Essex  
came to the  
family of De-  
vereux.  
Earls created.

The Lord  
Cromwell is  
committed to  
the Tower.  
Is beheaded.  
His Paragon  
and education.

The Kings  
marriage with  
the Lady Anne  
of Cleve, is  
by Parliament  
judged unlaw-  
ful.

Leopold's Grey  
beheaded and  
why.

the Lady Anne his Sister, and he was a Protestant Prince; and so, though differing in points of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord Cromwell specially, and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King should take a Protestant Wife, seeing his actions had been such, as none but a Protestant Queen would ever like; and if the Queen should not like them, the King, though done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon such means was used, that Embassadors came from the Duke of Cleve to conclude the match; and then the eleventh of December, the Lady her self in great state was brought, first to Callice, and then over to Dover; and being come to Rochester, the King secretly came to see her, afterward she was conducted to London, met by the way in several places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of January she was received into London by Sir William Hollys Knight, then Lord Maior, with Orations, Pageants, and all complements of State, the greatest that ever had been seen. On Twelfth day the Marriage was solemnized: the Archbishop of Canterbury did the Office, the Earl of Overfein a German Lord gave her. In April following the Lord Cromwell, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this match, was made Earl of Essex; for in March before, Henry Bowchier Earl of Essex, and the ancientest Earl of England, had broken his neck by seeking to break a young Horse, leaving only one Daughter, and the dying without issue, the Earldom came to the Family of Devereux, which yet enjoyed not the honour, till afterward in Queen Elizabeths time, and then made, but not restored.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir William Paulet Treasurer of his House, Lord Saint John; Sir John Russell Controller, Lord Russell; and shortly after Sir William Parr was created Lord Parr. The eight and twentieth of April began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margan Countess of Salisbury, Gertrude Wife to the Marquess of Exeter, Reynold Poole Cardinal Brother to the Lord Mountacute, Sir Adrian Fosse, Thomas Dingley Knight of Saint Johns, and divers others were attainted of high Treason; of whom Fosse and Dingley the tenth of July were beheaded, the Countess of Salisbury two years after; and in this Parliament the Act of the Articles was established, and Sir Nicholas Hare was restored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

It was now five months after the Kings marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve; and though the King at the first sight of the Lady, did not like her person; yet, whether as respecting the honour of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the first meeting; or whether he meant to try how time might work him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give distant to the German Princess at that time, for some ends he had a working, he dissembled the matter, and all things went on in a shew of contentment on all hands. But for all these shews, the crafty Bishop of London Stephen Gardiner, finding how the world went with the Kings affection towards his Queen; and for her sake with Cromwell; to neither of whom he was greatly affected (for to the Queen, as misliking her Religion; not to Cromwell, as envying his greatness) he wrought upon the Kings inclination, what by suggesting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord Cromwell, the ninth of July, sitting in the Council Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the same month was attained by Parliament, and never came to his Answer; by a Law, which (as some reported) he himself had caused to be made; and the eight and twentieth of July was beheaded on the Tower-hill; for crimes (as appears in Record) of Heresie and Treason. This Lord Cromwell was born at Putney, a Village in Surrey near the Thames sides, Son to a Smith, after whose decease his Mother was married to a Sheerman; for the pregnancy of his wit he was first entertained by Cardinal Woolsey, and by him employed in many great affairs; the Cardinal falling, the King took him into his service; and finding his great abilities, first advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleasure overthrew him. But the greatest part of Stephen Gardiners practice had been done before; for at Midsummer before, the King caused the Queen to remove to Richmond, as for her health and pleasure; and in the time of her absence, on the sixth of July, sent certain Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certain causes, for which the Kings marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve was not to be counted lawful; and so carried the matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, that the King might marry any other; and so might she. Being thus Divorced; it was further Enacted, she should no more be called Queen, but the Lady Anne of Cleve. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expressly delivered; some say, a precontract of the said Lady with a Lord of Germany was pretended; but it seems to have been for some womanish defect in her body; as she spared not to affirm that she had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their lying together; and as it is said, when her Ladies one time laid unto her that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly, she should answer, they might look long enough, unless, saying, How doest thou sweet heart? God morrow sweet heart; and such like words, could make a great belly; for (said she) more then this there never passed between the King and me. How ever it was, she willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in England, well respected of the King, and dying sixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen Mary, was buried at Westminster.

About this time Leonard Gray Deputy of Ireland, was on the Tower-hill beheaded for suffering his Nephew, Gerald Fitz-Gerret to escape, who had been declared an enemy unto the State; and then also was Thomas Fines Lord Dacres, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged

at Tyburn, for killing a mean person upon a sudden affray; also the fourth of August, Thomas Epson a Monk of Westminster, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks garment plucked from his back, the last that was seen in such habit in England till Queen Marys days.

The sixth of July in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King Henry had been divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleve, and now the eighth of August following, the Lady Katharine Howard, Niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and Daughter to the Lord Edward Howard, was shewed openly as Queen at Hampton-court.

On the tenth of June the year following, Sir Edmund Knevet of Norfolk, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for striking one Matter Cleer of Norfolk, within the Tennis-court of the Kings House; being found guilty, he had judgement to lose his right hand, and to forfeit all his lands and goods; whereupon there was called to do execution, first the Serjeant Surgeon, with his Instruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Woodyard, with a mallet and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Matter Cook with a knife to cut off the hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to set the knife right on the joint, then the Serjeant Barrier with searing Irons to sear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultry with a Cock, which Cock should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife; then the Yeoman of the Chandy with Sear-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heat the Irons, a chaffer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers to set their stuffe on, then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale, and Beer; then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Bafon, Ewre, and Towels; all things being thus prepared, Sir William Pickering Knight Marshal, was commanded to bring in his prisoner, Sir Edmund Knevet, to whom the Chief Justice declared his offence, which the said Knevet confessed, and humbly submitted himself to the Kings mercy, only he desired, that the King would spare his right hand and take his left, because (said he) if my right hand be spared, I may live to do the King good service: of whose submission, and reason of his suit, when the King was informed, he granted him to lose neither of his hands, and pardoned him also of his lands and goods.

The Summer of his three and thirtieth year, King Henry with his Queen Katharine, made a progress into the North parts, and returning at Alhollantide to Hampton-court, he was there informed of the Queens disolute life, first before her marriage with one Francis Deerham, a Gentleman of Norfolk, whom employed afterward in Ireland, she had lately again at Pomsret received into her service; and now since her marriage with one Thomas Colepepper, of the Kings Privy-chamber; whereupon the thirteenth of November, Sir Thomas Wriothesley Knight, Secretary to the King, was sent to the Queen at Hampton-court, to charge her with these crimes, and discharging her household, to cause her to be conveyed to Sion, there to remain, till the Kings pleasure should be further known: the Delinquents being examined, Deerham confessed, that before the Kings marriage with the Lady Katharine, there had been a pre-contract between himself and her; but when he once understood of the Kings liking towards her, he then waved and concealed it for her preferment: so the first of December these Gentlemen being arraigned at the Guild-hall, they confessed the Indictment, and had Judgement to die, as in cases of Treason: the tenth of December, they were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, where Colepepper was beheaded, and Deerham was hanged and dismembered; Colepeppers body was buried in Sepulchres Church in London, but both their heads were set on London-bridge the two and twentieth of December, there were arraigned at the Kings-Bench, the Lord William Howard and the Lady Margaret his Wife, Katharine Filney, and Alice Wrethwold Gentlewoman, Joan Bulmer, Wife to Anthony Bulmer Gentlemans Anne Howard Wife to Henry Howard Esquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others; who were all condemned for misprision of Treason, for concealing the Queens misdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual prison. The fifteenth of January the Parliament began at Westminster, where the Lords and Commons petitioned the King, that he would not vex himself with the Queens offence, and that both she and the Lady Rochford might be attained by Parliament; and that to avoid protracting of time, he would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also, that Deerham and Colepepper having been attained before by the Common Law, might be attained likewise by Parliament: all which was assented to by the King; and after on the thirteenth of February, the Queen and the Lady Rochford were beheaded on the Green within the Tower, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently: yet something to take off the offences of this Queen; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor White Bishop of Winchester, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she took God and his holy Angels to witness, upon her souls salvation, that she died guiltless.

Before this, on the three and twentieth of January, King Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland, whereas before this time, the Kings of England were only entitled Lords of Ireland; and this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in Ireland; before Sir Anthony Scintegan Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

About this time Arthur Plantagenet Vicount Essex, base Son to King Edward the fourth, having been imprisoned upon suspicion of a practice, for betraying of Callice to the French; whilst he was the Kings Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the fact; and thereupon the King to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a Ring and a very gracious message, by Sir Thomas Wriothesley his Secretary; whereat the said Vicount took so great joy, that the night following,

Thomas Fines  
Lord Dacres  
hanged at Ty-  
burn, and why.  
1541.

King Henry  
marries the  
Lady Katharine  
Howard.  
1542.

Sir Thomas  
Knevet is ad-  
judged to lose  
his right hand,  
and the solemn  
manner of do-  
ing it.

Is pardoned,  
and why.  
1542.

King Henry is  
informed of the  
disolute  
life of Queen  
Katharine with  
Deerham and  
Colepepper.

Colepepper and  
Deerham hanged  
and beheaded.

Queen Katharine  
is beheaded.

King Henry is  
proclaimed  
King of Ire-  
land.

Arthur Plantagenet  
Vicount Essex  
dies.

Sir John Dudley Son to Edmund Dudley beheaded, is made Vicount Lisle.

Burgesses of the Parliament and their servants free from arrest.

The Commands of the Parliament to be executed by their Serjeant without any Writ, by shewing only his Mace.

King Henry will maintain the Privileges of Parliament.

following, of that very joy he died : so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it self, if it be extreme. After his death Sir John Dudley, his Wives Son, was created Vicount Lisle. This Sir John Dudley was Son to Edmund Dudley, beheaded in the first year of this Kings reign, and was made Vicount Lisle in right of his Mother.

During this Parliament, one George Ferrers Gentleman, servant to the King and Burges for the Town of *Plimmouth* in *Devonshire*, in going to the Parliament House, was arrested in London by a Process out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as surety for one *Welden*, at the suit of one *White*; which arrest being signified to Sir *Thomas Mowl* Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeses there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called *Saint-John*, should be sent to the Counter in *Breadstreet* (whither the said *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered: but the Officers of the Counter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray; at which time the Sheriffs coming, they also took their Officers part; so as the Serjeant was fain to return without the Prisoner; which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgeses; they took the matter in so ill part, that they would lit no more without their Burges; and thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Cafe was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, and the Lords and Judges there assembled: who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Cafe, they took order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of London, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellor offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a clear opinion, that all commandements from the nether House were to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, only by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant: but before the Serjeants return into London, the Sheriffs better advised, became more mild, and upon the second demand, delivered the prisoner without any denial; but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerks of the Counter, to appear personally the next morning before the House of Commons: where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel; Sir *Roger Chomely* Recorder of London, offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves: in conclusion, the Sheriffs and *White* who had caused the Arrest, were committed to the Tower; the Officer that did the Arrest, with four other Officers to Newgate; but after two or three daies, upon the humble suit of the Maior, were set at liberty; and because the said *Ferrers* being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by privilege of Parliament, was not by law to be brought again into execution; and so the creditor without remedy for his debt, against him as his principal debtor, therefore after long debate, by the space of nine or ten daies together, they at last resolved to make an Act of purpose, to revive the execution of the said debt, against *Welden* who was principal debtor, and to discharge *Ferrers*; that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding, the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voices: the King being advertised of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellor and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdom, in maintaining the privileges of their House (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alledged, that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own Person upon the business thereof, ought in reason, to have privilege for himself and all his servants attending upon him, so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burges, but only his servant; yet in that respect, he was to have the privilege as well as any other: for I understand (saith he) that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cooks and Horse-keepers, enjoy the same Privilege; in so much, as my Lord Chancellor here present, hath informed us, that whilst he was speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a Statute of the Staple, and for so much, as the said Cook during all the Parliament served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by privilege of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court, (as our learned Council informeth us) is so great, that all Acts and Processes coming out of any other Court, must for a time cease and give place to it: and touching the party himself, though for his presumption he was worthy to have lost his debt, yet I commend your equity, that have restored him to his debt against him that was the principal: When the King had said this, Sir *Edward Montacute* Lord chief Justice, rose up and confirmed by many reasons, all that the King had said, as likewise did all the other Lords, none speaking any thing to the contrary.

1543.

It was now the four and thirtieth year of King Henry's Reign, when in May, he took a loan of money of all such as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subsidie Book; the Lord Privy Seal, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir *Thomas Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothley* were Commissioners for the loan in London, who so handled the matter, that of some chief Citizens they obtained a thousand marks in prest to the Kings use: for which Privy Seals were delivered to repay it again within two years.

At this time, were many complaints made by the English, against the Scots, partly for ravaging and maintaining divers English Rebels, fled into Scotland, and partly for invading the English Borders; but still when the King of England was preparing to oppose them, the Scottish King would

The Scots enter the English borders: against whom the King sends an Army and repells them.

would send Embassadors to treat of reconciliation, till at last, after many delusory pranks of the Scots, the King of England, no longer enduring such abuses, sent the Duke of Norfolk, his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earl of Shrewsbury, Darby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hartford, Angus, Rutland, the Lords of the North-parts, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir *John Gage* Controller of the Kings House, with others, to the number of twenty thousand men; who on the one and twentieth of October entered Scotland, where itaying but eight daies only he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbeys, and Castles, and then without having Battail offered, for want of victuals returned to *Barnwick*; as soon as he returned, comes abroad the King of Scots, raiseth a power of fifteen thousand men, and using great threatnings what he would do, invaded the West Borders, but the edge of his threatning was soon taken off; for the *Baltard Ducrest*, with *Jack of Musgrave*, setting upon them with only an hundred Light-horse, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to flight, upon a conceit, that the Duke of Norfolk with all his Army, had been come to those parts; where were taken prisoners of the Scots, the Earl of *Cassil* & *Glen-carne*, the Lord *Maxwell* Admiral of Scotland, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwell*, the Lord *Ogilby*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sinclair*, the Kings Minion, *John Rafe*, Lord of *Gray*, *Roger Erskine* Son to the Lord *Erskine*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwells* two Brothers, *John Lesley* *Baltard* Son to the Earl of *Rothay*, *George Hamle* Lord of *Hemetton*, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more then eight hundred of meaner calling; so as some, one English man, and some women also had three or four prisoners in their hands: at which overthrow, the King of Scots took such grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behind him one only Daughter; and here King Henry began to apprehend a greater matter then the victory; for he and his Council conceived, that his Daughter would be a fit match for his Son Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetual union of the two Kingdoms; and to this purpose they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken prisoners, who exceeding glad of the proposition, and promising to further it by all the possible means they could, were thereupon set at liberty, and suffered to return home. Coming into Scotland, and acquainting the Earl of *Ardrin* with the motion, who was chosen Governour of the young Queen and of the Realm; the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three Estates in Scotland, the marriage was confirmed, and a Peace between the two Realms for ten years was proclaimed and Ambassadors sent into England, for sealing the conditions. But *Beton* Archbishop of *Saint Andrews*, being Cardinal, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter Enemy to King Henry, so crossed the business that it came to nothing, but ended in a war between the two Kingdoms; so as in March the year following, the Lord *Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, with an Army by Land, and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Lisle*, with a Fleet by Sea, met at *New-castle*, and there joyned together, for invading of Scotland; with the Ear of *Hartford*, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, *Sintenis*, the Lord *Williams Howard*, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thousand; with Sir *John Dudley* the Admiral, were two hundred sail of ships: on the fourth of May, the whole Army was landed two miles from the town of *Lieth*, at a place called *Granther Garg*; and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his men in order, marched towards the Town of *Lieth*, the Lord Admiral led the forward, the Lieutenant the Batel, & the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rearward. Before they came to the Town of *Lieth*, the Cardinal with six hundred Horse, besides Foot, lay in the way to impeach the passage; but they were so assailed by the Harquebusers, that they were glad to flie, and the first man that fled was the Cardinal himself, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murrey*, and *Bathwell*; hereupon the English made forward to *Lieth*, and entered it without any great resistance: the sixth of May they marched towards *Edenburgh*, and they as approached the Town, the Provost with some of the Burgers, came and offered the Keys of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Town to be preserved from fire; but the Lord Lieutenant told them, their falsehood had been such, as deserved no favour, and therefore unless they would deliver the Town absolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterprise and burn the Town. Here we may see, what it is to make men desperate; for to this the Provost answered, They were better then, to stand upon defence, and so indeed they did, and made the English glad to retire, for the Castle shot so fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to *Lieth*; but whilst they lay there, they so waited the Countrey, that within seven miles every way of *Edenburgh*, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor house that was left unburnt; at *Lieth*, the eleventh day of May, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Edward Dorel*, Sir *Francis Hotham*, and others, to the number of at least three score: in *Lieth* Haven, they felled upon all the Scottish Ships; whereof two were of notable fairnes, the one called the *Salamander*, given by the French King at the marriage of his Daughter into Scotland, the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late Scottish King; the ballast of which two Ships was Canon-shot, whereof they found in the Town, to the number of four score thousand. On the fifteenth of May, their Army and their Fleet departed from *Lieth*, both in one hour, having first set the Town on fire and burned it to the ground: from *Lieth* the English Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Castles with divers others they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of May came to *Barnwick*, not having lost in all the journey above fourteen men.

In the mean time, in King Henrys five and thirtieth year, on Trinity Sunday a new league was entered into and sworn, between the King and the Emperor at *Hampton-courte*, to be both offensive and defensive.

The Scots tripped with a conceit.

The King of Scots with grief thereof died, leaving behind him one only daughter.

King Henry seeks to match his Son Prince *Edward* with this daughter; and is embraced by all the States of Scotland.

Only *Beton* Archbishop of *Saint Andrews* and Cardinals, crosseth it.

Whereupon a war between the two Kingdoms.

And the Earl of *Hartford* is sent with an Army into Scotland.

Where he takes *Lieth* and many other Towns.

No policy to make the Enemy desperate.

1544.

Lords imprisoned for eating flesh in Lent. In this year, Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licensed to eat white meats in Lent; but straightly forbidden the eating of flesh, whereupon shortly after, the Earl of Surrey with divers other Lords, and Knights, were imprisoned for eating of flesh contrary to the Proclamation.

Olbine is created Earl of Desmond; whose posterity injoyeth the Honor to this day.

King Henry marries the Lady Katherine Par widow of the Lord Latimer.

She is accused to the King of Heresie. And by what means she avoids the danger.

The third of June this year, there came out of Ireland three Lords, of whom Olbine was here created Earl of Desmond, (which honor his posterity enjoyeth to this day) Mack William a Bar, was created Earl of Clanrickard, and Mack Gilpatrick, was made Baron of Ebrankie.

King Henry had already had five Wives, all of them Maids; and no good luck with any of them, he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of June, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign he took to wife the Lady Katherine Par, widow of the Lord Latimer late deceased, who was then proclaimed Queen; but how lucky would this match have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, seeing in a short time of three years they lived together, it was no small danger she escaped, which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unjustly be spoken of in this place, that so her story may come together; this Queen as being an earnest Protestant had many great adversaries, by whom she was accused to the King, to have heretical Books found in her closet; and this was so much aggravated against her, that they prevailed with the King, to sign a Warrant to commit her to the Tower, with a purpose to have her burnt for Heresie; this Warrant was delivered to Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went soon after to visit the King, at that time keeping his chamber, by reason of a sore leg; being come to the King, he presently fell into talk with her, about some points of Religion, demanding her resolution therein, but the knowing that his nature was not to be crost, specially considering the case she was in, made him answer, that she was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majesty was wise and judicious, of whom she must learn as of her Lord and Head; Nor so by Saint Mary (said the King) for you are a Doctor Kate to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often we have seen heretofore: Indeed Sir (said she) if your Majesty have so conceived, I have been mistaken; for if heretofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majesty some point, whereof I stood in doubt, and sometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your present infirmity: And is it even so sweet heart? (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and so kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But soon after, was day the appointed by the Kings Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King being disposed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when suddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden with a purpose to apprehend her: whom as soon as the King saw, he stepped to him, and calling him knave and fool, bid him away out of his presence: the Queen seeing the King so angry with him, began to intreat for him, to whom the King said; Ah poor soul, thou little knowest what it is he came about; of my word sweet heart, he hath been to thee a very knave. And thus by Gods Providence was this Queen preserved, who else had tasted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former wives had done.

About this time King Henry and the Emperor sent Garter and Tysion d'or, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the French King: which if he denied, they were then commanded to besiege him: but the French King would not suffer them to come within his land, and so they returned: whereupon King Henry caused the said demands to be declared to the French Ambassador at Westminster; and in July sent over six thousand men, under the leading of Sir John Walloppe accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen; Sir Thomas Seymour was Marshal of the Army, Sir Robert Bowet Treasurer, Sir Richard Cornwall Captain of the Horse, and Sir George Carey his Lieutenant. There were likewise Sir Tho. Palmer, Sir John Rainsford, Sir John Saint-John, and Sir John Gascoigne Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commission was to joyn with the Emperor, and together to make war upon France. The third of August open war was proclaimed in London, between the Emperor and the King of England on the one part, and the French King on the other, as mortal Enemy to them both; and to all other Christian Princes besides, as he that had confederated himself with the Turk. Sir John Walloppe marching forth of Callice with his Army, joyned with the Emperors Forces, who together went and besieged Landersey, a Town lately fortified by the French, lying within the borders of the Emperors Dominions: to raise the siege, this French King had raised a mighty Army; with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperour battail; and thereupon the Emperor raising his siege, with a purpose to encounter him, the French King took the opportunity to put men and victuals into the Town, which was the thing he intended: and having done this, the night following departed with his Army; and then the Emperor seeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplied, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

This year the Sunday before Christmas, the Lord William Parre, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex, was at Hampton-Court created Earl of Essex; and Sir William Parre Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord Parre of Horton, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord Wriothesley of Tickfield.

Lord, made.

In June this year, Matthew Earl of Lenox fled out of Scotland and came into England, whom King James received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady Margaret his Sifters Daughter, his parentage by whom he had Henry, Father of our late King James of blessed memory.

Thomas Andeley Lord Chancellour, being lately dead, Thomas Lord Wriothesley succeeded him in the place; and now was an Army levied to go for France; the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of Surrey the Dukes Son, the Lord Gray of Wilton, the Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and his Son Sir Robert Deveraux; Sir Thomas Chaucy Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord Montjoy, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Thomas Poynings Captain of Gysiers, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitsuntide passed over to Callice; and marched toward Adutrel, joyned with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the Count de Baren; which two Armies laid siege to Muttrell, whereof Monsieur de Bis, one of the Marshals of France was Captain, but being then at Bulloigne, and hearing of the siege of Muttrell, he left Bulloigne, and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from Bulloigne; and thereupon was the Duke of Suffolk appointed to pass over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of Arundel Marshall of the Field, the Lord Saint-John, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Gage Controller of the Kings House, Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Kings Horse, with divers others; who the nineteenth of July came and encamped before Bulloigne; the four and twentieth of July the King in person accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to Callice; and the six and twentieth encamped before Bulloigne on the North side: many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yielded, and the Duke of Suffolk entered and took possession, suffered six thousand French, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eighth of September King Henry entered the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord Lisle Lord Admiral, his Deputy there, he returned into England, landing at Dover the first of October. Many enterprises after this were made by the Dauphin of France and by Monsieur de Bies for recovery of Bulloigne, but they were still repelled, and the English kept the Town in spite of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand Lance Knights, twelve thousand French Foot-men, six thousand Italians, four thousand of Legionsary Souldiers of France, a thousand men of Arms, besides eight thousand light Horse; great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

Whilest these things were doing about Bulloigne, the Ships of the West Countrey and other places wasted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred French Ships; so that the Gray-fryers Church in London was laid full of Wine, the Austin-fryers; and Black-fryers full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into France.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in France and Scotland; to which purpose, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and other of the Kings Counsel fare at Baynardes Cattle, where they first called before them the Maior and Aldermen, and because Richard Read Alderman, would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in Scotland, which the obstinate man rather chose to do, then he would pay the rate he was required; but being there, he was taken prisoner by the Scots, to his far greater damage, then if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: For at this time, Sir Ralph Evers Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into Scotland, assembled six thousand men, and entering Scotland now again, was encountered by the Earl of Arraine, by whom he and the Lord Ogle, and many other Gentlemen were slain, and divers were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman Read was one.

It was now the seven and thirtieth year of King Henry's Reign, when on Saint George's day Sir Thomas Wriothesley Lord Chancellour was made Knight of the Garter: also Trinity Term was adjourned by reason of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenth were open.

At this time, the English Fleet went before New-haven, but being there encountered by a far greater Fleet of French, they returned; with whose retreat, the French Admiral emboldened, came upon the Coast of Sussex, where he landed Souldiers, but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back; after which he landed two thousand men in the Isle of Wight, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his Ships threescore thousand men.

In August this year, died the valiant Captain the Lord Poynings, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of Bulloigne; and the same month also, died at Guilford, the noble Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Lord great Master of the Kings House, whose Body was honourably buried at Wyndesore, at the Kings cost.

About this time, the Scots having received aid out of France, approached the English Borders, but durst attempt nothing; whereupon the Earl of Hartford, Lieutenant of the North parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand men, English and Strangers, entered Scotland, and burnt a great part of Mers and Tivdale, as Kelsay Abbey, and the Town, the Abbeyes of Medroffe, Driborne, and Tedworth, with a hundred Towns and Villages more; when on the sixteenth of September, an Army of Scots and French attempted to enter into England on the East Borders, but in a straight were set upon by the English, who slew and took of them to the number of seven score, amongst whom was the Lord Humes son, and a principal French Captain; in another road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord Maxwell's Son, and divers other were taken, but then at another time (such is the chance of War) five hundred English entering the West Borders of Scotland were discomfited, and the greatest part of them either taken or slain.

King Henry lays siege to Bulloigne.

He takes the Town and returns.

Three hundred French Ships taken, laden with Wine and Herrings. King Henry demands a Benevolence towards his wars in France. Richard Read Alderman refusing to pay his Assessment is sent a Souldier into Scotland, and there taken prisoner.

1546. Sir Thomas Wriothesley Lord Chancellour is made Knight of the Garter.

Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk dieth.

And

And now to revenge the presumptuous attempts of the French upon the Isle of *Vight*, the Lord Admiral with his Fleet approached the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed six thousand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Town with the Abbey, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole voyage.

At this time the Earl of *Herford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above fourscore thousand men, and many skirmishes passed between him and the French, till at last, by mediation of the Emperour and divers other Princes, a meeting was appointed to treat of a Peace between the two Kings of England and France; hereupon there came to *Guines* for the King of England, the Earl of *Herford*, the Bishop of *Vinchester*, Sir *John Dudley*, Vicount *Liste*, Baron of *Marpas* and high Admiral of England, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Votton* Dean of *Canterbury*. For the French King there came to *Arde*, *Claude Danbolt* Admiral of France, the Bishop of *Evreux*, Monsieur *Raymond* chief President of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Bouchetell*. Divers times they met betwixt *Arde* and *Guines*, and after long debating of matters, and divers breakings off; at length, the seventh of June, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London*, on *VVhich* Sunday the thirtieth of June, by sound of Trumpet; and the same day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*; the chief Article of which Peace was this, that the French King paying to the King of England eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the term of eight years, should have *Bulloigne* again restored to him, which in the mean time should remain in possession of the King of England, as a pledge for assurance of the said money; and now for a full establishment of his peace, the Vicount *Liste* Lord Admiral, with the Bishop of *Durresme*, and divers other Lords were sent into France, to take Oath of the French King and of the Dauphin; as likewise at the same time divers Lords came from the French King to take Oath of King *Henry*; who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

In his seven and thirtieth year, the three and twentieth of November, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King, a Subsidy both of Spirituality and Temporality, and all Colleges, Chantries and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of: the four and twentieth of December the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellor was used to answer, but at this time the King would answer himself: the effect whereof was that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind how necessary it was he should have them; then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colleges and Chantries, which he promised to be bestowed to the glory of God and good of the Realm; lastly, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord, when one calleth another Heretic and Anabaptist, and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporality, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some be so stiff in their old *Adumptions*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsinus*, that few or none Preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God: now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in Charity amongst your selves, to the which I as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: and this said, the Acts were openly read, to some he gave his Royal assent, and divers assented not.

Whilest the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in King *Henries* possession, Monsieur de *Chatillon* Captain of *Mont-pleaser* began to make a new Bastilion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne*, naming it *Chatillons* Garden: hereof the Lord *Gray of Wilton* as then Deputy of *Bulloigne* advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raze it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand; the King asked advice of his Council, who all agree, that the conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastilion stand; whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget*, to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray*, to that purpose, but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible, he should raze the Fortification to the ground; Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed; Well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice; upon the coming back of Sir *Thomas Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Council, shewing them the Kings Letter, and withall Sir *Thomas Palmour's* message, and then asked their advice, what in this case he should do? who all agreed without any question that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Message: To which the Lord *Gray* himself said nothing, but caused the Message to be written verbatim from Sir *Thomas Palmour's* mouth, and those of the Council to set their hands to it: this done, the night following he issued forth with a company of Armed men and Pioneers, and overthrew the Fortification to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King half angry, Nay tell me (saith he) will he do it or no? being then told it was done, and the Fortifications clean razed, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you my Lords to this, *Chatillons* Garden is razed to the floor? Whereto one presently answered, that

A Peace is concluded between the two Kings of England and France.

*Bulloigne* is restored to the French upon payment of eight hundred thousand Crowns.

All Colleges and Chantries are given to the King by Parliament.

The King answers the Speakers speech himself, and the effect of his speech,

The Lord *Gray* obeyeth a message from the King before the Kings Letter.

that he had done it, was worthy to lose his head; to which the King (straightly replied, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, then one such servant as had done it: and therewith commanded the Lord *Gray's* Pardon should presently be drawn, the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of reward: the cause why the King took this course, was this, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in his Letter, it might have come to the French-mens knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented; and by this may be taken as a scantling of King *Henries* great Capacity.

It is now the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, and *Henry Earl of Surrey* his Son and Heir, upon certain surmises of Treason, were committed to the Tower of *London*; and the thirteenth of January, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earl was arraigned in the Guild-hall, before the Lord Maior, the Lord Chancellor, and other Lords there in Commission; the special matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earl justified the bearing of them, as belonging to divers of his Ancestors; affirming withal, that he had the opinion of Heralds therein: But this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tried by a common Jury, by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgment of death; and the nineteenth of January was beheaded on the Tower-hill. The Duke was attainted by Parliament and kept in prison, till in the first year of Queen *Mary* the Attaindour was reversed. The death of this Earl might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousy growing from the many circumstances of the Earls greatness, in the tender age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

Soon after the death of this Earl, the King himself dyed; having made his last Will, in which he took order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and he dying without issue his Daughter *Mary*, and the dying without issue, his Daughter *Elizabeth*; although another order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord *Saint-John*, and great Master of the Household, Sir *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* and high Chamberlain of England, Sir *John Russell* Lord Privy Seal, Sir *John Dudley* Vicount *Listley*, Lord Admiral; *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the Kings-Bench, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wootton* Treasurer of Callice, and *Nicholas Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. To whom were adjoynd as Assitants these twelve, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Par* Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Controller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Peter* Principally Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of *Sissinghurst* in *Kent*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Council Table, considering in what terms he left the Kingdom when he dyed. Abroad, in League with the Emperour, at Peace with the King of France; but whether these were not personal only, and no longer binding then King *Henry* lived, might be doubted; with the *Scotts* at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair weather: at home the frame of Religion extremely disjoynted; and the Clergy that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves: the mindes of the people extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together: And in this state was the Kingdom when King *Henry* the eighth dyed, in the year 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

### Of his Taxations.

In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted to the King, two Fifteens of the Temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five pound, a Baron four pound, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods, to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his Wars in France: in his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true value of all mens substance might be known, and he would have had every man sworn to tell what they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof towards the Kings charges in the present Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part: this the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excused for taking Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their honesties; but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal, the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly Spiritual Revenues, for five years, and the Temporality two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteen years and upwards four pence, to be paid in every two years. In his sixteenth year, the Cardinal of his own head attempted by Commission, to draw the People

1547.  
The Duke of Norfolk and his Son the Earl of Surrey committed to the Tower: and why.

The Earl is beheaded.

King *Henry* dyed.  
His Executors who.

Assitants to his Executors.

Every man sworn what he was worth: and to give the Tenth part to the King.

to pay the sixth part of every mans Substance in Plate or Money; but this was generally opposed, and the people in many Countreys rise upon it, so as coming to the Kings knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, in a Parliament then holden, a fifteen was granted to the King, towards his charges of making fortifications against Scotland. In his one and thirtieth year, a Subsidy of two shillings in the pound of lands, and twelve of goods, with four fifteens were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth year, a Subsidy was granted to be paid in three years, every English-man being worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds; to pay four pence of every pound, and from five pounds to ten pounds eight pence; and from ten pounds to twenty pounds, six pence; from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings; Strangers as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants, to pay double: and for lands, every English-man paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds; and from five pounds to ten pounds sixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two shillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings, strangers double: the Clergy six shillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Priest having no Benefice, but an Annual stipend, six shillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

### Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

Inclofures commanded to be laid open.

IN a Parliament holden his sixth year, divers Laws were made, but two most spoken of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelfth year, he caused the Statutes against Inclofures to be revived, and commanded that decayed houses should be built up again, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open; which though it did some good, yet not so much as it might have done; if the Cardinal for his own benefit, had not procured liberty for great men; to keep up their Inclofures, to the oppression of poor men. In his seventeenth year, the King lying at Eltham, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the Kings House, and were long after called the Statutes of Eltham. In his eighteenth year, in the month of May, Proclamation was made against all unlawful Games; so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards and Bowls, were taken and burnt; but this Order continued not long; for young men being restrained from these Games, fell some to drinking, some to stealing of Conies and Deer, and such other misdemeanours: Also in this year, was an inhancing of Coyne for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at higher rate, so that the Angel that went before but for seven shillings, should now go for seven and six pence, and every ounce of Gold should be five and forty shillings, which was before but forty, and other Coyne accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir James Spencer being Maior of London, the Watch used on Midsummer night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whosoever should poison any person should be boyled to death, by which Statute one Richard Rouse, who had poisoned divers persons in the Bishop of Rochesters place, was boyled to death in Smithfield, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by Spiritual persons. In his thirtieth year it was ordained by Cromwell the Kings Vicar General, that in all Churches a Register should be kept of every Wedding, Christning, and Burial within the same Parish for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King first instituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Pensioners, to wait upon his Person, allying to each of them fifty pounds a year, for the maintenance of themselves and two Horses. In his six and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhancing of Gold to eight and forty shillings, and Silver to four shillings the Ounce: also he caused to be coyned base money, mingling it with Brasse, which was since that time called down the fifth year of Edward the sixth, and called in the second year of Queen Elizabeth. In his seven and thirtieth year, the Brothel-houses called the Stews on the Bank-side in Southwark, were put down by the Kings Commandement, and it was done by Proclamation and sound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Butchers should sell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-penny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: also at this time foreign Butchers were permitted to sell their flesh in Leaden-hall-market, which before was not allowed; in his time also the Government of the President in the North was first instituted, and the first President there, was Innesfall Bishop of Durham.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

Luther brings in a reformation of Religion.

IN the year 1517, the eighth year of this Kings Reign, Martin Luther of Wittenberg in Germany a Friar of the Order of the Hermites, taking occasion from the abuse of Indulgences, began to Preach against the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion; for repressing of whom, the Council of Trent was called by Pope Paul the third, in the year 1542, which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdom of France; which Council, by decreeing many things to be points of faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small distraction amongst Papists themselves: against this Luther

King

A King Henry wrote a Book with great bitterness, and with as great bitterness was answered. At the same time with Luther, there arose also in the same Countrey other Reformers of Religion, as Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, who differing from Luther in some few points, made the difference which is at this day of Lutherans and Protestants, so called at first at Aspsburg, for making a Protestation in defence of their Doctrine, which soon after spread all Christendome over. King Henry in the six and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm; but thinking the work not sufficiently done, as long as Abbeyes and Priories kept their station, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them suppressed; for aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more than truth) of Adulteries and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament in his eight and twentieth year; at least near four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their lands and goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year, all the rest; and lastly, in his five and thirtieth year, all Colledges, Chantries, and Hospitals; so as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Countrey. In this Kings time the City of Rome was taken and sacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to flee to his Castle Saint Angelo, and there kept a prisoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth year of this Kings Reign, a Proclamation was set forth that no person should purchase any thing from the Court of Rome; and this was the first blow given to the Pope in England. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a Præmunire, were the first that called him Supreme head of the Church. In his four and twentieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulls to the Pope, and another that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm to the Court of Rome, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth year, in July, John Frith was burnt in Smithfield, and with him at the same stake one Andrew Hones a Tailor, both for denying the Real presence in the Sacrament; and in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorized the Kings highness, to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished, and then also was given to the King the first Fruits and Tenth of all Spiritual livings; and this year were many put to death, Papists for denying the Kings Supremacy, Protestants for denying the Real presence in the Sacrament; and it is incredible what number for these two causes were put to death in the last ten years of the Kings Reign, of whom if we should make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs: in his eight and twentieth year, the Lord Cromwell was made Vicar General under the King, over the Spirituality, and saw divers times in the Convocation House amongst the Bishops as head over them; and in September this year, he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishioners the Pater Noster, the Ave, and Creed, with the ten Commandments and the Articles of the Christian Faith, in the English tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was set forth by the Bishops, the Book of the six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that should hold,

1. That the Body of Christ was not Really present in the Sacrament after Consecration.
2. That the Sacrament might not truly be administered under one kind.
3. That Priests entered into Holy Orders might marry.
4. That vows of Chastity entered into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.
5. That private Masses were not to be used.
6. That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.

This year also the Religion of St. Johns in England, commonly called the Order of Knights of the Rhodes, was dissolved; and on Ascension-day, Sir William Weston Knight, Prior of St. Johns departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order; for the King took all the lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands: In his six and thirtieth year, the Letany or Procession was set forth in English, with commandement by the King, to be generally used in Parish Churches.

### Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

UPON the suppressing of Abbeyes, King Henry instituted six new Bishopricks and six Cathedral Churches, endowing them with convenient maintenance; he also gave competent Pensions during their lives, to such Religious Persons as were turned out of their Cloysters; he also instituted in both the Universities, Professors of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, of Divinity, Civil Law, and Physick, allowing to each of them forty pound a year: he also founded a Colledge at Cambridge; he gave at his death a thousand Marks to the poor; and to twelve poor Knights of Windsor, each of them twelve pence a day for ever; and every year a long Gown of white cloth: but his greatest work of Piety, was his putting down the Stewes in Southwark, Margaret Countess of Richmond, the Kings Grandmother, founded two Colledges at Cambridge, Christi-Church and Saint Johns. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign, George Monox Maior of London, re-edified the decayed Steeple of the Church of Waltham-stow in Essex, adding there-

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The difference between Lutherans and Protestants.

The King when first called Supreme head of the Church.

No more Annates to be paid to Rome: nor Appeals to be made to the Pope.

The first fruits and tenths given to the King.

The six Articles set forth by the Bishops.

The Order of Saint Johns dissolved.

Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues first instituted in both the Universities.

Corpus Christi College in Oxford, when and by whom founded.

Christ Church in Oxford founded.

Hampton-Court by whom built.

Saint James when first built.

Christ Church Hospital in the Shambles founded.

there into a tide Ile with a Chappel where he lieth buried; on the North tide of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Alms-house, for a Priort and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance; he also for the commodity of Travellours made a Cawsey of Timber over the Marshes, from *Waltham-stow* to *Lock-bridge* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth year *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, intending to have made it an house for Monks; but *Hugh Oldham* Bishop of *Exeter*, persuaded him to make it rather a Colledge for Scholars, and joyning with him in it, contributed great sums of Money towards it, contenting himself only with the name of a Benefactor. In his seventh year King *Henry* builded the Tower of *Greenwich*. In this Kings time, Cardinal *Woolsey*, founded two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipswich*; to his Colledge at *Oxford* he had given four thousand pounds Land a year, but his Lands being all confiscate to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the Colledge a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows; which Colledge is now called *Christ Church*; and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His Colledge at *Ipswich* was demolished. This Cardinal also built *Hampton-Court*, the chiefeft at this day of all the Kings houses; and built or enlarged *White-hall*, called then *York-Place*. King *Henry* in his four and twentieth year, built also his Mansion house of *Saint James*, where also he made a fair Park. This place before had been an Hospital of Sisters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Penfions during their lives. In his thirtieth year, *Nicholas Gilsen* Grocer, then Sheriff of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliffe* neer *London*, with maintenance for a Maister and an Usher; he also builded an Alms-house there for fourteen poor and aged people. In his one and thirtieth year, *Thomas Hunnol* the then Sheriff of *London*, gave certain Tenements to the Haberdashers, for finding of ten Alms-men of the same Company. In his six and thirtieth year, Sir *John Allen* who had been twice Maier of *London*, and of the Kings Council, gave at his death to the City of *London*, a rich Collier of Gold, to be worn by the Maier: which Collier was first worn by Sir *William Eakston* on *Saint Edwards* day, at the election of the new Maier, who gave to every Ward in *London* twenty pounds, to be distributed amongst poor Householders; besides to fixscore persons, whereof threescore men, to every one a Gown of broad-cloth, and a black Cap; and threescore women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Kerchief. In his eight and thirtieth year, King *Henry* gave to the City of *London*, for relief of poor people in *S. Bartholomews* Spittle, the Church of the *Gray-friers*, and two Parish Churches, the one at *Saint Nicholas* in the Shambles, the other *Saint Ewins* in *Newgate-market*, all to be made one Parish Church of the *Gray-friers*; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the same five hundred Marks a year for ever: and this Church to be named *Christ Church*, founded by King *Henry* the eighth. The Lady *Elizabeth Holles*, (the Widow of Sir *William Holles* Knight, late Lord Maier of the City of *London*) by her last Will and Testament, dated the 17. of February 1543. and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, and proved at *London* in the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury* the 28. of March 1544. did will her executors, her Cousin Maier *Andrew Jud Alderman* (afterwards Knight and Lord Maier of *London*) and her Brother *Thomas Scopham*, that they should provide a place or plot of ground, whereon should be erected six Alms-houses for six poor aged folke, men or women, or elfe both, to inhabit and dwell in, for the maintenance of which, she willed that her said Executors should purchase as much Land or Tenements within the City of *London*, or Liberties of the same, as should amount de claro above all charges to the yearly value of ten pound sterling, to be distributed in this manner: that is to say, to every of the said six Alms-people seven pence by the week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath-day weekly, and the remainder of the said yearly ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, to and amongst the said six Alms-people, and this to continue for ever whiles the World shall endure, as by the said Will may appear, which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors; which said Lady *Elizabeth Holles* and Sir *William Holles*, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Holles* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased.

### Casualties in his time.

A Sweating sickness, of which many great men dyed.

IN his ninth year happened a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* dyed, specially in *London*; and was so violent, that in three and sometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and spared neither rich nor poor; for in the Kings Court the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers dyed of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midst of *December*. In his thirteenth year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worship dyed; amongst others, Doctor *Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, in whose place Doctor *Tunstall* succeeded. In his fifteenth year, after great rains and winds there followed so fore a Frost, that many dyed for cold; and some lost Fingers, some Toes, and many their Nails. In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in seed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corn, which would have caused great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the Kings own provision. In his twentieth year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-sickness, which afterwards infected all

Another sweating sickness.

A all placet of the Realm; by reason whereof the Term was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Assises also; many died in the Court, as Sir *Francis Poyntes*, Sir *William Compton* Knights, and *William Carew* Esquire of the Kings Privy Chamber; the King himself for a space, removed almost every day, till he came to *Tittinghanger*, a place of the Abbot of *Sant Albones*, where he with the Queen and a small number remained, till the sickness was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of water under ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brocks* Clerk, one of the Kings Chaplains: a profitable invention; for by this, two men and a boy will do more in one day, then could have been done before by many men in many days: *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith, was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North, in this Kings time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the Rebels, and that day of Battel between them was appointed, it happened, that the night before a small Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small rain, swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; a thing which had never happened before upon a great rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no less then a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth year, was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes; and withal so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Cattel dyed for lack of water; and the *Thames* was grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London* Bridge, till the rain had encreased the fresh-waters. In his five and thirtieth year, the first cast pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckstead* in *Suffex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*. In his six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned to *Saint Albones*, and there kept. In his seven and thirtieth year, on Tuesday in Easter-week, *William Foxley* Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen dayes; and when he awaked, was found in all points, as if he had slept but one night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhyme was made:

Turkeys, Carps, Hoppes, Piccarel and Beers  
Came into E N G L A N D all in one year.

### Of his Wives and Children.

King *Henry* had six Wives; his first was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*, she lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of *Katherine Dowager*, she deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington*, the eighth of January in the year 1535. and lieth interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, under a Hearse of black Say, having a white Crois in the midst. His second Wife was *Ann* second Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*; she was married to him the five and twentieth day of January, in the year 1533. lived his Wife three years three moneths and five and twenty days; and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Quire of the Chappel in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane* Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*; and Duke of *Somerset*, she was married to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Anne*; lived: his Wife one year five moneths and four and twenty days, and then dyed in Child-bed, and was buried in the midst of the Quire of the Church within the Cattle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Anne* Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*, she lived his Wife six moneths, and then was divorced; she remained in *England* long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the solemnizing of Queen *Maries* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece of *Thomas Howard* his Brother Duke of *Norfolk*; she was married to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign; lived his Wife one year six moneths and four days; and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancel of the Chappel by Queen *Anne Bullen*. His sixth Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and Sister to the Lord *William Parre*, Marquess of *Northampton*; she was first married to *John Nevill* Lord *Latimer*, and after his decease to the King at *Hampton-Court*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign: she was his Wife three years six moneths and five days; and then surviving him, was again married to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral of *England*, unto whom she bore a daughter, and dyed in her Child-bed, in the year 1548. He had children by his first Wife Queen *Katherine*, *Henry* born at *Richmond*, who lived not full two moneths, and was buried at *Westminster*; also another Son whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither: then a Daughter named *Mary*, born at *Greenwich*, in the eighth year of his Reign, and came afterward to be Queen of *England*. By his second Wife, Queen *Anne Bullen*, he had a Daughter named *Elizabeth*, born at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign; who succeeded her Sister *Mary* in the Crown: he had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife Queen *Jane*, he had a Son named *Edward*, born at *Hampton-Court* in the nine and twentieth year of his

Casting Pipes of Lead, without soder, when and by whom first invented.

A miraculous suddain rising of the River *Dun*.

The first cast Peeeces of Iron made.

One that slept fourteen dayes together without waking.

Divers things newly brought into *England*.

Hog P.

his reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a base son, named *Henry Fitz-Roy*, begotten of the Lady *Talboysse*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, born at *Blackmore* in *Essex*, in the tenth year of his reign; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*; married *Mary* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; with whom he lived not long, but died at *Saint James* by *Westminster*, and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong; fair of complexion, in his latter days corpulent and burley: concerning his conditions, He was a Prince of so many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill; and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counsel, in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His cruelty to his wives may not only be excused, but defended; for if they were incontinent, he did but justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfy his conscience, that he thought he had cause to think them so; and if the marriage Bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is sacred. In suppressings of Abbeys he shewed not little Piety, but great Providence; for though they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilent, being abused; and then may the use be justly suppressed, when the abuse scarce possibly can be restrained. To think he suppressed Abbeys out of covetousness and desire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we shall find him certainly a great loser by the bargain. He was so far from Pride, that he was rather too humble, at least, he conversed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than was usual with Princes. So valiant, that his whole life almost, was nothing but exercises of valor; and though performed amongst his friends in jest, yet they prepared him against his Enemies in earnest, and they that durst be his Enemies found it. It may be said, the complexion of his Government for the first twenty years, was sanguine and jovial; for the rest, cholerick and bloody: and it may be doubted, whether in the former, he were more prodigal of his own treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he spent more in Fictions, than any other King did in Realities; so in any distemper of his people, he had no other Phylick, but to open a vein: but we shall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood-shed in his time, was of his shedding; they were the Bishops that were the *Draco* to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the *Phalaris*, to put them in execution: the King oftentimes scarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the second time on the rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for such extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation; yet he gave it so great a beginning, that we may truly say of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto*. They who charge him with the vice of lust, let them show such another example of continence as was seen in him to lie six months by a young Lady, and not to touch her; for so did he with the Lady *Anne of Cleve*: but this is to make Nofegays; I like better to leave every flower growing upon its stalk; that it be gathered fresh; which will be done by reading the Story of his Life.

### Of his Death and Burial.

IT is Recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew so fat and slothful, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and down; but howsoever in the six and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a Dropsie, or by reason of an Ulcer, in his leg, he fell into a languishing Fever, which brought him into such extremity, that his Physicians utterly despaired of his life, whereof yet none durst speak a word to him, till Master *Denny* one of his Privy-chamber took the boldness to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withal putting him in mind to think of his souls health; to which he answered, that he confessed his sins to be exceeding great, yet had such confidence in the mercy of God through Christ, that he doubted not of forgiveness though they had been much greater; and being then asked by Master *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer, he answered he would willingly have the Archbishop *Cranmer*, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little rest: whereupon the Archbishop being then at *Croydon*, was presently sent for; but before he could come, the King was grown speechless, only seeming to retain a little memory, so as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop desiring him to shew some sign of his faith in Christ, he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the hand, and immediately gave up the ghost, the eighth and twentieth of January, in the year 1547. the six and fiftieth of his age, and of his reign the eight and thirtieth: his Body with great solemnity was buried at *Windfor* under a most costly and stately Tombe, begun in copper and gilt, but never finished.

King Henry's religious carriage at his death.

Men

### Men of Note in his time.

MEN famous for the sword were many in his time, and in a manner all; that it is hard making choice, without being partial, unless we shall prefer Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling, and then will the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* hold worthily the place first; and next to them the young Earl of *Surrey*, who had been more fortunate if he had been less valiant. Of men of letters in his time, there were whole Armies in foreign parts; the most famous, were *Budaeus*, *Ludovius Vives*, *John Reuchlin*, *Erasmus Roterodamus*, *Isidore Cornarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer*; In England were *John Coker* Dean of *Pauls* and Founder of the School there. *William Lilly* born at *Odiham* in *Hampshire*, first School-master of *Pauls*-School, *Thomas Linaker* a learned Physician, *John Skelton* a pleasant Poet, *William Harman* Vice Provost of *Eaton*, who wrote divers works, *Sir Thomas More*, *William Tindal*, *John Rastal* a Citizen and Stationer of *London*, *Christopher Saint-Germain* an excellent Lawyer, *Sir Thomas Elyot*, *John Leland*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, *Sir John Bourchier* Knight, Lord *Berners*, who translated the *Chronicles of Froysard* out of French into English, *Henry Standish* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, who wrote a Book against *Erasmus* translation of the New-Testament; *Arnold of London*, who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters, *Thomas Lupset* a *Londoner*, who wrote sundry vertuous Treatises, *Henry Bradshaw* a black Monk, who wrote the life of *Saint Werburgh*, and also a certain Chronicle; *John Paigrove* a *Londoner*, who wrote instructions for the perfect understanding of the French tongue; *John Skelton* a Cornish man, who wrote certain abbreviations of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of *Troy*, *Anthony Fitz-Herbert* a Judge, who wrote an Abridgement of the Law, *Wilfride Holme* who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*, *Thomas Langnet* who wrote an Epitomy of Chronicles, and also of the winning of *Bulboigne*, *Thomas Souman* of *Gersey*, who wrote divers notes of History, *Albert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Robert Whittington*, who wrote divers Treatises for the instruction of *Grammarians*, *John Russell*, who wrote a Treatise entituled *Super iure Caesaris & Pape*, also Commentaries in *Cantica*; *Simon Fish* a *Kentish* man, who wrote a Book called the Supplication of *Beggars*, *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford* Brother to *Queen Anne*, who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets, *Francis Bigod* Knight born in *Yorkshire*, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, intituled *De Impropriationibus*, *Henry Lord Morley*, who wrote divers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, as the life of *Sectaries*, and certain Rhymes; *William Botewile* alias *Thynne*, who restored the works of *Chaucer*; *Richard Turpin*, who serving in the Garrison of *Callice*, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the year 1541. *Sir Thomas Wyat* Knight, who wrote divers matters in English meeter, and translated the seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter; he died of the Pestilence, as he was going Ambassador to the Emperor, in the year 1541. *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, who wrote divers Treatises in English meeter, *John Field* a *Londoner*, who wrote a Treatise of mans Free-will, *de Servo hominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common Laws of *England*; *Robert Shingleton* born in *Lancashire*, who wrote a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain Prophecies; *William Parry* a *Welsh* man, who wrote a Book intituled *Speculum Invennum*.

John Collet Dean of *Pauls*; *John Skelton* the pleasant Poet.

Anthony Fitz-Herbert, who wrote an Abridgement of the Law.

Sir Thomas Wyat Knight.

### Maiors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
*Thomas Bradbury* was Maior for part of the year, *Sir William Capell* for the rest.  
*George Monox*, *John Doget*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*Sir Henry Kettle* was Maior.  
*John Milborne*, *John Res*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
*Sir Roger Acheley* was Maior.  
*Nicholas Shelton*, *Thomas Mersine*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
*Sir William Copinger* was Maior for part of the year, *Sir Richard Haddon* for the rest.  
*Rob. Holdernes*, or *Alderns*, *Rob. Fenrother*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
*Sir William Brown* was Maior.  
*John Dawes*, *John Bruges*, *Roger Bosford*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*Sir George Monox* was Maior.  
*James Tarford*, *John Mundy*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
*Sir William Butler* was Maior.  
*Henry Warley*, *Rich. Grey*, *William Bailly*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
*Sir John Res*, was Maior.  
*Thomas Seymour*, *John*, or *Rich. Thurston*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
*Sir Thomas Exmewe* was Maior.  
*Tho. Baldrie*, *Ralph*, or *Richard Simous*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
*Sir Thomas Mersine* was Maior.  
*John Allen*, *James Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
*Sir James Tarford* was Maior.  
*John Wilkinson*, *Nicholas Patrick*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
*Sir John Brug* was Maior.  
*John Skervington*, *John Kyme*, alias *Kelle*, Sheriffs.

In

In his thirteenth year,  
Sir John Milborne was Maior.  
John Breton, or Britton, Tho. Pargitor, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Sir John Mundy was Maior.  
John Rudstone, John Champneys, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Sir Thomas Baldrie was Maior.  
Michal English, Nicholas Jennings, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Sir William Baily was Maior.  
Ralph Dodmore, William Roche, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Sir John Allen was Maior.  
John Canneton, or Calton, Christoph. Askew, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Sir Thomas Seymour was Maior.  
Stephen Peacocks, Nicholas Lambert, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Sir James Spencer was Maior.  
John Hardy, William Hollys, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Sir John Rudstone was Maior.  
Ralph Warren, John Long, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,  
Sir Ralph Dodmer was Maior.  
Michael Dormer, Walter Champion, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,  
Sir Thomas Pargitor was Maior.  
Will. Dantsey, or Dancy, Rich. Champion, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year,  
Sir Nicholas Lambert was Maior.  
Richard Gresham, Edward Altham, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year,  
Sir Stephen Peacock was Maior.  
Richard Reynolds, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon,  
John Priest, Sheriffs.

In his five and twentieth year,  
Sir Christopher Askew was Maior.  
William Forman, Thomas Kitson, Sheriffs.

In his six and twentieth year,  
Sir John Champneys was Maior.  
Nicholas Leveson, William Denham, Sheriffs.

In his seven and twentieth year,  
Sir John Allen was Maior.  
Humphrey Monmouth, John Cotes, Sheriffs.

In his eighth and twentieth year,  
Sir Ralph Warren was Maior.  
Robert, or Rich. Paget, William Bowyer, Sheriffs.

In his nine and twentieth year,  
Sir Richard Gresham was Maior.  
John Gresham, Thomas Lewin, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
Sir William Forman was Maior.  
William Wilkinfon, Nicholas Gibson, Sheriffs.

In his one and thirtieth year,  
Sir William Hollys was Maior.  
Thomas Ferrer, Thomas Huntlow, Sheriffs.

In his two and thirtieth year,  
Sir William Roche was Maior.  
William Laxstone, Martin Bows, Sheriffs.

In his three and thirtieth year,  
Sir Michael Dormer was Maior.  
Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley, Sheriffs.

In his four and thirtieth year,  
Sir John Cotes was Maior.  
Henry Hobbethorne, Henry Amcoats, Sheriffs.

In his five and thirtieth year,  
Sir William Bowyer was Maior.  
John Tholoufe, Richard Dobbes, Sheriffs.

In his six and thirtieth year,  
Sir William Laxton was Maior.  
John Wilford, Andrew Jud, Sheriffs.

In his seven and thirtieth year,  
Sir Martin Bows was Maior.  
George Barne, Ralph Allen, or Alley, Sheriffs.

In his eight and thirtieth year,  
Sir Henry Hobbethorne was Maior.  
Richard Farweis, Thomas Curteis, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

**I**T was now in the year 1547. when on the eight and twentieth of January King Henry dying, Prince Edward his Son, by his third Wife, the Lady Jane Seymour, and the only Son he left behind him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his last Will, succeeded him in the Kingdom; to whom as being but nine years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had assigned eight and twenty Counsellours; a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves; too many, if at variance: and at variance they would soon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord; the first work therefore necessary to be done in this new world, was to make choice of such a man as might be to the Counsellours a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority, to the Kingdom. To this place by common consent of the King and Council, Edward Seymour Earl of Hartford the Kings Uncle, was chosen to hold the place, until the King should accomplish the age of eighteen years. In which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King Knight, who presently thereupon, made Henry Hobbethorne Maior of London Knight, and then King Henry's Obsequies being solemnly performed; on the seventeenth of February, were raised in honour the Earl of Hartford Protector, to be Duke of Somerset, William Par Earl of Essex, to be Marquess of Northampton, Dudley Vicount Lisle, to be Earl of Warwick, Wriothesley Lord Chancellour, to be Earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour the Protector's Brother was made Lord Sudeley, and Admiral of England, Sir Richard Rich was made Lord Rich, Sir William Villoughby was made Lord Villoughby, and Sir Edmund Sheffield was made Lord Sheffield of Butterwick: On the nineteenth of February the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, where the day following, he was Crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, six only excepted, namely the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldest Son to the Marquess of Exeter, Master Fortescue, Master Throgmorton, and Doctor Pates Bishop of Worcester, who was fled to Rome, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy, all which six continued unpardoned, till the first year of Queen Mary, and then were reitorred. A few daies after the Earl of Southampton Lord Chancellour, for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of Counsel, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellour, and from his place in Council, and the great Seal was delivered Sir William Paulet, Lord Saint-John, and Lord great Master of the Kings Household.

Within two moneths after the death of King Henry, dyed Francis King of France also, for whom solema Obsequies were kept in Pauls Church, as he likewise had kept before at Paris for King Henry: these two Kings were of so contenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealousie of state had not made them oftentimes not to be themselves.

Anno Dom.  
1547.

The Earl of  
Hartford cho-  
sen Protector.

Advancement  
of divers in  
honour.

King Edward  
is Crowned.

Francis King  
of France dy-  
eth.

King

The Protector enters Scotland with an Army; and why.

How he marshalled his Army.

The profit of winning time.

The Fire-proscribed in Scotland; and what it was.

The battail of Muffelborough Field.

The Lord Huntley chal- lengeth the Protector to a single Combat; and the Protector's Answer.

King Henry before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means possible, to procure a proceeding in the marriage with the young Queen of Scots; and now in discharge thereof the Lord Protector himself, with an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, besides Labourers & Pioneers thirteen hundred, entered Scotland the third of September; at which time also Edward Lord Clinton with a Fleet of three score Sail assisted by Sea; but before he would do any hostile Act, he caused Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms; which if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner, and the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into England, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content, she should remain in Scotland till years of consent: this demand, the more moderate sort of the Scots accounted very reasonable, but those of the French and Papal faction, who were the greatest persons, and the greatest number, strongly opposed; whereupon, the Lord Protector presently put his Army into Array; the Lord Gray and Sir Francis Brian with eight hundred Light-horse, were sent before to provide lodging for the Army; and to give advertisement of the Enemies approaches; then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light-horse, led by the Earl of Warwick; then followed the main Battail, consisting of above six thousand Foot, six hundred men at Arms, and one thousand Light-horse led by the Protector himself; lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light-horse, under the conduct of the Lord Dacres; upon one wing the Artillery was drawn, being fifteen pieces of great Ordnance; the other wing was made by men at Arms and Demilances; for the Avant-guard and half the battail, riding about two flight shoot from their side, the other half of the battail, and the whole flank of the Arrear, was closed by the marriages being nine hundred Cars beside Wagons; the rest of the men at Arms, and the Demilances marched behind. In this order they marched two daies, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance; where it is memorable, what a sudden device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves; for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obitinity had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suit, they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their souls to God, and afterwards be hanged; which respite being obtained, their pardon afterward did more easily ensue, so much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevail, more then any other policy. The Governour of Scotland, hearing of the Protector's approach, and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad, into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-crofts to be carried (an ancient custom in cases of importance) which was two firebrands set in fashion of a cross, and pitched upon the point of a spear, and therewith Proclamation to be made, that all above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to Muffelborough, and bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this means, having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the English who were now come to the River called Linn, and here the Earl of Warwick being too venturesome, was like to have been entrapped, but by his valour came off bravely; and now the Scottish Horsemen began to hover about the English Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking words, to draw the English from their strength; but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march till he came to Salt-Prefson by the Frith, where he incamped within two miles of the Scottish Army: and here the Scots having gotten the advantage of a Hill came upon the English with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred Foot that lay in ambush behind the Hill; at which time the Lord Gray and Sir Francis Brian, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them, and so as they came scattered upon the spur, within a stones cast of the English, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord Gray with some Troops of Light-horse-men, charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms; yet the Scots resolutely maintained the fight three hours and more, but in the end, overlaid with number they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chieftest force of the Scottish Horse-men was defeated, the Lord Hume by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir with two Priests and six Gentlemen were taken prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain: the next day, the Protector and the Earl of Warwick rode towards the place where the Scottish Army lay, to view the manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the Scots overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord Huntley his Master, to spare effusion of Christian blood, would fight upon the whole quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it between the Lord General and himself: the Protector answered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargain, and as for himself, that being in publick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of private Conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept: here the Earl of Warwick intreated the Lord General, that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter (saith he) bring me word, that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains; nay rather (saith the Lord General) bring me word that thy Master will abide and give us battail, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy pains: and thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a general battail was resolved on; in the Army of the Scots, were five or six and thirty thousand

A thousand men; in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of Angus, about fifteen thousand; in the Battail, over whom was the Lord Governor, about ten thousand, and the Arrear as many, led by the valiant Gourdon Earl of Huntley. Hackbutters they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horsemen, (Prickers as they term them) the rest were all on foot well furnished with Jack and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of board, and flucing swords broad and thin, every man had a long Kerchiffe, folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had chains of Lattin, drawn three or four times along their hoses and doublet sleeves: they had also to affright the Enemies Horses, great rattles covered with Parchment or Paper, and small stones within put upon staves three ells long. And now both Armies joyned in Battail, where after a long fight, and much variety of fortune on both sides, at length the victory fell to the English; in this fight, divers of the Nobility of Scotland were slain, of the inferior sort about ten, or as some say, fourteen thousand; of the English were slain one and fifty Horsemen, and one Footman, but many hurt; the Lord Gray was dangerously thrust with a pike in the mouth which struck two inches into his neck: the Scottish prisoners accounted by the Marshalls Book, were about fifteen hundred, the chief whereof were, the Earl of Huntley, the Lord Telfer, Hobbey and Hamilton, the Master of Sane-Poole and the Lord of Wimmes; the Earl of Huntley being asked whilest he was a prisoner, how he stood affected to the marriage; made this answer, that he liked the marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of wooing. This Victory of Muffelborough against the Scots, was on the tenth of December, the very same day on which thirty years before a victory had been had against them at Flodden field; so as it seems this day was fatal to the Scots, and confirms the opinion of Astrologers, that there are days to some men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known. This victory struck such a terror into many of the Scots, that the Earl of Bothwell and divers chief Gentlemen of Tivodale and Mary submitted themselves to the King of England, and were received by the Protector into his protection: after this, the English Army took many Towns and Castles, and then for want of Provision, returned into England, having not stayed above five and twenty days in Scotland, and not lost above three score men. After the taking of Muffelborough, the Duke of Somerset made many Knights, but three especially; namely Sir Ralph Sadler Treasurer, Sir Francis Brian Captain of the Light Horse, and Sir Ralph Vane Lieutenant of all the Horsemen: he made Binnerets, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron; and these were the last that from that time to this, did ever receive this dignity. But notwithstanding this great overthrow at Muffelborough, the Governour of Scotland would not yet be quiet; but assembling the people, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Countrey, and not to be daunted with any event of war. In this time many distractions and troubles happened in England; partly in matters of Religion, and partly about Inclosures: and first for Inclosures, the Lord Protector caused Proclamation to be set forth, commanding that they who had inclosed any Land accustomed to lie open, should upon a certain pain, before a day assigned, lay them open again: And then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were set forth, for removing of Images out of Churches; and divers Preachers were sent with Instructions to dissuade the people from praying to Saints, or for the dead; from use of Beads, Ashes and Processions; from Masses, Dirges, praying in any unknown tongue; and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publicly to be read in Churches; and many for offering to maintain these Ceremonies, were either punished or forced to recant. Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, was committed to the Fleet, for refusing to receive these Injunctions; Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, was likewise committed first to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached; It were well these changes in Religion should be stayed until the King were of years to govern by himself: for the like causes Tunstall Bishop of Durham, Heath Bishop of Rochester, and Day Bishop of Chichester, were in like manner committed to prison, and all of them dispossessed of their Bishopricks; and that which was worse, the Bishopricks themselves were dispossessed of their Revenues, in such sort, that a very small part remained to the Bishops that came after.

And now a Parliament was held, in the first year of the King, and by Prorogation in the second; wherein divers Chantries, Colledges, free Chappels, Fraternities and Guildes, with all their lands and goods, were given to the King; which being sold at a low rate, enriched many, and ennobled some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the change: also it was then ordered, that no man should speak against receiving the Eucharist in both kinds, and that Bishops should be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding or confirmation ensuing; and that all processes Ecclesiastical should be made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the Common Law; and that all persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, should have the Kings Arms in the Seals of their Office: and further, the Statute of the six Articles and other Statutes concerning punishment of Lollards were repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the Church of England was confirmed.

All this while the wars in Scotland continued, and were managed by the Lord Gray of Wilton with variable success; and now about this time was sent to him in aid, the Earl of Shropshire with fifteen thousand men; against him in aid of the Scots, was sent the Rhinegrave with ten thousand French; who entering into consultation, how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the English, provided a Fleet, and sailing round about Scotland, notwithstanding the English Fleet lay in wait to impeach their passage, yet conveyed her safely into France, being then but six years old, accompanied in the journey with James her base Brother, John Erskin and William Levison; and in April following was married to Francis the Dauphin of France.

How the Scots Army was Marshalled.

The great number of Scots slain, and the small number of the English.

Days to some men fortunate, and unfortunate to others.

Inclosures commanded to be laid open.

Injunctions set forth in matters of Religion.

Divers Bishops committed to Prison.

A Parliament, in which many things were ordered concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.

The young Queen of Scots is conveyed into France. She is married at six years old, to Francis the Dauphin of France. You France.

1548.

The troubles  
that ensued upon  
the alteration  
of Religion.

You heard before the alterations in Religion: now hear the troubles; for when the Injunctions were sent abroad into the Countrey, and Commissioners appointed to see them executed: one Master Bodey a Commissioner, as he was pulling down Images in Cornwall, was suddenly by a Priest stabbed into the Body with a knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outrages; and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in Smithfield, and many of his complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withal a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that severity, nor this lenity restrain them from their insolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire*, but specially in *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*, great assemblies of people gathered to a head; whose chief Leaders were *Humphrey Arundel*, and about six others of inferior note; but many Priests. Some of these (we may say) were Common-wealth mutiners; and some mutined for Religion: they who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing; some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Justice; but above all, Inclosures must down; but whether all, or which, or how to be employed, none could tell. The religious Mutiners were not altogether so various in their voyces, as having some few amongst them by whom they were guided: these in the name of the people hammered up these Articles following; upon granting of which, they professed that both their bodies and goods should be at the Kings devotion.

1. That Curates should administer Baptism at all times of necessity, as well on week-days as on holy-days.
2. That their children might be confirmed by the Bishop.
3. That the Mass might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Priest.
4. That they might have reservation of the Lords Body in their Churches.
5. That they might have holy Bread and holy Water in remembrance of Christs precious Body and Blood.
6. That Priests might live unmarried.
7. That the six Articles set forth by King Henry the eighth might be continued, at least till the King should come to full age.

Upon these demands, the King, although he knew that Reasons would little prevail with unreasonable men; yet to discharge the place he held, he sent them in writing Answers to them all, and withal a general pardon, if they would desist and lay down arms. But the seditious growing the more outrageous, the fairer they were intreated; and finding themselves unable to submit with their own citates, began to think upon the spoil of Cities; and first they came to *Exeter*, and demanded entrance, which the Citizens refusing, they fell to set fire on the Gates; but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in wood and maintaining the fire, till they had cast up a half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were presently hewen and cut in pieces. After this they mined the wals, laid powder, and rammed the mouth; but the Citizens prevented this also, by making a countermine, whereinto they poured such plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while, the Lord Russell Lord Privy Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at *Huntington*, expecting more Forces; whilst these Citizens of *Exeter* for twelve days together endured to great famine, that they were fain to eat Horses, and make bread of course Bran moulded in cloathes, for that otherwise it would not cleave together. At last the Lord Gray came to the Lord Russell with supply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their siege at *Exeter*; and thereby freed the City from many miseries: to whom the King afterward gave the Manor of *Evyland*, in reward for their loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again set upon by the Kings Army, and the greatest part of them slain, the rest fled; many were taken and executed by Martial Law; the chief Leaders were sent to London, and there executed. The sedition being thus suppressed; it is memorable what sport Sir William Kingston the Provost Marshal made, by virtue of his Office, upon men in misery. One Boyer Maior of *Bodmin* in Cornwall, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced; to him the Provost sent word he would come and dine with him; for whom the Maior made great provision; a little before dinner, the Provost took the Maior aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution mast that day be done in the Town, and therefore required to have a pair of Gallows set up against dinner should be done; the Maior failed not of his charge; presently after dinner the Provost taking the Maior by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was, which when he beheld, he asked the Maior if he thought them to be strong enough; yes (said the Maior) doubtless they are; Well then (said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (answered the Maior) you mean not as you speak: In faith (said the Provost) there is no remedy, for you have been a busie Rebel; and so without respite or defence he was hanged to death; a moit uncourteous part, for a guest to offer his host. Neer the said place dwelled a Miller, who had been a busie actor in that Rebellion; who fearing the approach of the Marshal, told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the Miller, and had been so for three years before. So the Provost came and called for the Miller, when our comes

*Exeter* endured  
a siege of  
the Rebels to  
extreme  
famine.

For which loyalty  
the King  
gave them the  
Manor of  
*Evyland*.

Sir William  
Kingston  
mercifully.

1549.

1549.

A the servant, and said, he was the man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill? These three years, answered the Servant. Then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next Tree. At this the Fellow cried out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man: Nay Sir (said the Provost) I will take you at your word: and if thou beest the Miller, show us a bawle knave; if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave: and howsoever, thou canst never do thy Master better service than to hang for him: and so without more ado he was dispatched.

When this Sedition in *Devonshire* was appeased, there arose another in *Norfolk*, and that specially upon a grievance for enclosures; The Rebels had got one Robert Ket a Tanner of *Wymondham* to be their Leader, and were grown to a Body of twenty thousand, seating themselves at *Monsbold* near *Mount-Surrey*, where they carried a face as it were of Justice and Religion; for they had one *Congers* an idle fellow to be their Chaplain, who morning and evening read solemn Prayers, also Sermons they had often; and as for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree where Ket usually fate, and with him two of every Hundred whence their Companies had been raised, to hear complaints, and to give Judgment; and from hence were Warrants sent in the Kings name, to bring in Powder, Shot, Victual, and all things necessary: Which Tree hath ever since been called the Tree of Reformation. And now being grown to a height, they presented certain Complaints to the King, requiring, he would send a Herald to them, to give them satisfaction. The King, though he took it for a great indignity to have such base Fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the time, he returned this answer; That in October following he would call a Parliament, wherein their Complaints should be heard, and all their Grievances should be redressed, requiring them in the mean time, to lay down Arms; and return to their houses, and thereupon granting them a general Pardon. But this was so far from satisfying the Seditious, that hereupon first they assailed the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then returned again to their Station at *Monsbold*. Not long after, William Parre Marquess of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights and fifteen hundred Horse, with a small Band of *Italian*ians, was sent against them; whom the Seditious so stoutly opposed, that much mischief was done on both sides; the Lord *Sheffield* falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken prisoner, and as he pulled off his Helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher stricken down with a Club and slain: So as the Marquess with his Forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with six thousand Foot and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Pembroke* and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditious, he sent a Herald to them, offering them the Kings Pardon, if they would desist; but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herald, and bid him kiss it. Upon this, many Skirmishes passed between the Earl and them, with loss sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; at last they came to a Battail, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain, of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand; and now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist; but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still. At last, the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their pardon, in case he should come in Person and assure them of it: This moved them much; and then they answered, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, wishing all Joy and Prosperity to the King: Nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the Tree of Reformation; Ket himself flying away, was taken and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle. The day of this defeat of the Seditious, was a long time after observed for a Festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*. And thus ended the Sedition in *Norfolk*; When at the same time another arose in *Yorkshire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Poet, to whom were assembled four or five thousand, who took their encouragement from a certain Prophecie, which did foretell, That the time should come, when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governours elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in common, which should begin at the South and North Seas of England; and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecie. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the Prophecie; and thereupon presently upon the Kings pardon, they fell off and dispersed, their chief Leaders, *Ombler*, *Dale*, and four others were executed at *York*; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

But the King of France taking advantage of these Seditions, though he had been in Treaty before of Peace with England, yet now he brake off the Treaty, proclaimed War, and denounced it by his Embassadour to the King: hereupon all Frenchmen in England, not Denizens, were taken prisoners, and all their Goods seized for the King; which the French King understanding, he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize *Garnsey* and *Jersey*, but was repelled with the loss of a thousand men. After this, he levied an Army by land, and went himself in Person against *Bulleign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*; but being weary of the Work, he left his Lieutenant *Chailion* to pursue the Siege, who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last assaulted, and not prevailing, he attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals; and to this end, charged a Galley

An Insurrection  
in *Norfolk*  
about Inclo-  
sures, by Ket  
a Tanner.  
Their shews of  
Religion.

They assault  
the Town of  
*Norwich*.

They encounter  
the Kings  
Forces.

They refuse  
Pardon offered  
them.

At last they  
embrace Par-  
don, if the Earl  
of *Warwick*  
will bring it  
to them him-  
self.

Another In-  
surrection at  
the same time  
in *Yorkshire*, up-  
on the conceit  
of a Prophecie.

But these also  
upon the Kings  
pardon lay  
down their  
Arms.

The French  
King taking  
advantage of  
these Seditions  
in England,  
goes with an  
Army against  
*Bulleign*, which  
the valiant Sir  
*Nicholas Arnold*  
defended.

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with gravel and stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven, but the *English* took the Galley before it was sunk, and made use of the stones for their own defence; after this, they made faggots of light matter, mixed with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder and Wild-fire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven, but that enterprise was defeated by the *Bullwinkers*, and the faggots taken from the *French*; and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

Contention for place between the Queen Dowager, Wife of the Lord Admiral, and the Lady Anne Stanhope, Wife of the Protector.

She makes variance between the two Brothers their Husbands.

The Admiral in Parliament is accused of divers Crimes.

He is beheaded.

After his death the Protector is accused.

Somerſet-house built by the Protector, with back-ſtage.

The Earl of Warwick comes to the Tower, and is put in the Tower.

But in *England* in the mean time, an unfortunate accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof, though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the pride of a Woman, upon a point indeed wherein the natures of Women are commonly most tender, Precedency of place: the Protector had married *Anne Stanhope*, a Woman of a haughty stomach, and the Lord Admiral his Brother the Queen Dowager, a Lady of great mildness: the neerness of the Husbands, gave occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutchess would inwardly murmur, why she being the Wife of the elder Brother, and the better man, should give place to her, who was the Wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man; this envy of hers towards the Queen, bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the Husband, to be a part of revenge upon the Wife, and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-bed, yet the malice of the Dutchess towards the Admiral lived still (so hard a thing it is for malice, once fed in a Womans heart, to be removed); out of this malice, she puts divers turnings into her Husband the Protector's head, against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end, he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly, as misliking his Government being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist: In this case causes of jealousy against the Admiral were obvious enough, for it was known that in King *Henries* time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Henries* second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen Dowager being dead (and not without suspicion of poyson) he fell upon that marriage afresh, which could not be thought to tend but to some very high aspiring end: The Protector a plain man, and one that had not the deepest insight into practices, whether too importunately provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honest minde, not willing to patronize faults though in a Brother, gave way to accusations brought against him, to as in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the Person of the King, and Government of the Realm, for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings Siller, for perſwading the King in his tender years to take upon him the rule and ordering of himself; upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently, against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by Act of Parliament condemned; and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was sent, under the hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head; wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own Head down upon the block; for whilst these Brothers lived and held together, they were as a strong Fortress one to the other; the Admirals courage supporting the Protectors Authority, and the Protectors Authority maintaining the Admirals stoutness; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectors Authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruine. Besides there was at this time, an orgel the Nobility, a kinde of faction; Protestants who favoured the Protector for his own sake, and other of Papal inclination, who favoured him for his Brothers sake; but his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side, as thinking they could expect little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother; and perhaps more than all this, the Earl of *Warwick*, at this time, was the most powerful man both in Courage and Counsel amongst all the Nobility, and none so near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durst, or durst and was able to stand against him: however it was, not long after the Admirals death, the Protector was invaded with sundry accusations, wherein the Earl of *Warwick* made not always the greatest show, but yet had always the greatest hand; one thing the Protector had done, which though a private act, yet gave a publick distaste.

To make him a Mansion house in the *Strand* (the same which is now called *Somerſet-house*) he pulled down a Church, and two Bishops Houses by the *Strand-Bridge*; in digging the foundation whereof, the bones of many who had been there buried, were cast out and carried into the fields; and because the Stones of those Houses and the Church sufficed not for his works, the Steeple, and most part of the Church of *Saint Johns* of *Jerusalem* near *Smithfield*, was wrenched and overthrown with Powder, and the Stones applied to this spacious Building; and more than this, the Cloyster on *Pauls* on the North side of the Church, in a place called *Pardon Church-yard*, and the dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chapel that stood in the midst of the Church-yard; also the *Charnel House*, that stood on the South side of *Pauls* (now a Carpenters Yard) with the Chapel, Timber and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into *Finsbury-fields*, and the Stones converted into this Building. This Act of the Protectors did something alienate the peoples mindes from him; which the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and the eupon drew eighten of the Privy Council to joyn with him, who withdrawing themselves from the Court, held secret consultations together, and walked in the City with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries; whereof when the Lord Protector heard, he sent Secretary *Peter* to them, to know the causes of their Assembly, requiring them to resort to him peaceably, that they might commune together as friends; but in the mean time, he Armed five hundred men, and removed the

King

1549.

A King by night from *Hampſton Court* to *Windſor*: on the other side, the Lords at *London* having first taken possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, to the Earl of *Warwick* Lodging at *Ely-house* in *Holborn*; to whom the Lord Richthen Lord Chancellor, made a long Oration, wherein he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many mischiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdome, and thereupon requiring them to joyn with the Lords there assembled to remove him; and presently that day, a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose, to which the Lords and Counsellors that subscribed their names were these: the Lord Rich Chancellor, the Lord *Saint-John* Lord great Master, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Chichey* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edward Montague* chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Sir *Richard Southwell* Knights, and Doctor *Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury*. In the afternoon of the same day, the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Council in the Guild-hall, where two Letters arrived almost in one instant, from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand men to be Armed for defence of the Kings Person; another from the Lords at *London*, for a thousand men to aid them in defence of the Kings Person also; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to please them both. The Recorder set forth the complaint of the Lords against the Protector, in such sort, that he made many inclinable to favour that side, but one named *George Staddon* better advised, stepped up, and in a long Speech shewed what mischiefs had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to suspend giving aid to the Lords, at least for a time. His advice was hearkened unto, and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm an hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot, in defence of the City; and to the Letters, returned submissive but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Ed. Winkfield* Cap. of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windſor*; who so well perſwaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him; and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within 2. dayes after to be carried to the Tower: In whose absence, 7. Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to attend the Kings person; and for affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council: soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower, certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present Answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The chief Article was this, that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with express condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings affairs, but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission than by contesting, or perhaps floding himself not altogether innocent, (for indeed in so great a place, who can bear himself with such sincerity, but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgement with his own hand; humbly submitting himself to the Kings mercy, and desiring their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three moneths after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Counsellour, but no more Protector: at which time, between him and the Lords, a shew at least of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Dukes Daughter was afterward married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; at which marriage the King himself was present; and perhaps to honour their reconciliation and this marriage, The Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of *England*, Sir *John Russell* Lord Privy Seal was created Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Saint-John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Paget* Controllour of the Kings House, was made Lord *Paget*, Sir *Anthony Winkfield* Captain of the Guard, was made Controllour, and Sir *Thomas Darcey* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side the Earl of *Arundell*, the Earl of *Southampton*, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortly after at *Lincoln Place* in *Holborn*, and was buried in *Saint Andrews* Church there.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful assemblies: but for fear of new tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Countrey Habitations; and for the same cause also, *Trinity Term* did not hold.

About this time also, Pope *Paul* the third died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their Voices for Cardinal *Poole*; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to choose one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church: upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Poole*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of *Lutheranism*, as having been very conversant with *Immanuel Tremellius*, and *Antonius Flamininus*, great

F f 2

The Protector is sent to the Tower.

Upon his submission he is released, but no more Protector.

Divers Lords made.

1550.

Cardinal Poole is chosen Pope, but making excuses, is rejected.

great *Lutherans*; and not altogether without blemish of incontinency, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations, *Poole* so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place than he was before: and thereupon one night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed, and sent him word they came to adore him (which is one special kind of electing the Pope); but he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, That this was not a work of darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their minds. But the Italian Cardinals attributing this putting off, to a kind of Rudidity and sloth in *Poole*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the Third.

A Peace between England and France upon payment of four hundred thousand Crowns.

And now the King of France, upon many just Considerations, was grown desirous to have a Peace with England; and thereupon sent one *Guidotti* a Florentine into England, to make some overture of his desire to the Lords of the Council; who addressing himself to the Earl of Warwick, whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Embassadors should be sent from the King of England into France, and four from the French King, to Treat with them. The Commissioners for the English were *John Earl of Bedford*, *William Lord Paget*; Sir *William Mason*, Secretaries of State. For the French were *Monsieur Rochepot*, *Monsieur Chavillen*, *Guyllart de Martier*, and *Rochelle de Doffie*. Much time was spent to agree about a place of Meeting; till at last the English to satisfy the French, were contented it should be before *Bulloigne*; where were many Meetings and many differences about Conditions: but in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was: that *Bulloigne* and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the French within six Weeks after the Peace proclaimed; and that the French should pay for the same two hundred thousand Crowns: within three days after delivery of the Town; and other two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of August following: Hostages were on both sides given for performance, and to those Articles the French King was sworn at *Amiens*, and the King of England in London: The Lord *Clinton* who had been Deputy of *Bulloigne*, was made Lord Amiral of England.

Preciently after this Agreement, the Duke of Brunswick sent to the King of England, to offer his Service in the Kings Wars, with Ten thousand men, and to intreat a Marriage with the Lady Mary, the Kings eldest Sister. To his offer of Aid, answer was made, That the Kings Wars were ended; And touching the Marriage with the Lady Mary, That the King was in speech for her Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal; which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Embassadour demanded of the King, That the Lady Mary might have free exercise of the Masse; which the King not only constantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exercised at the Court, and order taken, That no man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should Preach before him: And shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thousand pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas. At this time also, an Embassadour came from *Gustavus* King of Sweden, to enter League with the King for entercourse of Merchants; and charge was then also given, that the Laws of England should be administered in Ireland.

The Laws of England first administered in Ireland.

1551.

About this time the Queen Dowager of Scotland, going from France to her Countrey, passed through England, having first obtained a safe Conduct, she arrived at *Portsmouth*, and was there met by divers of the English Nobility; conducted to London, she was lodged in the Bishop-Palace: After four days tarrying, having been Feasted by the King at *White-Hall*, she departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Countreies to the Borders of Scotland. And now was one *Steward* a Scot apprehended in England, and imprisoned in the Tower, for intending to poison the young Queen of Scots, whom the King delivered to the French King upon the frontiers of *Cailli*, to be by him Justiced at his pleasure.

The Emperour seeks to get the Lady Mary by stealth out of England.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperour, to Transport the Lady Mary either by violence or by stealth out of England to Antwerp; whereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with Forces into Essex, where the Lady lay: and besides, the Duke of Somerset was sent with two hundred men, the Lord Privy Seal with other two hundred, and Master *Sentleger* with four hundred more, to severall Coasts upon the Sea; and the Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Pear* were sent to the Lady Mary, who after some Conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellor's House at *Lye* in Essex, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Masse, and considering her obstinacy, was resolved now no longer to permit, unless she would put him in hope of some conformity in short time. To which she answered, That her Soul was Gods: and touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, That the King intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward profession of it, in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After some like interchange of speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Embassadour from the Emperour, with a threatening Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady Mary should be denied the free exercise of the Masse: Hereupon the King presently advised with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the Bishop of London and *Rechefer*, who gave their Opinion, That to give Licence to sin, was sin; but to connive at sin, might be allowed, so it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation: Then Answer was given to the Embassadour, That the King would send

The Lady Mary is constant to her Religion.

To connive is less then to give Licence.

send to the Emperour within a moneth or two, and give him such satisfaction as should be fit.

And now the King being uncertain of the faith, both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one *Bartwick*, to the King of Denmark, with private Instructions, to Treat of a Marriage between the Lady Elizabeth the King's youngest Sister, and the King of Denmark's eldest Son: but when it came to the point, this Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any.

1551. The Lady Elizabeth cannot be induced to marry.

After this, the Marquess of Northampton was sent Embassadour to the French King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to Treat with him of other secret Affairs: With him were joyned in Commission the Bishop of Ely, Sir *Philip Hobbie*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason*, and Master *Smith* Secretary of State; also the Earl of Worcester, Rutland, and Ormond were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords *Listes*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny* and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of Six and twenty: And for avoiding of an immoderate Train, Order was given, That every Earl should have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of France, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bed-Chamber: To whom the Marquess presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested. Then the Bishop of Ely in a short Speech, declared, how the King of England, out of his love and desire of Amity, had sent this Order to his Majesty; desiring withall, That some persons might be authorized to Treat with them about some other matters of Importance; whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of Lorraine, *Chastillon* the Constable, the Duke of Guise, and others. At the first, the English demanded, That the young Queen of Scots might be sent into England for perfecting of Marriage between King Edward and her. But to this the French answered, That conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of France. Then the English proposed a Marriage between King Edward and the Lady Elizabeth the French King's eldest Daughter. To this the French did cheerfully incline; but when they came to talk of Portion, the English demanded at first Fifteen hundred thousand Crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at last to eight hundred thousand: The French offered at first, one hundred thousand Crowns, then rose to two hundred thousand, and higher they would not be drawn; saying, It was more than ever had been given with a Daughter of France. Shortly after, *Monsieur* the Marshall and other Commissioners were sent by the French King to deliver to the King of England the Order of Saint Michael; and then was further Treaty about the Marriage: and because the French could be forced no higher than two hundred thousand Crowns, it was at last accepted, and the Agreement was reduced into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both sides.

Embassadors are sent into France.

To Treat of a Marriage, between King Edward and the French Kings eldest Daughter, which is at last concluded.

And now King Edward supposing his state to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure; in testimony both of his Joy and Love, advanced many to new Titles of Honour; The Lord Marquess *Dorset*, who had married the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, was created Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Warwick Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of *Wiltshire* was created Marquess of Winchester, Sir *William Herbert* Lord of Cardiffe and Master of the Horse, was created Earl of Pembroke: Also *William Cecil* the Kings Secretary, *John Cheek* one of his Schoolmasters, *Henry Dudley*, and *Henry Nevill* were made Knights; and (that which perhaps it had been happy, if it had never been) Sir *Robert Dudley* one of the Duke of Northumblands Sons, (the same who was afterward the great Earl of Leicester) was sworn one of the Six ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber: for after his coming into a place so near about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

Dukes and Earls made.

The Lord Robert Dudley is made one of the Kings Bed-Chamber.

The aspiring thoughts of the Duke of Northumberland, were now grown to be put in execution: He was advanced in title of Honour equal with the highest; in authority and power above the highest: he had placed his Politick Son near about the Kings Person. The next thing was to remove the Duke of Somerset out of the Way: And for this also, he had prepared Instruments; Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hammon*, *Cecil*, and others, who brought severall Accusations against the Duke; some trenching upon the King and Kingdome, but one specially against the Duke of Northumblands person; whose practices when the Duke of Somerset found, and had cause to fear, he went one day into the Duke of Northumblands Chamber, with a purpose to kill him; but finding him in his Bed, and being received with much kind Complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon came away without any thing done. At his coming out, one of his Company asked him if he had done the deed? Who answered, No. Then, said he, You are your self undone. And indeed it so fell out; for when all other Accusations were refuted, this only stuck by him, and could not be denied; And so on the first of December he was arraigned at Westminster; where the Lord *William Paulet* Marquess of Winchester, and Lord Treasurer, sat as High Steward of England, and with him Peers to the number of seven and twenty: The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Suffex, Worcester, Pembroke, and Hereford: The Barons, *Abergavenny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Westbury*, *Darby*, *Sturton*, *Winton*, *Grosvenor*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Lords being set, the Indictments were read; in number five, containing a Charge, for raising Men in the North parts of the Realm: And at his House, for assembling men to kill the Duke of Northumberland: For resisting

The Duke of Northumberland seeks Accusations against the Duke of Somerset.

Who being arraigned, is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

resisting his Attachment, for raising London, for assaulting the Lords, and devising of their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a satisfactory Answer to every Point, though the Kings Learned Council pressed them hard against him. This done, the Lords went together, where Exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, That the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquess of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke should be of the Jury: seeing the Prisoner was chiefly charged with practices against them: But to this the Lawyers made answer, That a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged. So after much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner was acquit of Treason, but by most Voyces found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, That if any should attempt to kill a Privy Counsellor, although the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punished with death. But upon his being acquit of Treason, the Axe of the Tower was presently laid down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for Joy gave so great a Shout, that it was heard as far as Charing-Crosse: But the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony; and had Judgment to die. It is thought by some, he might have saved his life, if he had demanded his Clergy: but it is rather thought, that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two moneths after his Condemnation, (such against the Kings will) he was brought to the Tower-Hill to Execution; where being ascended the Scaffold, he entered into a Speech, wherein though he justified himself, for any matter rendering to the hurt of the King or Kingdom; yet he confessed, he was justly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God, that had given him so large a time of repentance, specially that he had opened his eyes, to see clearly the light of the Gospel: And going on in his Speech, a sudden noise arose, of some crying, *Away, away*; which made some think a Pardon had been come, but was indeed the voice of some that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late: But the Tumult being appeased, the Duke went on with his Speech, and at last commending his Soul to God, with a countenance not shewing any sign of fear, or perturbation; only his cheeks a little redder than they used to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the block, and in a moment, with one stroke of the Axe, had it stricken off. The Death of this Duke made the Duke of Northumberland more odious to the people than he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkerchiefs in his blood, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of Northumberland withall, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged at the Tower-Hill, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundell were there beheaded.

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for averting the Kings mind from taking thought; and to that end, one George Ferrers, a Gentleman of Lincoln-Inne, was appointed, in the Christmas time, to be Lord of Mis-rule; who so carried himself, that he gave great delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his heaviness.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Grays-Inne; of whom, Master Robert Brook Recorder of London, was the first; and the next Master Dyer, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

About this time also, the Lord Paget was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was said to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother; and the Garter was then bestowed on the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumblands eldest Son; and the Lord Rich Lord Chancellour, was put off from his place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the Kings charge, for discovery of a Passage to the East-Indies by the North Seas; the chief Pilot and director in this Voyage, was one Sebastian Gabato an Englishman, born at Bristol, but the Son of a Genoway: these Ships at the last arrived in the Countrey of Moscovia, but not without loss of their Captain Sir Hugh Willoughby, who being tossed and driven by tempest, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

At this time also the Duke of Suffolks three Daughters, which he had by Frances, Daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary Queen of France, were married at Durham House: the eldest Jane, to the Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth Son to the Duke of Northumberland: The second Katherine, to Henry Son and Heir to the Earl of Pembroke: The youngest, Mary, being somewhat deformed, to Martin Keyes the Kings Gentleman Porter. And then also Katherine the Duke of Northumblands youngest Daughter to the Lord Hastings, eldest Son of the Earl of Huntingdon. And now had the Duke of Northumberland gone a great way in his design; it remained to persuade King Edward to exclude his two Sisters from Succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter in law the Lady Jane, would come to have a right: for as for pretenders out of Scotland, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this persuasion, (being in a languishing sickness, not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preserved in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death; which would not be, if his sister the Lady Mary should succeed, and she could not be put by; unless her other Sister the Lady Elizabeth were put by also, seeing their rights depended one upon another; but if he pleased to appoint the Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolks eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sisters, to be his Successor, he might then be sure that, his true Religion should be

A Peer of the Realm not to be challenged in a Jury.

1552.

The Duke of Somerset is beheaded, and his patient suffering it.

George Ferrers Lord of Mis-rule at Christ-masse.

A call of Serjeants.

The Lord Paget hath the Garter taken from him; and why.

Sebastian Gabato sent to discover a Passage to the East-Indies. Sir Hugh Willoughby frozen to death.

The Duke of Northumberland persuades King Edward to exclude his two Sisters, succession in the Crown; and by what reasons.

A be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own religious Providence. This was to strike upon the right sitting of the young Kings affection, with whom nothing was so dear as preservation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawn (contrived chiefly by the Lord Chief Justice Mountague, and Secretary Cecil:) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sisters from the Succession, and all other, but the Dukes of Suffolks Daughters; and then causing it to be read before his Council, he required them all to assent unto it, and to subscribe their hands; which they all, both Nobility, and Bishops and Judges did; only the Archbishop Cranmer refused at first, Sir James Hales a Judge of the Common-Pleas, to the last, and with them also Sir John Baker Chancellour of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of Northumblands purpose, but that the King should die: which soon after he did at Greenwich, the sixth of July, in the year 1553. One point of the Dukes policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady Mary might raise after the Kings decease, if she should be at liberty; he therefore, seeing the King drawing on, used all means possible to get her within his power; to which end Letters are directed to her in the Kings name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about his person: Whereupon, the Lady suspecting nothing, addressed her self with all speed to the Journey; till being upon the Way, she was advertised of the Dukes design; and then she returned to her House at Hovefden, and so escaped the snare: by whose escape, the whole Design of the Duke of Northumberland was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

His Will drawn to that purpose.

King Edward dies.

1553.

The Duke of Northumberland seeks to get the Lady Mary into his hands.

## Of his Taxations.

IN no Kings Reign was ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subsidies; the greatest was in his last year, when yet there was but one Subsidie, with two Fifteens and Tenths, granted by the Temporality, and a Subsidie by the Clergy. And indeed to the how loath this King was to lay Impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument; That though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Foulker in the Low-Countries for money upon loan, at the interest of fourteen pounds for a hundred, for a year. But his ways for raising of money, were by selling of Chantry Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by inquiring after all Church Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezzelled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalice, ready money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one covering for the Communion Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of Officers in great places; in which enquiry one Beaumont Master of the Rolls, being convinced of many Crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the Kings hands: Also one Whalley, Receiver of Yorkshire, being found a Delinquent, surrendered his Office, and paid a great Fine besides: Also the Lord Paget, Chancellour of the Duchie, convinced that he had sold the Kings Lands and Timber-Woods without Commission, and had applied the Kings Fines to his own use, for these and other offences, surrendered his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion, was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Delinquent Officers fined.

Bullion made baser to raise money.

## Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his third year a Parliament was holden; wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate; and usury for the loan of money was forbidden. In his fifth year it was ordained, That the Laws of England should be admitted in Ireland; and a King at Arms named Ulster, was newly instituted for Ireland; whose Province was all Ireland; and he was the first fourth King of Arms, and first Herald appointed for Ireland. Also in his fifth year, base monies formerly coined, were cried down; so as the shilling went but for nine pence, and shortly after but for six pence, the groat but for three pence, and shortly after but for two pence.

Priests Children made legitimate. Usury forbidden. Ulster King at Arms ordained for Ireland. Base Monies cried down.

## Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the first year of this Kings Reign, Injunctions were set forth, for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches; also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by Learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples instruction: And at Easter this year, it was ordered, That the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be ministered to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the dead were forbidden: And it is observable, That the very same day that Images were pulled down at London, the great overthrow was given to the Scots at Muskborough. Also at this time, by the Archbishop

Cranmer.

The Book of Common-Prayer established.

*Crammers* means, divers learned Protestants came over into England, and had here entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*; of whom *Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in Oxford; *Bucer* and *Fagius* in Cambridge. In this Kings fourth Year, all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year, the Book of Common Prayer was established.

### Casualties happening in his Time.

A Sweating Sickness, proper only to the English Nation.

IN his Second year, Saint *Ames* Church within Aldersgate was burnt. In his fifth year, a Sweating Sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North parts, and after grew most excreant in London, so as the first Week there dyed eight hundred persons, and was so violent, that it took men away in four and twenty hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in less: Amongst other of Account that dyed of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This Disease was proper to the English Nation, for it followed the English wheresoever they were in Forrain Parts, but seized upon none of any other Country. In this Year one Master *Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murdered in his own house; being dead, his body was carried out and laid upon the ground, in a Close hard by: where this is Memorable, That for two years after, the ground where his body lay, bore no grafs, but represented still as it were a picture of his body, only in the space between his legs and arms there grew grafs; but where any part of his body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murderer, as for the Curfes of a Widow Woman, out of whose hands the said Master *Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes, works Miracles upon offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth Year, the third of August at *Middleton-stony*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought forth a child which had two perfect bodies from the navel upward, the leggs for both the bodies grew out at the midst where the bodies joyned, and had but one issue for the excrements of them both: they lived eighteen dayes, and were Women Children. This Year also were taken at *Quinborow* three Dolphins, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A miraculous Effect of a Murderer.

A monstrous Birth.

Dolphins taken at Black-wall.

### Works of Piety done by him or others in his Time.

Christ's Hospital, Saint Thomas Hospital, Saint Bartholomews and Bride-well given by this King to Charitable Uses.

THIS King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor: First for the fatherless and Beggar Children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers* in London, which is now called *Christ's Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased persons, he gave the Hospital of Saint Thomas in Southwark, and Saint Bartholomews in West-Smithfield. Thirdly, for rigorous and idle persons, he gave his House of Bridewell, and for their Maintenance, he took six hundred pounds a year from the House of the Savoy, (which had been long abused) and bestowed it upon these Houses; to which he added four thousand Marks a year more. By his example, Sir *William Chester* Alderman of London, and *John Calthroppe* Draper, at their own Costs made the Brick-walls and way on the backside that leadeth to the Hospital of Saint Bartholomews, and also covered and vaulted the Town-Ditch, which before was very noysome. In the second year of this King, Sir *John Gresham*, then Mayor of London, founded a Free-School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*: Also at his decease he gave to every Ward in London ten pounds, to be distributed amongst the Poor, and to Maids marriages two hundred pounds. In his third year, Sir *Rowland Hill*, the then Lord Mayor of London, caused to be made a Cawsey commonly called *Overlane* Pavement, in the High-way from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the ease of Horse and Man. He caused also a Cawsey to be made from *Dunchurch* to *Bransford* in *Warwick-shire*, more than two miles in length; and gave twenty pounds towards the making of *Roiton* Bridge three miles from *Coventry*. He made likewise the High-way to *Kilburne* near to London. Also four Bridges, two of them of stone, containing eighteen Arches in them both; the one over the River of *Severn* called *Acham* Bridge, the other *Terne* Bridge; and two other of Timber at *Stoke*, where he built also a good part of the Church. A Free School likewise he builded at *Drayton* in *Shropshire*, with Matter and Usher, and gave sufficient Stipends to them both. Also he purchased a free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen dayes a free Market for Cattel. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of *Christ-Church* in London in his life-time five hundred pounds, and at his death, a hundred. In this Kings fourth year, Sir *Andrew Jud* Mayor of London, founded a notable Free School at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*; and gave three score pounds land a year to the Skinners of London, for which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the School-Master, and eight pounds to the Usher of his Free School at *Tunbridge* yearly for ever. In his sixth year, Sir *George Barnes*, who was Mayor of London, gave a Wind-Mill in *Finsbury-Field* to the Haberdashers of London, the profits thereof to be distributed to the Poor of that Company: also to Saint Bartholomews the Little, certain Tenements to the like use.

### Of his Personage and Conditions.

Concerning his Personage, it is said, he was in Body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and specially in his Eyes, which seemed to have a Starry liveliness and lustre in them. Concerning his Conditions, in matter of Fact, there is not much to be said; but in matter of Disposition and Inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was come to the forwardness to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms: For proof of his Merciful Disposition, this one Example may be sufficient; When one *Joan Butcher* King Edward's pitiful Disposition, was to be burned for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Councell could not get him to sign the War-rant, till the Archbishop *Crammer*, with much importunity, perswaded him, and then he did it, but not without weeping. For his pregnancy of Wit, and Knowledge in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into England, had often Conference with him) reporteth of him, That he was extraordinarily skillfull in Languages, and in the Politicks; well seen in Philosophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art and Nature. He would answer Ambassadors sometimes upon the suddain, either in French or Latine: He knew the state of Forrain Princes perfectly, and his own more: He could call all Gentlemen of account through his Kingdome by their names. And all this when he had scarce yet attained to the age of fifteen years, and dyed before sixteen; that from hence we may gather, It is a sign of no long life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe so early.

### Of his Death and Buriall.

IN the Sixth Year of his Reign, which was the year before he dyed, he fell sick of the Measels; and being well recovered of them, he fell soon after into the small Pox, and of them also was so well recovered, that the Summer following he rode a Progress, with a greater Magnificence than ever he had done before; having in his Train no fewer than four thousand Horse. In January following (whether procured by sinister practice, or growing upon him by naturall infirmity) he fell into an indisposition of body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs. Whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by some, That a Nofegay had been given him at New-Years-tide, which brought him into this slow but deadly Consumption: By others, That it was done by a poysoned Glyster. However it was, he was brought at last to so great extremity, that his Physicians despaird of his life; and when Physicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepared for the purpose) took him in hand, and did him hurt: for with her applications, his Leggs swelled, his Pulse failed, his skin changed colour, and many other symptoms of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death, he was overheard to pray thus by himself, O Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life; O Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosens sake, if it be thy Will, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee: O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England, and defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son Jesus, Christs sake. So turning his face and seeing some by him, he said, I thought you had not been so nigh: Yes, said Doctor *Onen*, we heard you speak to your self. Then said the King, I was praying to God: O, I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit: and in so saying, gave up the ghost, the sixth day of July, in the year 1553. and in the Sixteenth year of his age, when he had Reigned six years, five moneths, and nine dayes. It is noted by some, that he dyed the same moneth, and the same day of the moneth, that his Father King *Henry* the Eighth had put Sir *Thomas More* to death. His Body was buried upon the ninth of August, in the Chappell of Saint *Peters* Church in Westminster, and laid near to the Body of King *Henry* the seventh his Grandfather. At his Funerall, which was on the tenth of August following, his Sister Queen *Mary* shewed this respect to him, that though Doctor *Day* a Popish Bishop Preached, yet all the Service with a Communion was in English.

His Piety at the time of his death.

### Men of Note in his Time.

THIS Kings Reign being short, and having but small Wars, had not many Sword-men famous for any Acts they did: Gown-men there were some, as *Edward Hall* a Counsellour in the Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the Union of the Two Houses of York and Lancaster; *William Hugh*, a York-shire-man, who wrote a notable Treatise called, *The Troubled Man's Medicine*; *Thomas Starnhold*, born in Southampton, who turned into English Meeter seven and thirty of *David's* Psalms.

## The Interregnum between the death of King Edward, and the Proclaiming at London of Queen Mary.

1553.

The Duke of Northumberland bears all the sway. He causes the Mayor and Aldermen to swear Allegiance to the Lady Jane. Who is proclaimed Queen. The Lady Mary rides Post into Norfolk.

Takes upon her the name of Queen, and is assisted by the Norfolk men, upon her promise not to alter Religion. She writes to the Lords, and claimeth the Crown. The Lords Answer.

Against whom the Duke of Northumberland is sent with an Army.

King Edward being dead, the Duke of Northumberland took upon him to sit at the Stern, and ordered all things at his pleasure: so two dayes after, he with others of the Councel, sent to the Lord Maior, that he with six Aldermen, and twelve principal Commons, should repair presently to the Court; to whom when they came, it was secretly signified that King Edward was dead; and that by his last Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given assent he had appointed the Lady Jane, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, to succeed him; his Letters Patents whereof were shewed them, and thereupon they were required to take their Oaths of Allegiance to the Lady Jane, and to secure the City in her behalf; which whether dissemblingly, or sincerely, whether for love, or fear, yet they did, and departed. The next day, the Lady Jane in great State was brought to the Tower of London, and there declared Queen; and by edict with the sound of Trumpet proclaimed so through London: at which time, for some words seeming to be spoken against it, one Gilbert Pot a Vintners Servant, was set in the Pillory, and lost both his ears. Before this time, the Lady Mary having heard of her Brothers death, and of the Duke of Northumblands designs, removed from Hoveston, to her Mannour of Kewinghall in Norfolk, and under pretence of fearing infection, (having lately lost one of her Household-Servants of the Plague) in one day she rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Castle of Framingham in Suffolk, where taking upon her the name of Queen, there resorted to her the most part of all the Gentlemen both of Norfolk and Suffolk, offering their Assistance; but upon condition, she would make no alteration in Religion, to which she consented; and thereupon, soon after came to her, the Earls of Oxford, Bath, and Suffex, the Lord Wentworth, Thomas Wharton, and John Mordant Barons eldest Sons; and of Knights, Cornwallis, Drury, Walgrave, Shelton, Buntingfield, Jerningham, Suliard, Preston, and many others. The Lady Mary being thus assisted, wrote her Letter signed the 9th of July, to the Lords of the Councel; wherein she claimed the Crown, as of right belonging to her; and required them to proclaim her Queen of England in the City of London, as they tendered her displeasure.

To this Letter of hers the Lords answered, that for what they did, they had good Warrant, not only by King Edwards last Will, but by the Laws of the Land, considering her Mothers divorce, and her own Illegitimacy; and therefore required her to submit her self to Queen Jane, being now her Sovereign. This Letter was written from the Tower of London, under the hands of these that follow, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Ely Chancelour, William Marquess of Winchester, John Earl of Bedford, Henry Duke of Suffolk, Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, John Duke of Northumberland, William Earl of Pembroke, Thomas Lord Darcey Lord Chamberlain, Cobham, Rich, Huntington, Cheney, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecil, John Clerk, Mason, Edward North, and Robert Bowes. The quarrel on both sides being thus begun by Letters, is prosecuted by Arms; and the Lords for their Generall, make choyce of the Duke of Suffolk, as a man most likely to be firm and sure in the employment; but the Queen his Daughter cannot mis his preference, and besides, is not willing to hazard his person; and thereupon, she by intreaties, and the Lords by persuasions, prevail with the Duke of Northumberland to undertake the charge; who before his going, having conference with the Lords, let them know how sensible he was of the double danger he underwent in this enterprize, both in respect of the Lady against whom he went, and in respect of them whom he left behind him; for if they in his absence should by any accident be drawn to waver in their resolution, they might work their own safety with his destruction, and make themselves seem innocent in his guiltiness. To which one of the Lords replied and said, Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can wash his hands clean of this business? and therefore it behoves us to be as resolute as your self; and the Earl of Arundell, to rectifie his Resolution in the matter, said, he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whose feet he could finde his heart to spend his blood. So the Duke, with the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Gray, and divers other of account, on the fourteenth of July, set forward on the Journey with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and passing through Shoreditch, the Duke said to the Lord Gray, See how the people press to see us, but not one of them saith, God speed you. The Duke had every dayes march how far he should go, appointed him by Commission; which being very slow, whether it were done of purpose by some that favoured the Lady Mariess side, was certainly a great help to her proceedings; for by this mean she had the longer time to make her preparations, and indeed in this time, two accidents happened, of great benefit to her; one, that Edward Hastings, the Earl of Huntingtons Brother, having an Army of four thousand Foot committed to him by the Earl of Northumberland, he now left his party, and went to the Lady Mary: the other, that six great Ships which lay before Tarmouth, to intercept the Lady Mary, if she should attempt to fly, now at the persuasion of Master Jerningham, came to her aid: Which two Revolts so terrified the Londoners, that though Doctor Ridley, Bishop of London, on the sixteenth of July, at Pauls Crosse, preached a Sermon, wherein he invited the people to stand firm to Queen Jane, whose cause he affirmed to be most just, yet few or none were perswaded by him; so as the Lords themselves fell off from

A from the side, who assembling at Baynards Castle, first the Earl of Arundell, then the Earl of Pembroke fell to invectives against the Earl of Northumberland; and then all the Lords joyning in Opinion with them, they called for the Mayor, and in London Proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen; as likewise the Lord Windsor, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Robert Drurie, and Sir Edward Hastings did in Buckinghamshire; Sir John Williams of Tame, and Sir Leonard Chamberlain in Oxfordshire, and Sir Thomas Tresham in the County of Northampton. All this came soon to the knowledge of the Duke of Northumberland, being then at Burie; who thereby seeing how the World went, thought it his best course to turn with the stream, and thereupon returning to Cambridge, he took the Mayor of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there himself for want of a Herald, Proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen, and in sign of joy threw up his Cap; which yet served not B his turn: for the next morning, Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of Arundell, came into Cambridge from Queen Mary, who entering his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell on his knees; desiring him for Gods love to consider his case, that had done nothing but by the Warrant of him and the Councell: My Lord (saith the Earl) I am sent hither by the Queen to arrest you: And I (saith the Duke) obey your Arrest; yet I beseech your Lordship, to use mercy towards him whose acts have been no other then were enjoyed by Commission. Yet should have thought of that sooner (saith the Earl): and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queens mercy. Thus ended all this great Dukes designs in his own destruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him; and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out, could have been contented to spend his blood at his feet, was now contented to be C made an instrument of his fall: So sudden are the turns of mens affections, and so unstable is the building upon their asseverations; at least no man must look to have his case be of any weight against him, who hath his own case put in the Ballance. Together with the Duke his three Sons, John, Ambrose, and Henry, the Earl of Huntington, Sir Andrew Dudley, the two Gates, John and Henry, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Doctor Sands were conveyed towards London, and brought to the Tower; and the next day the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Robert Corbet. Before which time, the Duke of Suffolk entering his Daughters the Lady Janes Chamber, told her, She must now put off her Royall Robes, and be contented with a private life. To which she answered, She would much more willingly put them off, then she had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the D Lady Janes Ten dayes Reign.

1553.

But soon after the Lords that sent him, fell off from the side: and proclaimed Queen Mary. Which the Duke of Northumberland hearing, he also at Cambridge proclaimed Queen Mary. Yet is arrested by the Earl of Arundell.

And with him divers more.

The Lady Jane hearing hereof, was nothing troubled with it. And thus ended her ten dayes Reign.

## Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first Year,  
Sir John Gresham was Mayor.  
Thomas White, Robert Christey, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Henry Amcoates was Mayor.  
William Lock, Sir John Ayleph, Sheriffs.

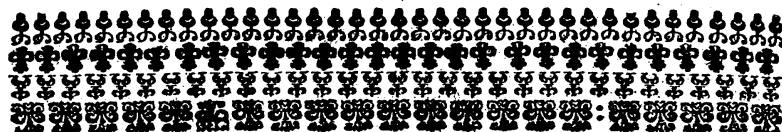
In his third year,  
Sir Rowland Hill was Mayor.  
John Yorke, Richard Turk, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir Andrew Fud was Mayor.  
Augustine Hinde, John Lion, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir Richard Dobbes was Mayor,  
John Lambert, John Comper, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir George Barne, was Maior.  
William Garret, or Gerard, John Mainard, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY:

1553.

The Lady Mary having been Proclaimed Queen, comes to London, and so to the Tower. Where she sets divers Lords at Liberty.

And restores the Bishops who had been deprived.

**T**he Lady Mary having been Proclaimed Queen in London and other parts of the Realm removed from her Castle of Framingham towards London; and being come to *Wansted* in *Essex*, on the thirtieth of July, the Lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, with a Train of Thousand Horse, rode from her Place in the Strand to meet her: On the third of August the Queen rode through London to the Tower, where at her Entrance were presented to her *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, *Edward Lord Courteney*, *Stephen Gardiner*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Duchesse of Somerset*; who all kneeling down, she kissed them, and said, *These be my Prisoners*, and then caused them presently to be set at liberty: The next day she restored the Lord *Courteney* to the Marquisate of *Exeter*; and the same day also she not only restored *Stephen Gardiner* to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, but a few dayes after made him Chancellor of England: Yet this was the Man that had subscribed to her Mothers Divorce, and had written Books against the lawfulness of her Marriage. The fifth of August, *Edmund Bonner* late Bishop of London, Prisoner in the *Marshalsey*, and *Cuthbert Tunstall* the old Bishop of *Durham*, prisoner in the Kings-Bench, had their Pardons, and were restored to their Sees. Shortly after, all the Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward the Sixth*, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed, as *Ridley* was removed from London, and *Bonner* placed; *Skory* from *Chichester*, and *Day* placed; *Miles Coverdale* from *Exeter*, and *Wise* placed; *John Hooper* from *Worcester*, and *Heath* placed. Also all Beneficed men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms.

On the thirteenth of August, one *Master Bourne* a Canon of *Pauls*, Preaching at *Pauls Crosse*, not only prayed for the dead, but also declared, that *Doctor Bonner* Bishop of London, (late restored, and there in presence) for a Sermon by him made four years before, in the same place, and upon the same Text, had unjustly been cast into the vile Prison of the *Marshalsey*; which Speech so offended some of the Auditory, that they cried, *Pull him down, Pull him down*; and had certainly done him violence, (for a Dagger was thrown at him) if *Master Bradford* a Protestant Preacher, had not stepped into his place and appeased the Tumult, and *Master Rogers* another Protestant Minister (who were both afterward burnt for Religion) had not shifted away *Bourne* into *Pauls School*.

Hitherto Queen *Maries* Reign had been without blood, but now the Cataracts of severity will be opened, hat will make it rain blood: For now on the eighteenth of August, *John Dudley Duke of Northumberland*, *William Parre Marquis of Northampton*, and *John Earl of Warwick*, Son and Heir to the Duke, were arraigned at *Westminster-Hall*, before *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* as High-Steward of England; where the Duke of *Northumberland*, after his Indictment read, required the Opinion of the Court in two Points: First, Whether a man doing any Act by authority of the Princes Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of England, might for any such Act be charged with Treason. Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable, and by whose Command-

The Duke of Northumberland is arraigned.

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ments, he was directed, might be his Judges and passe upon his Triall? Whereunto was answered, That concerning the first, the great Seal which he alleged for his warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, but of an Usurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him: And as to the second, It was resolved, That if any were as deeply to be touched, in the Case as himself, yet so long as no Attainder were of record against them, they were persons able in Law to passe upon his Triall, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's pleasure. After which Answer, the Duke used few words, but confessed the Indictments, and accordingly had Judgment to die: By whose example, the other Prisoners arraigned with him, confessed the Indictments, and thereupon had Judgment. The nineteenth of August, *Sir Andrew Dudley*, *Sir John*, and *Sir Henry Gates*, Brethren, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, Knights, were Arraigned at *Westminster*, who confessing their Indictments, had Judgment, which was pronounced by the Marquis of *Winchester*, Lord high Treasurer, sitting that day as Chief Justice. After these Condemnations, followed the Executions; for on the two and twentieth of August, *John Duke of Northumberland* was brought to the Tower-Hill, and there beheaded: being upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green coloured damask, he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveness, whom he acknowledged to have grievously offended; and then making profession of his Faith, that he dyed a true Catholick (meaning a Papist) he said the Psalms of *Miserere* and *De Profundis*, the *Pater noster*, and six of the first verses of the Psalm *In Domine speravi*, ending with this verse, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*: And this said, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon, but none coming, he laid his head down upon the Block, and at one blow had it stricken off: his body with the head was buried in the Tower, by the body of *Edward late Duke of Somerset*, (mortal enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends) so as there lieth before the high Altar in *Saint Peters Church*, two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of *Somerset* and the Duke of *Northumberland*, between Queen *Anne* and Queen *Katherine*, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was, may well be doubted, seeing at his death he professed himself a Papist, when lately before he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Jane* his Successour, lest the Papall Religion should be restored: It seems he was not greatly of either but for other ends; a Protestant then, when it was to make his Daughter in law Queen; now a Papist, when it was to save his life (for it was thought he had a Pardon promised, if he would recant.) At the same time and place were beheaded *Sir John Gates*, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, who were no such Temporizers, but persisted and died in the Protestant Religion, which they had always professed.

And beheaded;

After this, a sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for on the third of September, the Lord *Ferrers of Chartley*, the two Chief Justices, *Sir Roger Cholmsley* and *Monnague*, *Sir John Cheek*, and others were delivered out of the Tower, whither before they had been committed: but a shewre of severity followed soon after, for on the fifteenth of September, *Master Latimer* and *Doctor Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were sent to the Tower; and on the third of November following, the said Archbishop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane* (late Queen) and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, with the Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry*, Sons to the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were all arraigned at the *Guild-Hall*, found guilty, and had Judgment to die.

*Latimer* and *Cranmer* sent to the Tower.

*Cranmer* and the late Queen *Jane*, with the Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, arraigned and condemned.

Queen *Mary* is Crowned, and in what order.

All this while Queen *Mary* had contented her self to be Queen by Proclamation; but now that things were somewhat settled, she proceeds to her Coronation: for on the last of September she rode in her Chariot through London towards *Westminster* in this order: First rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Bishops, then Lords, then the Councell, after whom followed the Knights of the *Bath*, thirteen in number in their Robes, then the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor, and the Marquis of *Winchester* Lord high Treasurer: Next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford* who bore the Sword, then the Mayor of London in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: After came the Queens Chariot, and then followed another Chariot wherein sat the Lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, and the Lady *Anne of Cleves*, and then came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on Horses, trapped with red Velvet, &c. In this order they came through London to *Westminster*, where in many places by the way were Pageants and stately Shewes, and many rich Presents given to the Queen. The next day she went by Water to the old Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blew cloth, being railed on either side to *Saint Peters Church*, where she was Crowned and Anointed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, (the two Archbishops being then in the Tower) With all Rites and Ceremonies of old accustomed.

After her Coronation, a generall Pardon was published in her name, but interlaced with so many exceptions of matters and persons, that very few took benefit by it; for after the Pardon published, there were Commissioners assigned, to compound with such persons as were excepted; from some of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, some they fined, and some they deprived of their Estates and Livings.

A Pardon granted but full of Exceptions.

About this time, *Sir James Hales* one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refused to sign a Writing for dis-inheriting the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*; (a fact worthy at least of a kind of remembrance from the Lady *Mary* now Queen) yet now, for that at a Quarter Sessions in *Kent*, he gave charge upon the Statutes of King *Henry* the eighth, and King *Edward* the sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*; he was first committed to the *Kings-Bench*, then to the *Counter*, and lastly to the *Fleet*; where he

*Sir James Hales* Justice of the Common Pleas drowns himself, and why.

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The Lady Jane though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the Tower.

Upon a Conference about Religion, the Maffie is again restored.

Matches propounded for Queen Mary.

The Match is concluded with Philip Prince of Spain.

With greater Conditions of advantage to her than to him.

Yet is opposed by divers, especially Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent.

The Lord Robert Dudley is arraigned and condemned.

grew so troubled in mind, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himself; and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queens preference, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could never come to be quiet in his mind; but in the end, drowned himself in a River not half a mile from his house, the River being so shallow, that he was faine to lie groveling before he could dispatch himself of life.

And now another sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for the Marquess of Northampton, and Sir Henry Gates, lately before condemned to die, were now pardoned and set at liberty. The Lady Jane also was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty altogether; if her Father the Duke of Suffolk had not the second time been cause of her destruction.

About this time also a Synod was assembled, for consulting about matters of Religion; and the point specially of the Reall presence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Doctor Weston; and of the Protestant side, were John Aylmer and Richard Cheney, both Bishops afterward in Queen Elizabeths time, also John Philpot, afterward burnt, James Haddon and others. After long Disputation, where reasons were not so much weighed as voices numbred; the Papall side, as having most voices, carried it: and thereupon was that Religion again restored, and the Maffie commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

It was now the Year 1553, when Queen Mary was come to the age of seven and thirty years, and therefore high time now to think of marriage, at least if she meant to have Issue of her body; but a hard matter it was to find a Husband in all points fitting for her: Yet three at this time (in common fame at least) were taken into consideration: One was the Lord Countrey Marquess of Exeter, a goodly Gentleman, and of Royall Blood; but there was an exception against him, because inclining (as was thought) to Lutheranism: Another was Cardinal Pole, of a dignity not much inferior to Kings, and by his Mother descended from Kings; but there was exception against him also, because four and fifty years old, (as old a Bachelor as Queen Mary was a Maid) and so the less hope of Issue between them: But the third (if he might be had) was without exception, and this was Philip Prince of Spain, the Emperour Charles his eldest Son, with whom being a Spaniard, she was the fitter matched, as being by the Mother a Spaniard herself. And now very opportunely came in the beginning of January Ambassadors into England about it; amongst others, the Count of Egmont Admirall of the Low-Countries, and John of Marmarancy Lord of Curyers; whose Message was so kindly entertained, that the Marriage in short time was absolutely concluded, though it seemed something strange to many, that she should now be the Wife to the Son, who thirty years before should have been Wife to the Father. But so it is, Queens are never old so long as they are within years of bearing Children. And indeed the Match was concluded with Conditions of far more advantage to Queen Mary, than they were to King Philip, as on the fourteenth of January, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellour of England, openly in the Presence Chamber at Westminster, declared to all the Lords and Gentlemen there present: For it was agreed, That after the marriage, King Philip should have the Title of all the Queens Dominions, and be assumed into fellowship of the Government; but yet with reservation to the Queen, of all Priviledges and Customes of the Kingdome, and free disposition of all Offices and Honours: As likewise the Queen should be assumed into the fellowship of all the Kings Dominions, and surviving him, should have a Joynture of two hundred thousand pounds a year. Then for the Issue between them, if she had a Son, that he should inherit the Low-Countries and Burgundy; and King Philips Sonne Charles, which he had by a former Wife, should inherit all his Dominions in Italy and Spain; but if his Son Charles should fail without Issue, then the Son he should have by Queen Mary should inherit his Kingdome of Italy and Spain also. And the like good provision was also made for Daughters. But notwithstanding these great advantages of the Match, yet such was the precipitant rashness of some, that thinking themselves wiser than the Queen and the Councell, they sought by all means to oppose the Match; giving out, That it tended to bring England under the yoke of Spain, and to make the Countrey a slave to strangers. This was the general murmuring of people; but the first that shewed himself in Arms, was Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent, who having communicated the matter with the Duke of Suffolk, the Lady Janes Father, with Peter Caroe a Knight of Devonshire, and divers others, intended only to make secret provision, but not to stir till Prince Philip should be come, that so their cause of taking Arms might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of January, Robert Dudley Son to the Duke of Northumberland, was arraigned at the Guild-Hall of high Treason, who confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment given by the Earl of Suffolk, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

But now in Counsels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counsel kept, and Sir Peter Caroe finding that their Plot was discovered, fled privily into France, where lurking for a time, he was afterward taken at Bryxells, and brought Captive into England; as likewise G the same time and place Sir John Cheek King Edwards School-Master was taken, who being drawn by terrours to embrace the Papall Religion, with very grief afterward of his error pined away and dyed; Sir Peter Caroe lived many years after and dyed in Ireland; though it be falsely recorded, they were both burnt for Religion, in June of this year. Wyatt hearing of Sir Peter Caroes flight, and that all their purpose was discovered, was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the Cause, that it was not to attempt any thing against the Queen, but only to remove ill Counsellours, and chiefly to repell Prince Philip, left by his Marriage the

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A the Kingdome should come in subjection to the Spaniards. With Wyatt were joynted Sir Henry Ayley, Sir George Harper, Anthony and William Knivet, and divers other Gentlemen of the County: Against him were the Lord Abergavenny, Sir Thomas Cheney Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir Robert Southwell Sheriff of Kent, Sir William Sauteger, Sir Thomas Kemp, Sir Thomas Mayle, Sir Thomas Finch, with divers other; yet all these great Men had such doubt of the people, that they durst not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of January, news came to London of Wyatts rising; against whom was presently sent the Duke of Norfolk, with Sir Henry Teringham Captain of the Guard, Sir Edward Bray, Sir John Fogge, John Courty, Roger Appleton Esquires, and five hundred Souldiers out of London appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captain Bret. And now fee in times of Sedition, how uncertain a thing it is to trust to the people; for B before Bret could overtake the Duke, Sir George Harper was secretly got to him, who so persuaded him, that he and his five hundred Souldiers left the Duke, and went all to Wyatt; which made the Duke and those with him presently to flye, and put such boldness into Wyatt; that now he marched in great confidence towards London, with so great terrour to all sorts of people, that at Westminster-Hall, the Serjeants and other Lawyers, pleaded in harness.

Wyat with his Army marcheth towards London.

In the mean time, the Duke of Suffolk was perceived in Warwickshire, to be raising of Forces in assistance of Wyatt; against whom was presently sent the Earl of Huntington, and the Duke finding himself unable to make resistance, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty men; he betook himself to a Tenant of his, one Underwood, with whom he hoped and C promise to remain undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say; as others, to a Keeper of his Park called Nicholas Lawrence, who kept him in a hollow Oak, in the said Park for two or three dayes; but whether Underwood or Lawrence, either out of fear, or out of hope of reward, he betrayed him to the Earl, by whom he was taken, and under a strong Guard carried to the Tower. Upon this, Queen Mary herself came into London, where calling the Mayor and chief of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shewed the infoleny of Wyatt; who though he pretended but only the crossing of the Marriage, yet was now grown to such presumption, that he required to have the Custody of her Person; and to have Counsellours retained or removed at his pleasure. And as for her Marriage, she there affirmed she had done nothing in it, but by advice of her Council; and for herself, that she was D not so long for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdome, than for her own Satisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her Speech confirmed the Minds of the Citizens; Forces were presently raised, and placed about the Bridge, and other fit places of the City. The third of February, Wyatt with an Army of Three or four thousand, came to London, hoping of present entrance, but finding the Bridge broken, and Souldiers placed to resist him, after two dayes stay in Southwark, he removed to Kingstons, where he found likewise the Bridge broken, yet with great industry suddenly repairing it, he passed over his Men, and meant with all speed to get to the Court, before the Queen should have notice of his coming; and had done so indeed, if a mischance, and an error upon that mischance had not hindered him. For being come within six miles of London, the Carriage of one of his E great Ordnance brake, in mending whereof so much time was spent (and Wyatt by no persuasions would go forward without it) that the time was past, in which his Friends at London expected his coming: which disappointment made many in those parts to fall off, and being perceived by those about him, many of them also; so as one half of his Army was suddenly gone and left him; amongst other, Sir George Harper, the most intimate of all his Council, went to the Queen and discovered all his purposes: whereupon the Earl of Pembroke with a Company levied upon the sudden, was sent against him; which made Wyatt slack his pace, so as it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City: and then placing his Ordnance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greatest part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns marched towards Ludgate, and being encountered at Charing-Crosse by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir John Gage, F after a small fight put them to Flight in such sort, that word was carried to the Queen, how near Wyatt approached, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the Way he came: with which nothing dismayed, Well then (said she) I will go in Person against him myself; and was preparing to do so indeed (so much was her Fathers Valour running in her veins) but it needed not; for by this time Sir Henry Teringham Captain of the Guard, Sir Edward Bray Master of the Ordnance, and Sir Philip Paris, had given him Battail and slain many of his men: and that which was more, coming to Ludgate, he was denied entrance; and then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of Pembroke with his Forces was behind at Charing-Crosse; so as neither able to go forward nor yet backward, he was at a stand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a Scall by the Bell-Savage, after a little musing, he returned towards Temple-gate; where Clarentius G the Herault meeting him, fell to persuade him, not to be a cause of more effusion of blood, nor by persisting in obstinacy to exclude all hopes of the Queens mercy. The Souldiers of Wyatt were earnest with him to have stood it out; but Wyatt as filly ending, as he had undividedly begun, yielded himself to Sir Maurice Barkley, and getting up upon his Horse behind him, in that manner rode to the Court, where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more ado he was presently sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken, the rest made no resistance, few fled, and of the other many were taken and laid in prison; and this was done the

The Duke of Suffolk raiseth Forces to assist Wyatt.

Bret is taken, and carried to the Tower.

Queen Mary protests her Marriage to be for the good of the Kingdom.

Wyat being denied Entrance at Ludgate, retires, and at last yields himself to Sir Maurice Barkley, and is sent to the Tower.

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The Lady Jane hath word from her to prepare her self to die.

Whereat she seemed to rejoice.

She is beheaded.

Her Piety and Learning.

Judge Morgan, who had given Sentence upon her, falls mad.

The Duke of Suffolk is beheaded. Wyat is beheaded.

Stephen Gardiner practices against the Lady Elizabeth.

He procures a Warrant to put her to death.

And how she was preserved.

sixth of February. And now consultation was held what Delinquents should be punished; where the first that was thought on was the Lady Jane, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten fow Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are set on edge*: The innocent Lady must suffer for her Fathers fault; for if her Father the Duke of Suffolk had not this second time made shipwreck of his Loyalty, his Daughter perhaps had never tasted the salt-waters of the Queens displeasure: but now as a rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed; and thereupon is Doctor Fecknam sent to acquaint her, That she must prepare her self to die the next day: Which Message was to little unpleasing to her, that she seemed rather to rejoice at it, as whereby she should at last be set at liberty: And the Doctor being earnest with her to leave her new Religion, and to embrace the old, she answered, She had now no time to think of any thing, but of preparing her self to God by Prayer. Fecknam thinking she had spoken this, to the end she might have some longer time of life, obtained of the Queen three dayes longer, and then came and told so much to the Lady Jane: Whereat the smiling said, You are much deceived if you think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death, and since it is the Queens pleasure, am most willing to undergo it. Before she was brought to Execution, her Husband the Lord Guilford, had made suit, and obtained to see her and have some conference with her; but she refused it, saying, There were rather augmenters of grief, than comforts of death; she made no doubt, but they should shortly meet in a better place, and in a better condition of society: So on the twelfth of February, her Husband the Lord Guilford first, and then she an hour or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where she acknowledged her self to have deserved death, not for seeking the Crown, but for not refusing it, being offered: and after prayers to God, unclothing her self, and putting a Handkerchief before her eyes, she laid her head down upon the block, and patiently suffered death, more grievous to the beholders than to herself. This end had the Lady Jane Gray, a Lady of incomparable Piety, and (for her years) of incomparable Learning; for being not past seventeen years of age, she understood perfectly the Greek and Latine Tongues, and was so ready in Points of Divinity, as if she knew them by inspiration rather than by instruction; no less a Miracle in this kind than King Edward; and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdome, who in the endowments of Mind was so like unto him, that whilst he reigned, it might be thought he continued to reign himself, at least no more differing but only the Sex. It may not be forgotten, that Judge Morgan, who at her arraignment gave the Sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving, cried continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and so ended his life.

Two dayes after the execution of the Lady Jane, namely the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, twenty pair of Gallows were set up in divers places of the City, whereon were hanged fifty of Wyats Followers; on the eighteenth of February, Bret was hanged at Rychester in Chains, Sir Henry Isle, who had been taken in an old freeze Coat and an old pair of hose, with his Brother Thomas Isle, and Walter Mantell were hanged at Maidstone, Anthony Knevet and his Brother William, with another of the Mantells, were executed at Sevenok: but then on the twentieth of February, a sprinkling of mercy came, for four hundred of Wyats followers, being brought before the Queen with halters about their necks, were all pardoned and set at liberty. But then severity soon after began again, for on the three and twentieth of February, the Lord Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk, and Father to the Lady Jane, who the week before had been arraigned and condemned, (the Author of all this mischief) Wyat himself, whose quarters were set up in divers places of the City, his head upon the Gallows at Hay-hill, besides Hide-Park. This man, in hope of life, having before accused the Lord Courtney and the Lady Elizabeth the Queens Sister, to be privy to his Conspiracy, yet at his death he cleared them, and protested openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter urged against them by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, that both of them in March before had been committed to the Tower; though in May following they were both again released; but yet confined, the Lady Elizabeth to Woodstock, under the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfield of Oxenborough in the County of Norfolk; the Lord Courtney to Fordingham, under the custody of Sir Thomas Tresham, who after some time was set at liberty, and going into Italy there dyed. It is memorable, what malice this Bishop Gardiner bore to the Lady Elizabeth, by whose only procurement, not only she was kept in most hardurance, but a Warrant was at last framed under certain Counsellours hands, to put her to death; and had been done, but that Master Bridges Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her case, went to the Queen to know her pleasure, who utterly denied that she knew any thing of it; by which means her life was preserved. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, how they cut off boughes and branches, but as long as they let the root remain, all was nothing: and it is not unworthy the remembering what trains were laid to ensnare her. The common Net at that time for catching of Protestants, was the Reall Presence, and this Net was used to catch her; for being asked one time, What the thought of the words of Christ, *This is my Body*; whether she thought it the true Body of Christ, that was in the Sacrament; It is said, that after some pawling, she thus answered:

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Christ was the Word that spake it:  
He took the Bread, and brake it:  
And what the Word did make it,  
That I believe, and take it.

Which though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least it served her turn at that time to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done.

On the seventeenth of February, Thomas Lord Gray the Duke of Suffolks Brother was beheaded the last, and indeed the least in Delinquency; that suffered for having any hand in Wyats Conspiracy. There remained yet a fagge end, and was indeed but a fagge end, and nothing worth; for on the same day Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, being accused to have been a party in Wyats Conspiracy, was at the Guild-Hall arraigned before Sir Thomas White Lord Mayor, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, Sir Thomas Bromley Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Nicholas Hare Master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, Sir Richard Southwell and Sir Edward Walgrave Privy Counsellours, Sir Roger Chomely, Sir William Pottman one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir Edward Sanders one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Master Stamford and Master Dyer Serjeants at Law, Master Edward Gryffin Attorney General, Master Sendall and Peter Tichborne Clerks of the Crown, where the said Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to fully and discreetly answered all Objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jury, Not guilty; and was clearly acquitted: But the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and sent prisoners, some of them to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and afterward filed to pay a thousand Marks apiece at least, and some two thousand pounds; though these Sums were afterward something mitigated.

More of Wyats Complices had been taken, arraigned and adjudged to die, but in Judgment the Queen remembered Mercy, and gave them their Pardons, of which Number were Master Russell of Kent, Sir James a Crofts, the Lord John Gray Brother to the Duke of Suffolk, and some others.

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in honour, the Lord William Howard, Lord Admiral of England, was created Baron Howard of Effingham, Sir John Williams was created Baron of Tame, Sir Edward North was created Baron of Charlton, Sir John Bridges was created Baron Chandos of Sudeley, Gerard Fitz Garret Earl of Kildare and Baron of Ophelley, and not long after Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Horse, was created Viscount Montague.

It is scarce worth remembering, That in the end of this first year of the Queens Reign, one Elizabeth Croft, a Wench of eighteen years old, was by practice put into a Wall, and thereupon called, *The Spirit in the Wall*, who with a Whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many Seditious words against the Queen, the Prince of Spain, the Mast, Confession, and such other Points; for which she did Penance, standing upon a Scaffold at Pauls Crosse all the Sermon time, where she made open confession of her fault.

There had been good store of Lay-mens blood shed already, and now the time is coming to have Clergy-mens shed; and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of April, Crammer Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley late Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer late Bishop of Worcester, are conveyed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with Oxford and Cambridge men in points of Religion, but specially of the Eucharist; the Oxford men were Cole, Chadsey, Pye, Harpsfield, Smith, and Doctor Weston Prolocutor: the Cambridge men, Young, Seaton, Watson, Atkinson, Fecknam and Sedgewick: The Disputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went against the prisoners, on the twentieth of April they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, Whether they would persist in their Opinion, or else recant? And affirming they would persist, they were all three adjudged Hereticks; and condemned to the Fire; but their Execution we must not look for till a year or two hence; but in the mean time we have John Rogers the first Martyr of these Times, burnt at London the fourth of February; after whom the ninth of February, John Hooper late Bishop of Worcester, burnt at Gloucester; after him, Robert Ferrar Bishop of Man, burnt at Carmarthen; after him John Bradford, with many others; and then the two famous Men Ridley and Latimer, no less famous for their constant deaths, than their Religious lives, both burnt at Oxford the sixteenth of October.

This Rising of Wyat had been a Remora to the Queens Marriage, and now to avoid all such obstacles hereafter, the Queen in April called a Parliament; wherein were propounded two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage; the other for restoration of the Pops Primacy. This latter was not assented to, but with great difficulty; for the six years Reign of King Edward had spread a plantation of the Protestant Religion in the hearts of many: but the Proposition for the Marriage was assented to readily, but yet with the adding of some conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles: First, That King Philip should admit of no Stranger in any Office, but only Natives. Secondly, That he should innovate nothing in the Lawes and Customs of the Kingdome. Thirdly, That he should not carry the Queen out of the Realm, without her consent, nor any of her Children without consent of the Council. Fourthly, That surviving the Queen, he should challenge no right in the Kingdome, but suffer

it to descend to the next Heir. Fifthly, That he should carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor suffer any Ships or Ordnance to be removed out of the Realm: And lastly, That neither directly nor indirectly, he should cause the Realm of England to be intangled with the War between Spain and France.

1554.

The Earl of Bedford is sent into Spain, to fetch away Prince Philip. The Marriage between him and the Queen is solemnized.

Their Style.

A bare and close Court.

Cardinal Pole is sent for by the King and Queen to come into England.

Being come, he makes a solemn speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the bosome of the Church. The Parliament desires Pardon of their former Errors.

And thereupon the Cardinal gives the whole Realm Absolution. The Parliament will not yield that King Philip should be Crowned.

1555.

The Queen is preached in Churches to be with child: and prayers made for her safe delivery; but proved no such matter.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of Bedford, Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Fitz-waters, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are sent into Spain to fetch away Prince Philip, who arrived at Southampton the twentieth of July, in the year 1554. and the three and twentieth came to Winchester, where the Queen met him, and the five and twentieth, the Marriage between them there was openly solemnized: (the disparity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but seven and twenty years of age, she eight and thirty) at which time the Emperor's Ambassador being present, openly declared, That in consideration of that Marriage, the Emperor had given to Prince Philip his Son, the Kingdoms of Naples and Hierusalem; and thereupon (the solemnity of marriage being ended) Garret King of Hierusalem openly in the Church, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords both of England and Spain, solemnly proclaimed the Title and Style of these two Princes, as followeth: Philip and Mary by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Hierusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain, and Sicily, Arch-Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Millain, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Fflshpurg, Flanders and Tyrol. After this, the King and Queen by easie Journeys came to Windsor Castle; where the King was install'd Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of Suffolk with him: The eleventh of August they removed to Richmond, the seven and twentieth to Suffolk Place in Southwark, and the next day to London (where the lately Shews that were made, may we thought be conceived without relating) from hence after four days they removed again to Richmond, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countreys; and indeed so many departed, that there remained not an English Lord at the Court, but the Bishop of Winchester: From Richmond they removed to Hampton-Court, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept shut, so as no man might enter unless his errand were first known, which might perhaps be the fashion of Spain, but to English men seemed very strange.

About this time Cardinal Pole, sent for by the King and Queen, came over into England; and had come sooner, but that the Emperor fearing he might prove a Contrivall with his Son Philip, had used means to stop his passage, but now that his Son's Marriage was past, he was content to let him passe, who though he came from Rome with the great authority of a Legate, yet he would not come privately into London, because his Attaindour was yet upon Record; an Act therefore was presently passed to take it off, and to restore him in blood; for passing of which Act the King and Queen in Person came to the Parliament House; where a few dayes after, the Cardinal came himself, which was then kept in the great Chamber of White Hall, because the Queen by reason of sickness, was not well able to go abroad: and here the King and Queen sitting under the Cloth of Estate, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgesses being present, the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor, made a short Speech unto them, signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal, and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate a Latere, to do a Work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (saith he) you may the better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thanked them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society: Then exhorting them to return into the bosome of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compell, but to call and require: and for their first work of Reconcilement, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Lawes as had formerly been made in derogation of the Catholick Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two dayes after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosome of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Lawes prejudicial to the See of Rome. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words: [We, by the Apostolick authority given unto Us, by the most Holy Lord Pope Julius the Third (Christ's Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Herefie and Schisme, and from all Judgments, Censures, and Pains for that cause incurred; And also We do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the holy Church.] The report hereof coming to Rome, was cause that a solemn Procession was made for joy of the Conversion of England to the Church of Rome. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King Philip Crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent.

In October this second year of her Reign, a rumour was spread of the Queens being with child, and so forward, that she was quick; and thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council, to Bonner Bishop of London, that Prayers of Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it self was so credulous of it, that they entered into consecration of the Education of the Child; and made an Act, desiring the King (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fall, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child: but after all this, in June following, it came to be known, that it was but a Tympany, or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there came no child, nor the Queen likely ever after

after to have any. But howsoever, in hope of the joy that was expected, in January this year, divers of the Councell, as the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Controllor of the Queens House, Secretary Bourne, and Sir Richard Southwell Master of the Ordnance, were sent to the Tower, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of Northumberland's Sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, also Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir John Rogers, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Wentlow, Sir Gowen Carow, William Gybbs Esquire, Gilbert Vaughan, and some others.

About this time one William Fisherstone a Millers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named and bruted himself to be King Edward the sixth; for which being apprehended and examined, he answered as one lunatick; and thereupon was whipped at a Cartt rayl, and banished into the North: but the year after, spreading abroad again, that King Edward was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of Treason, and at Tyburn hanged and quartered.

In the moneth of March, the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Councell, namely, William Marquess of Winchester Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Rochefter Controllor, Sir William Peter Secretary, and Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience, to hold the Lands and Possessions as well of Monasteries and Abbeyes, as of other Churches, and therefore did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed, as the Pope and the Lord Cardinal should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinal with this her purpose. And shortly after in performance hereof, John Feskyn late Dean of Pauls, was made Abbot of Westminster, and had possession delivered him, and with him fourteen Monks received the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of November, Sir Thomas was instituted Lord of Saint Johns of Hierusalem and was put in possession of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was told her, That this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown; she answered, She more valued the salvation of her Soul, than a thousand Crowns, a most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most Pious Prince.

The fourth of September this year, King Philip waited on with the Earl of Arundell Lord Steward, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Huntington, and others, went over to Callice, and from thence to Brussels in Brabant, to visit the Emperor his Father; who delivering him possession of the Low-Countreys, in March following he returned into England; but on the sixth of July following, by reason of Wars with France, he passed again over to Callice, and so into Flanders, from whence he returned not till eighteen monthes after; which made great muttering amongst the Common people, as though he took any little occasion to be absent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

In the third year of the Queen, dyed Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, at his house in Southwark; of whose death it is memorable, That the same day in which Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer suffered at Oxford, he would not go to dinner till four a clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of Norfolk was come to dine with him: the reason was, because he would first hear of their being burnt; and as soon as word of that was brought him, he presently said, Now let us go to Dinner; where sitting down, and eating merrily, upon a suddain he fell into such extremity, that he was faine to be taken from the Table and carried to his Bed, where he continued fifteen dayes, without voiding any thing either by Urine or otherwise, which caused his tongue to swell in his mouth, and so dyed; after whose death, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York was made Lord Chancellor.

And now comes the time of Archbishop Crammers Execution, who the year before had been condemned and degraded by Commission from the Pope; after which, being by the subtilty of some, put in hope of life, out of frailty he subscribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal Pole would no longer be kept from being Archbishop, (which he would not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forger his being the chief Instrument of her Mothers Divorce; his Execution was resolved to be the fourteen of February, in the same place at Oxford where Ridley and Latimer five monthes before had been: Before the Execution, Doctor Cole preached, who to make use of Crammers Recantation, told the people, they should do well to hearken to this Learned mans Confession, who now at his death, and with his death would testify which was the true Religion; never thinking that Crammer would have denied his former Recantation: but Crammer being brought to the stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, That through frailty he had subscribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that hand which had done it should first suffer, and therewithall thrusting his right hand into the fire, he there held it, till it first, and then his whole body was consumed; only (which was no small miracle) his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire. The same year also, no fewer than eighty four of both Sexes were burnt for Religion: and it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of Bucer and Pagninus some time before dead and buried, were taken up and publicly burnt in Cambridge. No sooner was Crammer dead, but the very same day was Cardinal Pole made Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplary Justice was done upon a great Person; for the Lord Simon, a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earnest Papist, was for a Murder com-

Divers that were in the Tower condemned, are set at liberty.

One Fisherstone a Millers Son takes upon him to be King Edward the sixth. Is taken and hanged at Tyburn.

The Queen delivers up all the Lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

King Philip goes into Flanders, where he stays eighteen monthes.

1556.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester dies a strange death.

Bishop Crammer upon hope of life recants.

Yet is brought to the stake and burnt: where he burns his hand first.

When his whole body was consumed, his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire.

1557.

The Lord Sturton for a murder is hanged in a silken halter. Thomas Stafford for raising Sedition arraigned and beheaded.

Thomas Percy made Earl of Northumberland.

Queen Mary sends aid to King Philip, with which he besiegeth and takes Saint Quintinus.

committed by him, arraigned and condemned, and he with four of his Servants, carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour to be hanged in a silken halter, his Servants in places near adjoining to the place where the Murder was committed.

The four and twentieth of April, Thomas Stafford second Son to the Lord Stafford, with others to the number of two and thirty persons (set on by the French King) attempted to raise Sedition against the Queen, for marrying with King Philip, and coming out of France, arrived at Scarborough in York-shire, where they took the Castle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of Westmerland, and then taken and arraigned: The eight and twentieth of May, Stafford was beheaded on the Tower-Hill, and the next day three of his Associates, *Stralley*, *Bradford*, and *Prethor* were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there executed. The first of May, Thomas Percy was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of Northumberland, to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Ancestours.

At this time the Queen intangled her self (contrary to her promise) in her Husbands Quarrell, sent a defiance to the French King, by *Clarentius* King at Arms; and after on the Munday in the Whitfunweek, by found of Trumpet, proclaimed open War against him in *Chappside* and other places of the City; and shortly after, caused an Army of a thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot, to be transported over, to the aid of her Husband King Philip, under the leading of the Earl of Pembroke Captain General, Sir Anthony Brown Viscount Montaigne, Lieutenant General, the Lord Gray of Wilton Lord Marshall, the Earl of Rutland General of the Horse, the Earl of Lincoln Colonel of the Foot, the Lord Robert Dudley Master of the Ordnance, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord De la Ware, the Lord Bray, the Lord Chaudow, the Lord Ambrose Dudley, the Lord Henry Dudley, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joining with King Philip's Forces, they all set down before Saint Quintinus, a Town of the French Kings of great importance. To the rescue whereof, the French King sent an Army, under the leading of the Constable of France, which consisted of nine hundred Men at Arms, with as many light Horse, eight hundred Reylters, two and twenty Ensigns of Lances, and sixteen Ensigns of French Footmen: Their purpose was not to give battle, but to put more Succours into the Town; which the Philipians perceiving, encountered them, and in the fight slew John of Bourbon Duke of Angheim, the Viscount of Terrain, the Lord of Chaderier, with many Gentlemen of account: They took prisoners the Duke of Mortemancy Constable of France, the Duke of Montpensier, Duke Longueville, the Marshal of Saint Andrews, the Lord Lewis Brother to the Duke of Mantova, the Baron of Curton, the Rhinegravi Colonel of the *Almaynes*, *Monsieur d'Obigny*, *Monsieur de Biron*, and many others; and then pursuing the victory, under the government of the Earl of Pembroke, on the seven and twentieth of August they took the Town of St. Quintinus; in the assault whereof, the Lord Henry Dudley, youngest Son to the Duke of Northumberland, was with a piece of great Ordnance slain, and some other of account. The sackage of the Town King Philip gave to the English, as by whose valour chiefly it was won.

The joy was not so great for this winning of Saint Quintinus, but there will be greater sorrow presently for other losses. Many of the Garrison of Callice had been drawn from thence, for this service of Saint Quintinus, and no new supply sent; which being perceived by the French King, a Plot is laid how to surprize it, which yet was not so secretly carried, but that the Officers of Callice had intelligence thereof; who thereupon signified it to the Council of England, requiring speedy Succours, without which, against so great an Army as was raised against them, they should not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger so eminent as indeed it was, they neglected to send Supplies till it was too late. For the Duke of Guise, with no less speed than Policy, took such a course, that at one and the same time, he set both upon *Newhambridge*, and also upon *Ricebank*, (the two main *Skenus* for defence of the Town,) and took them both, and then fell presently to batter the Walls of the Castle it self, and that with such violence of great Ordnance, that the noyse was heard to *Antwerp*, being a hundred miles off. But having made the Walls assailable, the English used this Stratagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they should offer to enter; but this Stratagem succeeded not; for the French in passing the Ditch, had so wet their clothes, that dropping upon the train, the Powder would take no fire, (so all things seemed to concur against the English) and thereupon the Castle was taken also, and with it the Town also had been taken, but that Sir Anthony Ager, with the losse of his own life and his eldest Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the French, but their Numbers increased so fast upon the Town, that the Lord Wentworth the Deputy, seeing no other way of safety, demanded Parlee, where a Composition was made, That the Town should presently be yielded to the French King, the lives of the Inhabitants only saved, and safe conduct to passe away, saving the Lord Deputy with fifty others, such as the Duke should name. And here to be quit with the English for their hard usage at Saint Quintinus, the Duke caused Proclamation to be made, That all and every person of the Town should bring their money, jewels, and plate, to the value of a groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church; by which means, an inestimable sum of Treasure was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Town, And now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out against so great an Army, it is said, there were in it but only five hundred Souldiers of ordinary, and scarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women and children, four thousand and two hundred; all which were suffered to depart, saving the Lord Wentworth the Deputy, Sir Ralph Chamberlain Captain of the Castle, John Harrifone Captain of *Ricebruke*, Nicholas Alexander Captain of *Newhambridge*, Edward Grimston the Controllour John Rogers

The causes and means of losing Callice.

1558.

A. Rogers the Surveyor, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried prisoners into France. And thus Callice, which had been in possession of the English above two hundred years, was won from the English in eight dayes, which King Edward the third had not won from the French in less than a year. The Lord Wentworth was suspected, and in Queen Elizabeths time arraigned for betraying it, but was acquitted by his Peers. Callice thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to Guynes, five miles distant, whereof was Captain the Lord Gray of Wilton, who held out the siege and batteries five or six dayes with so great valour and resolution, that he appeared in nothing inferior to the Enemy but in multitude; yet at last overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his Souldiers, much against his own will, he made composition, that the Town and Castle should be wholly rendred, himself and all Officers remain prisoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord Gray afterward ransomed for four and twenty thousand Crowns. And now the Duke of Guise considering that Guynes would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a neighbour to Callice, if it should be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. Guynes thus won, there remained nothing within the English Pale, but the little Castle of Hammes, whereof was Captain the Lord Edward Dudley, who considering that though it were naturally strongly situate, as being environed with Fens and Marshes, yet it had but little helps by Art of Fortifications, and being assured that the Duke of Guise would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the night with all his Garrison, departed into Flanders, to as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of Guise; and with the losse of this Castle, the English lost all their footing in *Terra Firma*, and the Kings of England all the reality of their Title in France, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

C. Presently after this, the French King caused the Marriage between his eldest Son Francis the Dauphin, and Mary Steward sole heir of James the fifth King of Scotland to be solemnized: whereupon great Wars ensued soon after between England and Scotland.

Queen Mary being infinitely troubled in mind for the losse of Callice, sent presently forth her Admiral the Lord Clinton, with a Fleet of more than a hundred sayl, to recover at least reparacion in honour, by doing some exploit upon France; who not finding opportunity to set upon *Brest*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Conquest*, which he took and burnt, and also divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which mean time, many great Conflicts having been between King Philip and the King of France; at last, by mediation of the Dutches of Lorraine, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seemed to be well accorded, but only that King Philip by all means required restitution of Callice, to which by no means the French would assent. But whilst they stood upon these terms, it happened that first the Emperour Charles King Philips Father died, and shortly after Queen Mary, and the day after Cardinal Poles, and shortly after Sir John Baker of *Sislingherst* in Kent, who had been a Privy Counsellour to Henry the eighth, Edward the sixth, and Queen Mary. And so our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of France and Spain.

1558.

Guynes also won by the French.

And so the English lost all their footing in France. The Dauphin of France marries Mary Steward heir of Scotland.

An Agreement of Peace between King Philip and the King of France; but only want of restitution of Callice. Queen Mary dies.

### Of her Taxations.

B. SHE began with a rare Example; for in the first year of her Reign, was pardoned by Proclamation, the Subsidy of four shillings the pound of Land, and two shillings the pound of goods, granted in the last Parliament of King Edward the sixth. In her second year in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen, a Subsidy of the Laity, from five pence to ten pence, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pence to twenty pence, of twelve pence in the pound, and from twenty pence upwards, sixteen pence in the pound; all Strangers double, and the Clergy six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even. In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the City of London; and paid twelve pounds a year interest for every hundred pound.

### Laws and Ordinances in her Time.

C. IN her first year, on the fourth of September, were proclaimed certain new coins of gold and silver, a Sovereign of gold of thirty shillings; the half Sovereign fifteen shillings; an Angel of ten shillings; the half Angel five shillings. Of silver the groat, the half groat and penny; all these Coyns to be currant as before. In her second year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the shooting in Hand-guns, and bearing of weapons. The year in which she was married to King Philip, a straight charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners, and Alehouse-keepers, that they should sell no meat nor drink, nor any kind of viuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial to shew whose servant he was. Also in a Parliament holden this year, amongst other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio* and other Laws made for the punishment of Heresies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Dispensation of Abbey Land was there confirmed. In her second year, on Michaelmas Even, the Prisoners that lay in the Counter in *Breadstreet*, were removed to a new Counter made in *Woodstreet*, of the City purchase and building; the which removing was confirmed by the Common Council of the City.

New Coyns of Gold and Silver.

Meat & drink forbidden to be sold to any Serving-man, without a testimonial whom he served.

The Counter in Woodstreet first made a Prison.

Affairs

## Affairs of the Church in her Time.

**I**N the first year of this Queens Reign, all Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed; also all beneficed men that were married, or would not forsake their Opinion, were put out of their Livings; and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. Also this year, on the seven and twentieth of August, the Service begun to be sung in *Latine* in Paul's Church. Also this year the Popes authority was by Act of Parliament restored in England, and the Masse commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second year, the Realm is Absolved, and reconciled to the Church of Rome, by Cardinal *Poole*: and first Fruits and Tithes are restored to the Clergy; but this was soon revoked, the Council finding the necessity of it for the Queens support. In her fourth year, Monasteries were begun to be re-edified; of which number were that of *Westminster*, that of *Sheen* and *Sion*, that of the *Black-Friers*, and the *Friers of Greenwich*. Of the number of those that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Bishops, one and twenty Divines, and of all sorts of Men and Women, two hundred threescore and seventeen.

The number of those that died for Religion in Queen Marys days.

## Works of Piety done by her or others in her Time.

**T**HIS Queen restored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her possession, and if she had lived longer, very likely she would have restored more. In her first year, Sir *Thomas White* then Mayor, erected a Colledge in *Oxford*, now called *Saint Johns* Colledge, before, *Bernard* Colledge; he also erected Schools at *Bristol* and *Reading*, and gave two thousand pounds to the City of *Bristol* to purchase Lands, the profits whereof to be employed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be employed in like manner, to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir *John Gresham*, late Mayor of *London*, who founded a Free School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*, and gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds to be distributed to the Poor; also to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, erected a goodly Library in *Cambridge*, storing it with many excellent both Printed and Written Books: he also bestowed much upon building at *Durham*, at *Alnwick*, and at *Tynbridge*.

Saint Johns Colledge in Oxford founded.

## Casualties happening in her Time.

**I**N her first year, on the seven and twentieth of August, the goodliest Ship in England, called *The Great Harry*, being of the burthen of a Thousand Tun, was burnt at *Woolwich* by negligence of the Marine-s. In her second year on the fifteenth of February, appeared in the Sky a Rainbow was reversed, the bow turned downward, and the two ends standing upward: Also two Suns shined at one time a good distance asunder, which were taken for ill signs. This year also in the month of August, at a place in *Suffolk* by the Sea side, all of hard stone and pebble, lying between the Towns of *Oxford* and *Albrough*, where never grasse grew, nor any earth was ever seen, there chanced suddenly to spring up without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gathered above a hundred quarters, yet there remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year, hot burning Agues, and other strange Diseases took away much people: so as between the twentieth of October, and the last of December, there died seven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardson*, Sir *Richard Dobbs* late Mayor, Sir *William Laxton* late Mayor, Sir *Henry Hobbleson* late Mayor, Sir *John Champneys* late Mayor, Sir *John Aleph* late Mayor, and Sir *John Gresham* late Mayor. In her fourth year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the Quarter, Malt at four and forty shillings the quarter, and Pease at six and forty shillings eight pence; where after Harvest, Wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, Malt at six shillings eight pence, Rye at three shillings four pence the quarter. In the Countrey, Wheat was sold for four shillings the quarter, Malt at four shillings eight pence, and in some places a bushell of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was four pence. In her fifth year, within a mile of *Norringham*, so marvellous a Tempest of Thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Church-yard, and some webs of Lead four hundred foot into the field, written as if it had been leather; the River of *Trent* running between the two Towns, the Water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against Trees; with the violence whereof the Trees were pulled up by the Roots, and cut twelve score off; also a Child was taken forth of a mans hand and carried two Spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which Fall it died; five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished; also there fell some Hail-stones that were fifteen inches about. This year also in Harvest time was a great Mortality, and especially of Priests; so as many Churches were unserved, and much corn was lost in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon ensued a great

Pease growing plentifully where never sowed.

The price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth, and in a plenty.

A marvellous Tempest.

A great scarcity, so that Corn was sold for fourteen shillings a quarter, and Wood sold in *London* for thirteen shillings a thousand of Billets, and Coals ten pence a sack. Also this year on the last of September, fell so great store of rain, that *Westminster-Hall* was full of water, and Boats were rowed over *Westminster Bridge* into *Kings-Surce*.

## Of her Personage and Conditions.

**O**F her Personage we can make no particular description; only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without deformity: but of her Conditions we may say, she was not without deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a deformity, yet her constancy and devotion in it, we must needs count a beauty: If it were a deformity to promise the *Suffolk* men, Not to alter the Religion which King *Edward* had established, yet it was certainly a pious dissembling, *Cruicace enim Crutensibus*; and equivocation (will some say) was there a virtue, where she deceived them into truth, and did them good against their wills. And as for her Sister *Elizabeth*, if she did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before: and indeed not without some cause in both; for as those upbraided each others Marriage, so these, each others Birth. We shall not do her right, if we deny her to be of a merciful disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the perion, where she shed the blood: She could have found in her heart to have spared the Lady *Janes* life, if *Ragion di Stato* had not been against it; and she did spare her Father the Duke of *Suffolks* life, till his second offence gave her just provocation. The goodness of her nature might be seen in the badness of her fortune; who took nothing so much to heart, as unkindness of friends; the revolt of *Callices* and the absence of King *Philip*, being the two chief Causes that brought her to her end.

## Of her Death and Buriall.

**T**HE Conceit of her being with child, had kept Physicians from looking into the state of her body; so as her first distemper at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropick, to which was added a burning Fever, brought upon her by a double grief, one for the long absence of King *Philip* (who had now been away a year and a half;) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of *Callice*; as she forbore not to say to some about her, That if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they should find *Callice* there. She began to fall sick in September, and died at her Mannour of *Saint James*, the seventeenth of November, in the year 1558. when she had Reigned five years, four months and eleven days; Lived three and forty years. Her Body was interred in a Chappel in the Minster of *Saint Peters* Church at *Westminster*, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

## Men of Note in her Time.

**O**F Men of Valour in her time, there were many, as may be seen in the story of her Reign; but to name some for example, there was *Williams Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the chief assistant of King *Philip* in the winning of *Saint Quintins*; there was *William Lord Gray* of *Wilton*, Captain of *Guyenes*, who though he yielded the Town, yet more out of tenderness to his Souldiers, than out of fear of his Enemies, which he would never else have yielded up: and to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir *Anthony Agir*, who in defence of the Town of *Callice*, lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and flye. Of Learned Men also there were many, as *John Rogers* born in *Lancashire*, who Translated the Bible into English with Notes. *Richard Morison* Knight born in *Oxfordshire*, who wrote divers Treatises. *Robert Record*, a Doctor of Physick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick. *Cuthbert Tunstall*, of a Worshipful Family in *Lancashire*, though bare born, whose Ancestour came into England with the Conquerour, as his Barbour, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms; Bishop first of *London*, and after of *Durham*, who wrote divers learned Works. *Richard Sampson*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who wrote certain Treatises. *Lucas Shephard*, born at *Colechester* in *Essex*, an English Poet. *Jane Dudley*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, wrote divers excellent Treatises. *William Thomas* a *Welshman*, who wrote the History of *Italy*, and other things. *James Brooks*, and *John Standish*, both of them Writers in defence of the Popes Doctrine. *William Peryn* a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Mass, and also divers Sermons. *Henry Lord Stafford*, Son to *Edward Duke of Buckingham*, who amongst other things which he wrote, Translated a Book out of *Latine* into English, entitled, *Utriusque Poetis Differentia*; which Book (as some think) was first compiled by *Edward Fox* Bishop of *Hersford*. *John Hopkins*, who Translated divers of *Dauids* Psalms into English Meeter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the Church.

*Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, whose Ancestour was Barbour to the Conquerour.

*John Hopkins* Translated divers of *Dauids* Psalms into English Meeter.

Mayors

## Mayors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first Year,  
Sir Thomas White was Mayor.  
Thomas Offley, William Hewes, Sheriffs.

In her second year,  
Sir John Lyon was Mayor.  
David Woodruffe, William Chester, Sheriffs.

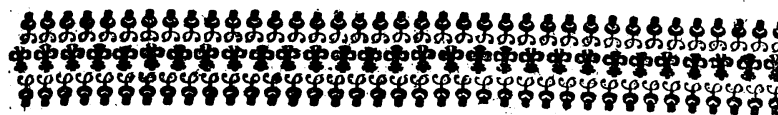
In her third year,  
Sir William Garret, or Gervard, was Mayor.  
Thomas Lee, or Leigh, John Machel, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,  
Sir Thomas Offley was Mayor.  
William Harper, John White, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,  
Sir Thomas Cwrtis was Mayor.  
Richard Mallory, James Altham, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,  
Sir Thomas Lee, or Leigh, was Mayor.  
John Halsey, Richard Champion, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

**Q**UEEN Mary dying on Thursday the seventeenth of November, in the Year 1558. her Sister, the Lady Elizabeth, of the age of five and twenty years, the only surviving Child of King Henry the eighth, by undoubted Right, succeeded her in the Crown; which happening in a time of Parliament, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, sent to the Knights and Burgeses in the Lower House, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper House; to whom he signified, That Queen Mary was that Morning dead, and therefore required their Assents to joyn with the Lords in proclaiming Queen Elizabeth; which accordingly was done, by the sound of Trumpets, first at Westminster, and after in the City of London. The Queen was then at Hatfield; from whence on Wednesday the three and twentieth of November, she removed to the Lord Norths House in the Charter-House, where she stayed till Munday the eight and twentieth of November, and then rode in her Chariot thorow London to the Tower; where she continued till the fifth of December, and then removed to Somerset House in the Strand; from whence she went to her Palace at Westminster; and from thence, on the twelfth of January, to the Tower; and on the fourteenth of January, to her Coronation; where as she went she said this Prayer: O Lord Almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast spared me to this joyful day, and I acknowledge, that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou dost with thy faithful Servant Daniel, whom thou deliverdest out of the Den, from the cruelty of the raging Lyons; which so was I overwhelmed and only by thee delivered: To thee therefore only be thanks, honour and praise for ever. And it is incredible, what Pageants and Shews were made in the City; as she passed: On Sunday the five and twentieth of January, she was Crowned in the Abbey Church. She is Crowned at Westminster by Doctor Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in such case accustomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, she conferred more Honours than in all her time after: William Parre degraded by Queen Mary, she made Marquess of Divers Lorde Northampton; Edward Seymour, whose Father had been Attainted, she made Earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, second Son to the Duke of Norfolk, she made Viscount Bindon; Sir Henry Carey, her Cousin German, she made Baron of Hunsdon; and Sir Oliver Saint-John, she made Baron of Bleishe.

And now the Queen, though she were her self very wise, yet would not trust (and it was a great point of Wisdome that she would not trust) to her own wisdome; and therefore she chose Counsellours to assist her: In which number she took Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York; She makes of William Pawlar, Marquess of Winchester, Lord high Treasurer; Henry Pitts Allen Earl of her Privy Arundell; Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby; William Herbert Earl of Pembroke; Edward Lord Clinton Lord Admirall; and William Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir William Peter, Sir Richard Sackville, and Nicholas Wootton, Dean of Canterbury; All which had been Counsellours to Queen Mary, and were of her Religion: but then to make a counterpoise of Counsellours of her own Religion,

H b she

1558.

Queen Elizabeth is Proclaimed.

1558.

She sends Em-  
bassadors to  
all Princes  
abroad.

King Philip  
solicits Queen  
Elizabeth for  
Marriage.

Whom she  
puts off, by  
bringing in an  
alteration of  
Religion.  
Which yet she  
doth by de-  
grees.

The alteration  
of Religion by  
Parliament,  
by the differ-  
ence only of  
six voices.

1559.

A Conference  
of Papists and  
Protestants  
about matters  
of Religion.

But broken off,  
and why.

she joyined with them *William Parre*, Marquess of Northampton; *Francis Russell*, Earl of Bedford; *Sir Thomas Parrey*, *Sir Edward Rogers*, *Sir Ambrose Cave*, *Sir Francis Knolles*, and *Sir William Cecil*, late Secretary to King *Edward the Sixth*: and a little after, *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, whom she made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, she seeks correspondence with Princes abroad: To the Emperour *Ferdinand*, the sent in Embassy *Sir Thomas Chaloner*: To the King of Spain in the Low-Countries, the Lord *Cokham*: To the Princes of Germany, *Sir Henry Killigrew*; *Sir Amygill Waad*, to the Duke of *Hulst*; and another Ambassador to the King of Denmark. There were also Ambassadors sent to the Pope, to the State of Venice, and to the French King; with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of France, England, and Spain; where for England, was employed the Earl of *Arundell*, *Thursby* Bishop of Ely, and Doctor *Wootton*, Dean of *Canterbury*; with whom *William Lord Howard of Effingham* was joyined by a new Commission.

As soon as King Philip heard of the death of his Wife Queen *Mary*, partly out of considerations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he solicited Queen Elizabeth by his Ambassador, the Earl of *Feris*, to joyin in Marriage with himself; which was no more for two Sisters to have successively one husband, than was done before, for two Brothers to have successively one wife; and for this he promised to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which Motion, the Queen, though she well knew, that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate; yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sisters time had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer; but putting the Ambassador off for the present in modest terms: She conceived there would be no better way to take him off clean from further suit, than by bringing in an alteration of Religion; which yet she would not do all at once, and upon the sudden (as knowing the great danger of sudden changes), but by little and little, and by degrees: as at first she permitted only Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, to be read to the People in the English Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the Roman Rite and Customs, until order could be taken for establishing of Religion by Authority of Parliament; and a severe Proclamation was set forth prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be meddled with: By which means, she both put the Protestants in hope, and put not Papists out of hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the English Tongue under King *Edward the Sixth*, to the care and diligence of Doctor *Parker*, *Bills*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitchard*, and *Fulkington*, Divines of great Learning; with whom she joyined *Sir Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: by the matter carried so closely, that it was not communicated to any; but to the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, and *Sir William Cecil*. The two and twentieth of *March*, the use of the Lords Supper in both kinds was by Parliament allowed: The four and twentieth of *June*, the Sacrifice of the Masse was abolished; and the Liturgy in the English Tongue established, though as some say, but with the difference of six Voices. In July the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others: And in August, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the Change, to the wonder of the World, bred no disturbance; which if it had been done at once, and on the sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous opposition, have been admitted.

During this time, a Parliament had been Summoned to begin at *Westminster*, upon the twentieth of *January*; and now the Queen, for satisfaction of the people, appointed a Conference to be held, between the Prelates of the Realm, and Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm, in the time of Queen *Mary*: For the Prelates, were chosen *John White*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *Ravens*; Doctor *Langdell*, Arch-deacon of *Leam*; Doctor *Harsfield*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*; and Doctor *Chadsey*, Arch-deacon of *Middlesex*. For the Protestants, were appointed Doctor *Scory*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, Doctor *Whitchard*, Doctor *Grindall*, Master *Horne*, Master *Gust*, Master *Elmer*, and Master *Trent*. The place was prepared in *Westminster* Church; where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queens Council, with other of the Nobility; as also many of the Lower House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates, and their adherents, were these: First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Customs of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People, in Common Prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacraments. Secondly, That every Church hath authority to appoint and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiasticall Rites, so they be to edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Masse a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed, it should be performed in Writing; and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing, first. The last of *March* was the first day of their meeting; where contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing; but said, they would deliver their minds only by Speech: This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Doctor *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the first Point: when he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say? Who answered, No. Then the Protestant Party

1559.

A Party exhibited a written Book; which was distinctly read by Master *Horn*. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article: this again much displeased the Lords: yet this also was granted them, to do at their next meeting on *Monday* next; but when *Monday* came, so many other differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, and nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was Enacted, That Queen Elizabeth was the lawful and undoubted Queen of England; notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King *Henry the eighth*, that excluded both her and her Sister *Mary* from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a Principle in Law, That the Crown once gained, taketh away all defects. Also in this Parliament, First fruits and Tithes were restored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was confirmed to the Queen, with so universal consent, that in the Upper House none opposed these Laws, but only the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Sir Anthony Brown*, Viscount *Montague*; and in the Lower House, only some few of Papal inclination, murmured, saying, That the Parliament was packed; and that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and *Sir William Cecil*, for their own ends, had cunningly begged Voyces, to make up their Party.

The Supremacy thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendered to the Bishops and others; of whom, as many as refused to take it, were presently deprived of their Livings. And that we may see, how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion; it is said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above Nine thousand Spiritual Promotions) there were no more that refused to take the Oath, but only four-score Parsons, fifty C Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Arch-deacons, twelve Deans, six Abbots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except *Antony Bishop of Landaff*) as *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, *Guilbert Bourne* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *John Christopher* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John White* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Ralph Bayne* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *Owen Ogilshorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, *James Turberville* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *David Poole* Bishop of *Peterborough*; and with these, Dr. *Peckham* Abbot of *Westminster*: All which were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to the custody of private friends, excepting those two sawcy Prelates, *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, who threatened to excommunicate the Queen. Three only, namely, *Cuthbert Scot* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Richard Pate* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Thomas Goldwell* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, changed their Religion of their own accord; as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, *Henry Lord Marley*, *Sir Francis Englefield*, and *Sir Robert Peckham*, (who had been Privy Counsellors to Queen *Mary*) *Sir Thomas Shalley*, and *Sir John Gage*.

In the Sees of the Prelates removed, were placed Protestant Bishops, as *Matthew Parker* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (who was consecrated by the Imposition of the hands of three that formerly had been Bishops; namely, *William Barlow* of *Bath and Wells*, *John Scory* of *Chichester*, and *Miles Coverdale* of *Exeter*) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated *Edmund Grindall* Bishop of *London*, *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*, *Edwyn Sands* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Rogland Merick* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Thomas Toney* Bishop of *Saint Davids*, *Nicholas Bellingham* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Jewell* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Richard Davis* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, *Edward Gust* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Gilbert Barkely* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *Thomas Benham* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *William Alley* Bishop of *Exeter*, *John Paikhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard Chyney* Bishop of *Gloicester*, *Edmund Scambler* Bishop of *Peterborough*, *William Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John Scory* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Tonyng* Archbishop of *York*, *James Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham*, *John Best* Bishop of *Carlisle*, and *William Downham* Bishop of *Chester*.

Whilst these things were done in England, the Treaty of peace at *Cambray* continued still; wherein King Philip stood for the restitution of *Callice* to the English; as firmly as if it had been his own Inherit; and without it would agree to no Peace with France: But when by Messages he understood, that his Suit for marriage with Queen Elizabeth was rejected; and that the Protestant Religion was established in the Kingdom, he then left Queen Elizabeth, seeing he would not be his, to her self; and though he became not presently a Foe, yet he became presently less than a Friend, and forbore to do any more good Offices in that business. Queen Elizabeth thus left to herself, agreed with the French King, to conclude her own peace apart; and thereupon, Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at *Cambray*: For the Queen of England were *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Williams*, the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, *Chamberlain* to the Queen, and Doctor *Wootton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*: For the King of France were, *Charles Cardinal of Lorraine*, the first Peer of France, *Amas Duke of Nemours*, *James Alen* Lord Privy Council. The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference, was the restitution of *Callice*; for which the English Commissioners, by the Queens appointment, offered to remit two Millions of Crowns, that by just account were due from France to England; but the Queen was not more desirous to recover *Callice*, than the French King was to hold it: And thereupon at last, it was concluded, that *Callice* should remain in possession of the French, for the term of eight years; and thoe expired, it should be delivered to the English, upon Forfeiture of five hundred

The Crown once gained, taketh away all defects. The Title of Supreme Head of the Church, is confirmed to the Queen.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all, but only some few, and who they were.

Papal Bishops removed, and Protestants placed in their rooms.

King Philip stood for restitution of *Callice*, till he understood of the alteration of Religion in England. Queen Elizabeth left to her self, sends Embassadors about Peace with France.

Where it was concluded, that *Callice* should be restored after eight years, but yet came to nothing.

dred thousand Crowns, for which, hostages were given: But all this notwithstanding, though the Conditions were sealed and sworn to, and though hostages were assigned to remain in England, till one or other were performed; yet all was frustrate, and came to nothing.

Henry King of France unfortunately slain, running at tilt.

About this time, Henry King of France married his Daughter *Isabel* to Philip King of Spain, and his Sister *Margaret* to Emmanuel Phylibert, Duke of Savoy; at the Solemnity of which Marriages, he would needs be a Tilter himself; and thereupon commanded the Earl of Montgomery to run against him, who unfortunately breaking his Lance upon the Kings Cuyrass, a splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the Eye, that within few dayes he ended his life: After whose death, Francis his Son, at the age of sixteen years, succeeded him in the Crown, having by the Marriage of Queen Mary, the Title of Scotland, and upon ground thereof, laying claim to the Crown of England also, and giving the Arms of England, as properly belonging to him.

And now begins the game of Faction to be plaid, wherein the whole Estate of Queen Elizabeth lies at stake, a Game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not plaid well, will put her in jeopardy of losing all, seeing all about her was against her; Philip King of Spain hath a quarrel to her, for being rejected in his suit; the King of France hath a quarrel to her in right of his Wife, which is now his right; the Queen of Scots hath a quarrel to her for detaining her Inheritance; the Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his Authority; the King of Sweden hath a quarrel to her for slighting his Son in the way of Marriage: And all these being against her, whom hath she on her side, but only her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants, who being scarce settled in their Religion, how should they be settled in their Loyalty? And not being Loyal, where can she finde to cast Anchor for her safety? But it is a true saying, *Nul lum nomen abest si sit prudentia*; Wisdom is a supply for all defects: And indeed, the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wife Council about her, she passed all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

Knox in Scotland preaches against the Princes Authority.

It happened (if at least it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in Scotland; but was indeed an incroachment upon the Princes Authority; for at the preaching of John Knox, and other headstrong Ministers, not onely Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of Saint Andrews, of Stirling, and of Lynlithgow were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority, to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the precept of Laws: Whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of Scotland, against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Countrey; and in this Cause each of them fought for aid; The Queen Dowager had aid out of France, the Lords of Scotland sent for aid to the Queen of England: But this was matter for consultation. It seemed a bad Example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince: On the other side, it seemed no less then impiety, nor to give aid to the Protestants of the same Religion; but that of all it seemed plain madness, to suffer adversaries to be so near Neighbours, and let the French nestle in Scotland, who pretend Title to England: upon such considerations, it was resolved to send them aid: and thereupon, an Army of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Gray of Winton his Lieutenant General, Sir James Crofts, Assistant to him; the Lord Scroop, Lord Marshal; Sir George Howard, General of the men at Arms; Sir Henry Percy, General of the Light Horse; Thomas Huggins Provost Marshall; Thomas Gower, Master of the Ordinance; Master William Pelham, Captain of the Pyoners; and Master Edward Randall, Sergeant Major, and divers others. These coming into Scotland, joynd with the Scottish Lords, and set down before Leith, where passed many small skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults: to whom, after some time, a new supply came of above two thousand Foot; whereof were Captains, Sir Andrew Corbet, Sir Rowland Stoddley, Sir Thomas Hesbith, Sir Arthur Manwaring, Sir Lawrence Smith, and others: yet with this new supply there was little more done then before; many light skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults, so long, till at last the young French King, finding these broyls of Scotland to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of England, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to reconcile these differences: whereupon were dispatched into Scotland, Sir William Cecil, her principal Secretary, with Doctor Watson, Dean of Canterbury; who concluded a Peace between England and France, upon these Conditions, That neither the King of France, nor the Queen of Scotland, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of England or Ireland; And that both the English and the French should depart out of Scotland; And a general Pardon should be enacted by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those Affairs. This Peace was concluded, when Francis the young King of France died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother Charles, who was guided altogether by the Queen Mother, and molested with the Civil dissensions between the Princes of Guise and Conde; for whose reconciliation, the Queen sent Sir Henry Sidney Lord President of Wales; and shortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; who arriving at Nismes, was received into the Town; which having kept eleven months, he was then constrained, by reason of a Pestilence, to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned.

The Lords of Scotland sent for aid to Queen Elizabeth.

1560.

The Queen sends an Army to assist the Lords of Scotland.

A Peace is concluded between the King of France, and the Queen, and upon what terms.

Francis King of France dies and leaves Mary Queen of Scots a Widow.

Newhaven taken by the English, but soon surrendered.

A About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons, to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her; to which purpose Thomas Gargrave, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desired; seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince, than out of her loyns: Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married; namely, To the Kingdom of England: and behold (saith she) the Pledge of the Covenant with my Husband; and therewith she held out her finger, and shewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, she gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom: and if (saith she) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other; yet I doubt not but God will lend you as good Kings as if they were born of me; for as much as we see by daily experience, That the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate: And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble Stone declare, That a Queen having reigned such a time, lived and died a Virgin. Indeed before this time, many Marches had been offered her: First, King Philip; and when he was out of hope of matching with her himself, he then dealt with the Emperor Ferdinand his Uncle, to commend his younger Son Charles, Duke of Austria, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then John Duke of Finland, second Son to Gustavus King of Sweden, was sent by his Father, to solicit for his eldest Brother Ericus; who was honourably received, but the March rejected. Then Adolphus Duke of Holst, Uncle to Frederick King of Denmark, came into England, upon a great hope of speeding; but the Queen bestowed upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not her self. Then James Earl of Arran, was commended to her by the Protestants of Scotland; but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes there were some at home that pleased themselves with hope of her Marriage: First, Sir William Pickering, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate; but that which most commended him, was his studiousness of good Letters, and sweet demeanour. Then Henry Earl of Arundel, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then Robert Dudley, youngest Son of the Duke of Northumberland, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age; but these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour, but never pledges of Nuptial love.

The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.

And her Answer.

The many matches that had been offered to her.

About this time the Earl of Feria (who had married the Daughter of Sir William Dormer) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wives friends to live out of England, grew so incensed, that he made means to Pius the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate as an Heretick and Usurper: but the Pope inclining rather to save than to destroy; and knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous minds, than roughness and violence; in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholic Church; and as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his Counsel; particularly, That he would recall the Sentence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage, confirm the Book of Common Prayer in English, and permit to her People the use of the Sacrament in both Kindes. But Queen Elizabeth neither terrified with the Earl of Feria's practices, nor allured with the Popes great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, persisted constant in her Resolution, to maintain that Religion, which in her Conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

Whilest these grounds of troubles are sowing in England, France, and Scotland, it is not likely that Ireland will lie fallow; though indeed it be a Countrey that will bring forth troubles of it self, without sowing; but howsoever, to make the more plentiful Harvest of troubles at this time, John O Neal (whose Father King Henry the Eighth made Earl of Tyrone) to prevent the punishment of a private Outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queens Reign, sowed the Seeds of that trouble in Ireland, which afterward, took so deep root, that till the ending of her Reign, it could never thoroughly be rooted out: though this man a year or two after came into England, and casting himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

John O Neal Earl of Tyrone begins to rebel.

The Treaty of Edinburgh should by promise have been confirmed by Francis the French King, while he lived; but he not having done it, Queen Elizabeth requires his Dowager, the Queen of Scots to confirm it: but she solicited often to it by Throgmorton the Queens Leiger in France, made always answer, She could not do it without the Counsel of her Nobility in Scotland. Whereupon Queen Elizabeth suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir Thomas Randall into Scotland, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her, and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any foreign Prince; for which the alledged many great Reasons. In the mean while, the Queen of Scots, purposing to return into Scotland, sent before-hand D' Oysel a French Lord, to intreat Queen Elizabeth, that with her leave, she her self might passe by Sea into Scotland, and D' Oysel might passe by Land. But Queen Elizabeth openly denied both the one and the other; unless she would confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of Scots countess, if the Queen of Scots would not do her right.

Queen Elizabeth requires the Treaty of Edinburgh to be confirmed by the Queen Dowager. And her Answer.

The Queen of Scots pathetically into Scotland; though laid wait to be intercepted. She offered all observance to Queen Elizabeth, so she might be declared her Successor. Queen Elizabeth's Answer.

The Queen of Scots much troubled with this answer, exposulared the matter with her Leiger Throgmorton, and much complains of the unthankfulness: but in the mean time providing shipping, the loosed from Calice; and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in Scotland; where she intreated her Subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom; as well to the Protestant party, as the other: and then sent Letters to Queen Elizabeth, professing all observance and readines to enter League with her; so she might by Authority of Parliament, be declared her Successor; which was but her Right. To this Queen Elizabeth answered, That though she would no way derogate from her Right: yet she should be loath to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-cloth, while she was alive; but fell again to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh: And now to shew the respect she bore her, when her Unkles the Dukes D' Anmale, D' Albenise, and other Lords of France that had brought her home, returned through England, she gave them most bountiful and loving entertainment.

These two Queens indeed were both of great Spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such Jealousies of State between them; (the Queen of Scots doubting lest Queen Elizabeth meant to frustrate her Succession; Queen Elizabeth doubting lest the Queen of Scots meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in love, then they were near in blood, and was cause of many unkinde passages between them: in all which, though the Queen of Scots were a very near match to the Queen of England, in the abilities of her minde; yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferiour.

But now for all the courties which Queen Elizabeth shewed to the Queen of Scots Unkles, at their returning through England, yet new practises were again set on foot against her at Rome; the Duke of Guise especially labouring to have her be Excommunicate; but Pope Pius still averred from such roughness, meant now to try the Queen another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot Martinengi, and when he might not be admitted to enter England, then caused the Bishop of Viterbo his Nuncio in France to deal earnestly with the Queens Leiger Throgmorton, that he (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Council of Trent, which he before had called. But the Queen nothing tender in this point, made peremptory answer, That a Popish Assembly he did not acknowledge to be a General Council; nor did think the Pope to have any more Right or power to call it, then any other Bishop. This answer not onely exasperated the Pope, but so alienated also the King of Spain's minde from her, that he was never after so kinde a friend to her as he had been; and none of her Embassadors ever after had any great liking to be employed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbot Martinengi was the last Nuncio that ever was sent from the Pope into England, so Sir Edward Carne, now dying at Rome, was the last Leiger that was ever sent to the Pope from the Kings of England.

And now Queen Elizabeth knowing well that she had drawn many ill-willers against her State, she endeavoured to strengthen it by all the means she could devise: She caused many great Ordinance of Brass and Iron to be cast; She repaired Fortifications in the Borders of Scotland; She encreased the number of her Ships, so as England never had such a Navy before; She provided great store of Armour and Weapons out of Germany; she caused Mustres to be held, and youth to be trained in exercises of Artillery; and to please the people (whose love is the greatest strength of all) she gave leave to have Corn and Grain transported, and called in all base Coins and Brass Money.

It was now the fifth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign; when divers great persons were called in question: Margaret Countess of Lenox, Niece to King Henry the Eighth, by his eldest Sister, and her Husband the Earl of Lenox, for having had secret conference by Letters with the Queen of Scots, were delivered prisoners to Sir Richard Sackville, Master of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in custody. Also Arthur Poole and his Brother, whole great Grand-father, was George Duke of Clarence, Brother to King Edward the Fourth: Antony Fortescue, who had married their Sister, and others were arraigned, for conspiring to withdraw themselves to the Duke of Guise in France, and from thence to return with an Army into Wales, to declare the Queen of Scots, Queen of England; and Arthur Poole Duke of Clarence; which particulars they confessed at the Bar, and were thereupon condemned to die; but had their lives spared, in regard they were of the Blood-Royal. Also the Lady Katherine Gray, Daughter to Hen. Gray Duke of Suffolk, by the eldest Daughter of Charles Brandon, having formerly been married to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest Son; and from him soon after lawfully divorced, was four years after found to be with Child by Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, who being at that time in France, was presently sent for; and being examined before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and affirming they were lawfully married, but not being able within a limited time to produce witnesses of their marriage, they were both committed to the Tower; where the was brought to bed; and after by the connivance or corruption of their Keepers, being suffered on crimes to come together, she was with child by him again: which made the Queen more angry then before; so as Sir Edw. Warner Lieutenant of the Tower was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the Star-chamber five thousand pounds, and kept in Prison nine years after. Though in pleading of his Case, one John Hales argued, They were lawful Man and Wife, by virtue of their own bare consent, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after, falling through grief into a mortall sickness, her Child defied the Queens Pardon, for having married without her knowledge, and concerning her Children to her clemency, died in the Tower.

The Pope invites Queen Elizabeth to send her Orators to the Council of Trent. The Queens Answer.

All base money called in.

1563.

Divers great persons questioned and condemned, but had their lives spared.

1563.

A At this time (the King being under Age) dissensions amongst the Peers grew hot in France, of which there were two Factions; both pretending the cause of Religion: Of the One, the Duke of Guise, a Papist, was Head; of the other the Prince of Conde, a Protestant: But while Delirant Reges, plebuntur Achivi: while these Princes are at variance, the people suffer for it; and chiefly, as being under the weaker protection, the Protestant party: whereupon Queen Elizabeth, having well learned the Lesson: *Tum tuas res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*; and fearing lest the flame of their dissension, might kindle a fire within her own Kingdom; sent over Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales, into France, to endeavour by all possible means their reconciliation; which when he could not effect, (and perhaps it was never meant he should effect it; but only to see what Invitations would be made to the Queen for her assistance) she thereupon, at the moan of the afflicted Protestants, sent over an Army of six thousand Souldiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of Warwick, in assistance of the Prince of Conde, and other Protestant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of Newhaven, to hold in the King of France his name, until such time as Calice were restored: But the Prince of Conde marching to joyne with the English Forces, was by the Duke of Guise intercepted and taken Prisoner; which had been a great disappointment to the English; but that the Duke of Colen joyned with him, besieged Cam in Normandy, and took it, together with Bayeux, Falaise, and Saint Lo. The French Hostages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thousand Crowns, if Calice were not restored, were remaining still in England, who perceiving there was like to be War with France, prepared secretly to get away; but being ready to take shipping, were discovered and brought back again.

C In the mean while, the Prince of Conde drawn on with a hope, to marry the Queen of Scots, and to have the chief Government in France, during the Kings Minority, concluded a Peace with the King, and with the Guises; so as now, all French, as well Protestants as Papists, required to have Newhaven delivered up: But the Earl of Warwick, perceiving the fickleness of the French Protestants, first to make suit to draw him into France, and now upon so slight occasion to require him to Ships; the French on the other side make ready to let upon the Town, saying, They fought not now for Religion, but for their Countrey; wherefore it was meet that both Protestants and Papists should joyne their Forces, seeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themselves. And hereupon the Duke of Memory sent a Trumpeter to the Earl of Warwick, commanding him to yield the Town: who making answer by Sir Hugh Pawler, That he would never yield it without the Queens leave; he thereupon besieged the Town, and with great violence of Battery, sought to get it by force: Which Queen Elizabeth hearing, she sent a Commission to the Earl of Warwick to yield it up, if upon honourable Conditions; which soon after was accordingly done, after the English had held it eleven moneths; and then the Earl, without any dishonour for yielding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no less unwilling than unable to hold, returned into England: but that which was more doleful than the loss of Newhaven, he brought the Pestilence with him into England. The recovery of this Town, not only made the French to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellour of France pronounced openly, That by this War, the English had lost all their Right to Calice, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make War upon the other; which was the Point stood upon by the King of France and his Mother, when Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Smith to demand Calice to be restored.

At this time there were such cross designs amongst the Princes of Christendom, that a very good Politician could hardly understand their aims. The Duke of Guise being slain in the Civil War, the Queen of Scots Dowry was not paid her in France, and the Scots were put off from being the Kings Guard: This exceedingly displeased the Queen of Scots: But then to please her again, and for fear lest hereupon she should apply her self to the friendship of the English, her Unkle the Cardinal of Lorraine solicited her self, to marry Charles Duke of Austria; offering her for her Dowry the County of Tyrol.

F The Queen of Scots, to make use of her Unkles fear, and perhaps to bring Queen Elizabeth into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advice. Queen Elizabeth not willing she should marry with any forrain Prince, persuades her to take a Husband out of England, and particularly commended to her the Lord Robert Dudley, (whose Wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck;) promising withall, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor, in Case she died without Issue. But when her Unkles and the Queen-mother were informed of this motion, they so much disliked the Marriage with Dudley, that so she would refuse that Match, and persevere in the Friendship of the French, they offered to pay her the Dowry money, that was behinde, and to restore the Scots to all their former liberties in France. And as for the King of Spain, he had indeed a Leger Embassador here in England; but rather by way of Complement, and to watch advantages, than for any sincere love; which he began now to withdraw from the English, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the West-Indies.

And now the French Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the English at Newhaven, and by trusting to their Countrey-men the French Papists, for their peace was but a snare, and the Marriage of Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois, the French King's Sister, was but a bait to entrap them; for upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into Paris, they were the readier for the slaughter; and a few dayes after the Marriage, France.

Queen Elizabeth sends over an Army to assist the Protestants in France.

The Prince of Conde concludes a Peace with the King of France.

Newhaven delivered up to the French, with the Queens leave.

The Queen of Scots requires Queen Elizabeths advice about her Marriage. Who persuades her to marry the Lord Robert Dudley. But this motion was scorned by her French friends. At the marriage of the Prince of Navarre was the great massacre of the Protestants in France.

Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody Faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and sense of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

It was now the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, a year fatal for the death of many great Personages: First dyed William Lord Gray of Wilton, Governour of Berwick, a man famous for his great Services in Warre: then William Lord Paget, a man of as great Services in Peace; who by his great deservings had wrought his advancement to sundry Dignities, and honourable places; and though zealous in the Roman Religion, yet held by Queen Elizabeth in great estimation to his dying day: Then Henry Manners Earl of Rutland, descended by his Mother from King Edward the fourth: And lastly, Francis the Dutchess of Suffolk, Daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mother to Queen Jane.

And now Queen Elizabeth finding how fickle the French Protestants had carried themselves, towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir Thomas Smith into France, joyning Throgmorton in Commission with him; and in conclusion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in England should be freed, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns: and this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of England, and the King of France.

About this time the English Merchants were hardly used both in Spain, and in the Netherlands, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion: whereupon the English removed the Seat of their Trading to Embden in Freeze-land: but Gysman the Spanish Leiger, newly come into England, finding the great damages that the Netherlands sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compose them; and thereupon Viscount Montague, Nicholas Wootton, and Walter Haddon, Master of the Requests, were sent to Bruges in Flanders; who after many interruptions, brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

It was now the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, when making a Progress, she went to see Cambridge; where after she had viewed the Colleges, and been entertained with Comedies, and Scholasticall Disputations, she made her self a Latine Oration, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord Robert Dudley Master of her Horse, first Baron of Denbigh (giving him Denbigh and all the Lands belonging to it) and then Earl of Leicester, to him, and the Heirs males of his Body lawfully begotten: which Honour was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known: And now Leicester, to endear himself to the Queen of Scots, accused Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper, for being privy to the Libell of Hales, who affirmed the right of the Crown to belong to the Family of Suffolk, in case the Queen should die without Issue; and thereupon was Bacon cast into Prison; till after ward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir William Cecil, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon Scotland, for that was now the Stage where all great businesses of State were acted: Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lenox, who had married Margaret Douglas, King Henry the Eighth's Niece by his elder Sister, had been kept as an Exile in England, now twenty years; him the Queen of Scots invites to come into Scotland, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord Darley, for being reputed Heir to the Crown of England, next after her self, she thought by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own Title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen Elizabeth, upon suit made by his Wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of Scots intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir Thomas Randall to her, to let her know, That if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the English, that she was faine to prorogue the Parliament, left upon dislike thereof, there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of Leicester, she should then by Parliament be declared her next Heir. Hereupon in the Month of November, the Earl of Bedford and Sir Thomas Randall for Queen Elizabeth; the Earl of Murray and Lidington for the Queen of Scots at Barwick, entered into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of Leicester. The English Commissioners urged the great benefits that by this Match would accrue both to the Queen of Scots her self, and to the whole Kingdom of Scotland: The Scottish on the other side, urged the great disparagement it would be to the Queen of Scots, if refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a Person as the Earl of Leicester. This matter held long debate, partly for that the English Commissioners were to be appointed by Queen Elizabeth; and partly for that the Scottish Commissioners had a good minde to hinder her from marrying at all; and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of Leicester, being verily perswaded he should at last obtain Queen Elizabeth her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of Bedford not to urge the Marriage with the Queen of Scots too far; and was thought for this cause to favour Darley under hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together, the Queen of Scots impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her minde what she would do, used means that the Lord Darley got leave of Queen Elizabeth, to go into Scotland for three months onely, under colour to be put in possession of his Fathers Lands, (though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she

really

really intended to hinder the marriage: but such was the destiny, if there were not a plot in it: and so in February he came to Edinburgh; who being a young man, of not above nineteen years of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely presence, the Queen of Scots as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him, yet in modesty dissembling it for the present; she thought to get a Dispensation from Rome, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent Lyndington to Queen Elizabeth, desiring her consent. But she, through the suggestions of the Earl of Murray, being induced to believe that the Queen of Scots intention was, by this Marriage, to get the Crown of England, and to bring in Popery, entered into consultation with her Privy Council, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage; who all concluded, that these were the best wayes: First, To have a Company of Souldiers levied for terrour sake, about the Borders towards Scotland; then to commit to Prison the Countess of Lenox, the Lord Darleys Mother; and to recall from Scotland the Earl of Lenox, and his Son Darley, upon pain of the losse of all their goods in England; then that the Scots who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be relieved and assisted: And lastly, That Katherine Gray, with the Earl of Hertford, should be received into some grace; about whom only (it was thought) the Queen of Scots was most sollicitous, as being her Rival to the English Crown. Hereupon Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent to the Queen of Scots, to counsel her in the Queens name, not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniences that would accrue unto her by it. But she returned answer, That the matter was too far passed to be recalled; and that Queen Elizabeth had no cause to be displeased with it; seeing herein she followed her advise, Nor to match with a stranger, but with an Englishman born.

Queen Elizabeth being informed of her answer, calleth home the Earl of Lenox, and the Lord Darley his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself; the Son humbly intreateth her not to be a hinderance to his preferment, which he vows to employ in her Majesties Service, to the uttermost of his power.

And now, to make him the fitter march for her, the Queen of Scots honoured him first with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord Armanack, Earl of Rasse, and Duke of Rathay, which Dukedom by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of Scotland. After this, when he had not been above five months in Scotland, she married him; and with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this, the Earl of Murray, and other whom he drew to his party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawful to admit a Papist King? Whether the Queen of Scots might chuse a Husband at her own pleasure? and whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority, impose one upon her? But howsoever they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levied an Army to encounter them; with which she pursued them so closely, that they were faine to flee into England for protection; where Queen Elizabeth made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of Scots had received Darley, Standon, and Walsh, that were fled out of England; but the Earl of Murray especially, who had always been found addicted to the English, Queen Elizabeth perhaps was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly as knowing the middle disposition of the Lord Darley, and how little access of strength it brought to the Queen of Scots; but most of all, as plainly seeing there would troubles arise in Scotland upon it; and the troubles of Scotland would be the quietness of England; which as a good Mother of her Country, was the mark she aimed at: yet she made a shew of being offended with it; but rather to conceal her minde, than that she was offended with it indeed.

At this time the Emperour Maximilian, sent to Queen Elizabeth his Ambassador, Adam Smirnore, renewing the former Suit for his Brother Charles of Austria; for which Marriage the Earl of Sussex was very earnest; the Earl of Leicester as much against it; so as it grew to a quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: but the Queen, who never liked the dissensions of her Peers (though it be a Rule with some, Divide and Reign) made them friends, at least in countenance.

We may now leave Scotland a while, and see the Honour done at this time to Queen Elizabeth, not much inferior to the Honour done to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba; for now Cicile the Sister of Erick King of Sweden, and Wife of Christopher Marquis of Badde, being great with Child, came from the farthest part of the North (a long Journey) thorough Germany, of purpose to see her, for the great fame she had heard of her Wildom: At her being hke, she was delivered of a Child, to whom, in requital of her kindness, Queen Elizabeth was God-mother, and named him Edwardus Tertius; giving to her and her Husband, besides Royal Entertainment, a yearly Pension. At this time also, for the great Fame of her Wildom, Donald Mac Carti More, a great Potentate of Ireland, came and delivered up into her hands all his most ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs males lawfully begotten; and for want of such Issue, to remain to the Crown of England. The Queen in requital invested him with the honours of Earl of Glenkarne, and Baron of Valence; and besides many Presents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

It was now the eighth Year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when Sir Nicholas Arnold, a Knight of Gloster-shire, governing Ireland under the Title of a Justice, was called home; and Sir Henry Sidney placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of Ireland, after it came under the English, were at first called Justices of Ireland; afterwards, Lieutenants; and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards at the Princes pleasure, sometimes

At first she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Queen Elizabeth for her consent to marry him.

Queen Elizabeth opposeth it.

The Queen of Scots makes the Lord Darley Duke of Rathay, and marries him.

The Earl of Murray raiseth an Army against her.

But being encountered, he flies into England, where Queen Elizabeth receives him.

Queen Elizabeth is moved again to marry Charles the Emperours Brother.

Cicile Sister of the King of Sweden, comes into England of purpose to see the Queen.

Alfo Mac Carti a great Potentate of Ireland.

anno Reg. 8. 1566.

The Governours of Ireland were at first called Justices of Ireland; afterwards, Lieutenants; sometimes Deputies.

1564.

Many great Personages die.

A Peace made with the King of France, and upon what Conditions.

1565.

Queen Elizabeth makes a Progress to Cambridge. She makes the Lord Robert Dudley first Baron of Denbigh, and then Earl of Leicester.

The Queen of Scots seeks to marry the Lord Darley, Son to the Earl of Lenox.

Queen Elizabeth dissuades her from it, and perswades her to marry the Earl of Leicester.

Hereupon Commissioners are sent to treat of this Marriage.

But the Commissioners cannot agree.

The Queen of Scots impatient of delay, gets the Lord Darley to come to Scotland.

A President of the Court when first ordained.

Queen Elizabeth makes a Progress to Oxford. A call to seven Serjeants at Law. In a Parliament at this time, the Queen is moved again to marry.

And to declare a Successor.

The Queens answer to their motion.

1567.

The Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester made Knights of the order of Saint Michael.

The Queen of Scots is delivered of a Son.

She grows cold in her love to the King.

David Rizzio an Italian, grows a great Favourite of the Queen of Scots. The King set on by his Lords, murders him.

Deputies, sometimes Justices, and sometimes Lieutenants; which last Title, though it be of great honour, yet in power is in a manner but the same. Sir Henry Sidney at his coming into Ireland, found the Province of Munster in much disorder, by reason of strife between Gerald Earl of Desmond, and Thomas Earl of Ormond: whereupon, the Queen sending for the Earl of Desmond into England, ordained a new Government in that Province, appointed a President to administer Justice, together with an Assistant on the Bench; two Lawyers and a Notary: and the first President she made in this place, was Sir William Semler.

And now Queen Elizabeth in a Progress went to Oxford; where she took pleasure in viewing the Colleges, in hearing Orations, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of Palamon and Arcite turned to a Tragedy; for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that pressed in to see it, three men were slain. At her coming away, she made an Oration in Latin to the Scholars, a sufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this year, was a call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Grays Inn in Holborn.

Upon the Queens return from Oxford, the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon the matter of succession, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points some went so far, that they spared not to accuse the Queen, as one careless of Posterity; to defame Cecil with Libels and reproches, as if he were her Counsellor in this matter; but above all, to curse Doctor Huic her Physician, who was thought to disswade her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what womanish insufficiency. At last in the Upper House it was agreed, That Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, their Orator, should in all their names beseech the Queen to marry; and withal, to declare a Successor in the Crown, if she should happen to die without Issue; for which he gave many Reasons, declaring what mischiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if she should die before a Successor were designed. But in the Lower House there were some, amongst whom were Bell and Mansson, (two Lawyers of great account) Dutton, Sir Paul Wentworth, and others, who grew to far higher terms, disparaging the Queens Authority, and saying, That Princes were bound to design a Successor; and that in not doing it, the Queen should shew her self no better than a particide of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with words spoken in Parliament; which spoken out of Parliament, she would never have endured: but not willing to expostulate the matter with the whole number, She commanded that thirty of the Higher House, and as many of the Lower, should appear before her, to whom She delivered her minde to this effect; That She knew what danger hangeth over a Princes Head, when a Successor is once declared; She knew that even Children themselves, out of a hally desire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms against their own Fathers; and how could better Conditions be expected from Kindred? She had by reading observed, That Successors in a collateral Line, have seldom been declared; and that Lewis of Orleans, and Francis of Angoulême, were never declared Successors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noise.

Lastly, She said, Though I have been content to let you debate the matter of Succession, yet I advise you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With these and the like Reasons, she gave to good satisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any more such motion. And though she contented not in plain terms to declare a Successor, yet soon after She gave some intimation of it; for one Thornton, a Reader of the Civil Law in London, who in his Lectures called the Queen of Scots Right in question, was clipped up in Prison for his labour.

In the beginning of her ninth year, Charles the 9th King of France, sent his Ambassador Raimboul into England to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint Michael, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleased; and the making choice of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester, they were by Raimboul invested with them; an Honour that had never been conferred upon any English but only King Henry the 8th, King Edward the 6th, and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, though afterward prostituted almost to any, without difference.

And now to return to the affairs of Scotland: The nineteenth of June last past, the Queen of Scots, in a happy hour, was at Edinbrough Castle delivered of a Son, that was afterward James the sixth of Scotland; and the first Monarch of Great Britain; whereof She presently sent word to Queen Elizabeth, by James Melvyn; who thereupon sent Sir Henry Killigrew to congratulate her safe deliverance, and her young Son, with all demonstration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of Scots to her Husband the Lord Darley, was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so fast before, but now as fast she took them off: for where before in all publick Acts, she had used to place her Husbands name first, now she caused it to be placed last, and in the coyning of Money began to leave it quite out.

This unkindness between them, was fomented by one David Rizzio an Italian, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first, as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her Secretary for the French Tongue; by means whereof, he had oftentimes secret conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admit ed. This indignity the King himself, being given to his pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resented not so much, as some Lords that were his friends; who told him plainly, that it stood not with his Honour to suffer this fellow to live. By whose instigation, the King drawn to plot his death; one day, taking with him the Earl of Rerwin, and others, he rushed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding

David

David Rizzio at a Cupboard, raising some meat that had been taken from the Table, he seized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murdered him, the Queen at that time being great with Child, and like by that affright to have miscarried: But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person: The man that had animated the King to do this Fact, was especially the Earl of Murray, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his part will be the greatest of all the Scottish Actions of this time. He was the bafe Son of King James the Fifth, and so the bafe Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of Saint Andrews: But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather to be Temporal Honour; which when the Queen, being then in France, denied him, then in an angry mood he returned into Scotland, where, by the advice of Knox, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the matter so to passe, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the French were banished out of Scotland: Yet afterward, as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he posted into France, and so intimated with her, that she created him Earl of Murray, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into Scotland; where, for the growth of his ambitious designs, he sowed seeds of Sedition, affirming of en, what a misery it was to be under the Command of a Woman; and that Royalty was not to be tyed to any Stock or Kindred, but to Virtue only, whether the Parties were legitimate or no: By this course making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he used all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought wayes how to make discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murther Rizzio. Of the felicity of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be revenged of Murray, who had counselled him to do it: Which Murray understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Queen having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Christning being come; where the Godfathers were Charles King of France, and Philibert Duke of Savoy; Queen Elizabeth being requested to be God-mother, sent thither the Earl of Bedford as her Deputy, and a Font of Massie Gold for a Present, in value 1043 l. but gave him express Command, That he should not honour Darley with the Title of King. But before a month or two, after the Christning, were passed, the King in a stormy and tempestuous night, was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the house immediately blown up with Gun-powder.

The rumour of this Murder being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon Murray and Morton, and their confederates: Murray and Morton upon the Queen: But we must not here give credit to that which Buchanan writes, who to curry favour with the Earl of Murray, lays most impudent scandals upon the Queen; whereof, before his death, he repented himself extremely. The King thus murdered, and the Queen left alone to her self, she is counselled to marry with some man might be able to assist her against all her opposites: James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell being thought greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his valour; and though he were the man that had acted the murder, yet is he by Murray and his Confederates commended to the Queen: In which motion, as being desirous of friends, and not knowing whom to trust, she at last consents, upon these Conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her young Son; and that Bothwell might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former marriage; and shew of his Kings murder. Hereupon a course is placed by which, Bothwell is called to the Bar; and Morton being his Advocate, by the Sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of Orkney; and by consent of many of the Nobility, is married to the Queen; which bred a suspicion in many, that the Queen was conscious of the murder; which was the thing that by the marriage they intended: And the suspicion once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her; and so, the very same man who had absolved Bothwell, and consented to the marriage, now takes Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to flee, and then seize upon the Queen, whom, clad in a very homely garment, they thrust into prison in Loch-lewyn, under the custody of Murray's Mother, who had been the Halor of King James the Fifth; but boasting her self to have been his lawful Wife, and her Son, in lawful Issue. Queen Elizabeth having at length notice hereof, sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; and to consult by what means she might be restored to her Liberty. But Throgmorton coming into Scotland, found the Confederates in more insolent terms than had been reported; being divided in Opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banished perpetually, into England or France; some would have her questioned before the Judges, committed to perpetual custody, and her Son proclaimed King: Others, more inhuman, would have her at once deprived of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this, Knox and some other Ministers, thundred out of the Pulpits. Throgmorton on the other side, galloped many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunes, but that in Heaven; That to Judge upon Earth might call her in question: That there was no Office, nor Jurisdiction in Scotland, which was not derived from her Authority, and revocable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of Scotland; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order: taking up Buchanans Arguments, who in those days, by instigation of Murray, wrote that damned Dialogue, De Jure Regni apud Scotos; wherein, against the verity of the Scottish History, he endeavours to prove, That the people have power, both to create, and to depose their King. After all their debating, all that

Throg-

1567.

Especially by the animation of the Earl of Murray.

The Earls Rising and Carriage.

The King intends to be revenged of him.

But the Earl prevents him, and the King is strangled in his bed.

The death of the King is by common fame laid upon Murray and Morton, by them upon the Queen.

Who to strengthen her self, marries the Earl Bothwell.

Against whom Murray takes Arms, and seizes upon the Queen.

Q. Elizabeth hearing of it, sends an expostulation with the Confederates about it; and their Answer.



England have anciently challenged as superiour Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland. The day after, the Queen of Scots Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of Morton, Murray, Mar, Glencarn, Humis, and others, against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. Murray and his Confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by consent of the Peers in Parliament; and that in prosecuting of Bothwell, the Author of the Kings murder, whom the Queen protected; and as for her resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of Scots Delegates answered and confuted, affirming in particular, That where there are one hundred Bishops, Bishops and Barons, (more or lesse) that have voyces in the Parliament of Scotland, there were not in that tumultuous assembly, they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest Request was, that the Queen of England would be sensible of these indignities offered her; and take some course for a speedy redress.

After this, some new Commissioners from Queen Elizabeth were added to the former, of whom, the Queen of Scots took exception; unless the French and Spanish Embassadors might be taken in; and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen, and them; publicly to defend her own innocency; and that Murray might be detained and cited, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murder of her Husband Darnley. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of Norfolk; the Earls of Arundel, Suffex, Leicester, and the Lord Clinton. But Queen Elizabeth waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of Scots should never want an Advocate as long as Norfolk lived. It was seen here, which is said, that the heart of the King is inflexible; for how Queen Elizabeth stood affected in this case of the Queen of Scots, no man could well discern; she detested the insolency of her Subjects; in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to restore her.

After long agitation of this business, and nothing concluded, Murray a little before his return into Scotland, slyly propounded the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But withall, Murray the more to alienate Queen Elizabeths minde from the Queen of Scots, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of Arundel her Right to the Crown of England, and that the transaction was confirmed at Rome; he shewed Letters also which the Queen of Scots had written to some friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasting of succours she expected from some others. This last clause something troubled Queen Elizabeth, neither could she conjecture from whence any such succour should come. Seeing both France with the Civil Wars, and the King of Spain in the Low-Countries had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one Robert Ridolph a Florentine, under the habit of a Merchant in London, was suborned by Pope Pius the fifth, to make a secret commotion of the Papists in England, against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a deal of secrecy; and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton (a Castle of the Lord Scroope) where all the neighbouring people were Papists; to Tutbury, more toward the heart of the County, under the Custody of George Earl of Shrewsbury.

About this time the Guises in France, and the Duke D'Alva, in the Low-countries, began to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In France, the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen Elizabeth forgetting the sickleness of the Protestants at Nowhaven, once again takes upon her their protection, supplies them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and with all humanity receives the French that fled into England; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation, they took not up Arms against their Prince, but onely stood upon their own defence. In the Low-countries likewise, the Duke D'Alva breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the Dutch come flocking into England, as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesy they were received.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the Low-countries began first, which was thus. At which time the King of Spain brought in the Spanish Inquisition; a small number of the meaner sort of people, in tumultuous manner, cast the Images out of Churches, and brake them in pieces; and although that tumult was soon quieted, yet the King of Spain taking advantage at the rashness of a few, to charge the whole Nation with Rebellion, sent amongst them Ferdinand Alvarez, Duke D'Alva, a bloody and fierce man, who (contrary to the Ordinances and Customs of the Country) took away all authority from the ordinary Courts of Justice; erected new Consistories; condemned and put to death the Peers, without tryal by their lawful Judges; placed Garrisons of Spaniards throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the twentieth part of the Fruits of the Earth, and the tenth of moveables upon every Alienation. At that time a mighty masse of money borrowed from the Genoways, and other Italian Merchants, was sent out of Spain into the Low-Countries, there to be employed to interest, which being brought by Shipping, was pursued by the French; and forced to fly for shelter into the Havens of England, whom the Queen commanded to be succoured; as conceiving the money to be the King of Spains, as it was given out; But at the same time, Cardinal Odet coming out of France into England, and giving notice to the Queen, that the money was not the King of Spains, but belonged to certain Merchants of Genovra, from whence the Duke D'Alva, had taken it against their will, with a purpose to employ it to the ruine of the

A the Protestants; and information also being given her by one that had a property in the money that it was so, she determined to put in security, and to borrow money of the Merchants her self, which is an usual thing with Princes, when Goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of Spain himself had lately done the like. The Duke D'Alva, being informed of this dealing of the Queens, by Gerard de Spese, the King of Spains Embassador in England, seizeth presently upon all the Goods of the English in the Low-Countries, and kept the men prisoners; The Queen did the like with the Dutch Merchants in England; Letters of Marc were granted on both sides, and this grew to such a quarrel between the Nations, that being nourished with other differences afterwards, it brought forth in Eighty Eight, that Spanish Invasion, which is, and will be memorable in all future Ages.

B Upon occasion of this Money detained, certain Peers of England, amongst whom were the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Pembroke, Leicester, and others, accused Sir William Cecil, for sending away money into France, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great favour with the Queen, and suspecting him to incline to the House of Suffolk, in the matter of succession. Hereupon they consult secretly how to get him imprison'd; and Throgmorton (who envied him as much as they) suggesting that if he were once clapp'd up, they might soon find out a way to crush him; But the Queen (by what means it is uncertain) coming to have notice hereof, gave a check to their purpose, and protected Cecil against their combined practices.

C The Earl Murray being returned into Scotland, makes the Lords believe that he desires a meeting at Edinburgh, to consult about restoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as Hamilton Duke of Chastan Herald (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdom by the Queen) and the Lord Huns were coming thither, he circumvented them, and before any of the rest came, cast them into prison; and forthwith in an open War, oppresseth all her Favourers. It may be thought, the Earl Murray could have been content, the Queen should have been set at liberty; but that he knew, her liberty could not be without his servitude; and Queen Elizabeth perhaps would willingly have had her restored to her Kingdom, but that she doubted, her restoring would indanger her own security. And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the first place, and hers but in the second, she had the fortune to be pitted, but not the happiness to be relieved; and all she could do her self, was but to tie the knot of her bonds the faster; if she could have fate still, they would perhaps have loosed of themselves; but now, the more she stirred, the more she was intangled.

D And now the Destiny of the Duke of Norfolk began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke should marry the Queen of Scots; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not so forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly prefageth what will follow. It had been motioned to the Duke at York, by the Bishop of Ross; and afterward (in pretence at least) by Murray himself at Hampton-Court; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmorland, Suffex, Pembroke, Southampton, and Leicester himself, who all judged it fit, he should acquaint the Queen with it first, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few dayes, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton meeting the Duke in the Palace at Westminster, advised him, to move the Earl of Leicester himself to embrace the match, seeing he had formerly sued for it: but if he refused it, then at least to take him along with him, for that himself alone would hardly be able to procure the Queens consent. A day or two after, the Earl of Leicester propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicated it to the Earls of Arundel, and Pembroke, who thereupon, together with Throgmorton, wrote Letters to the Queen of Scots, commending the Duke of Norfolk to her for a Husband; the Duke himself likewise writeth to her, tendering his singular love and respect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with Leicesters own hand, and sent to the Queen of Scots; to which if she consented, they then promised to procure, that Queen Elizabeth should give her assent, and that forthwith she should be reinvested in her Kingdom, and the Succession of England should be confirmed upon her. We may easily believe, the Queen of Scots was not hardly drawn to give consent to her own desire; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord Lumley, the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of Leicesters consent, that he might advise of it with some other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to Cecil also.

E The rumour of this Marriage was soon come to the Queens Ears; which the Duke understanding, he dealt earnestly with the Earl of Leicester, to have the matters propounded to the Queen out of hand. Leicester makes delays, and pretends causes to put it off; which Cecil seeing, he adviseth the Duke to go and acquaint the Queen with it himself. This Counsel Leicester opposed, promising to open it to the Queen, as she went in Progress. At length, at Farnham, the Duke standing by as the Queen sat at Table, she gave him a tart Admonition, That he were best take heed, upon what Pillow he reited his Head. After this, at Tibfield, Leicester fell sick, or at least counterfeited; to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him be of good cheer; he with sighs and reares craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole story from the very beginning. Whereupon, the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him sharply, for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her; and commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty promise of obedience, and spared not to say (as if he little regarded the Queen of Scots) that his

Letters of Marc granted against Spain.

1569.

Sir William Cecil accused by the Duke of Norfolk and others, is protected by the Queen.

The Duke of Norfolk first proceeding about the marriage with the Queen of Scots.

Articles betwixt them are drawn by Leicester.

Leicester promising to acquaint the Queen with the matter, but delays.

But coming at last to her knowledge, she commands the Duke upon his Allegiance, to desist, which he promiseth.

1569.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, raise Arms in the North, and why.

But pursued by the Queens Army, they die.

Westmerland into the Low-Countries, where he lived poorly to old age.

Northumberland was taken and proscribed.

After this, Leonard Dacres raises an Army, but is defeated, and flyeth into the Low-Countries.

Revenues in England were not much lesse then hers in Scotland; and that when he was at his House in Norwich, he thought himself in a fort, not inferior to some Kings; but notwithstanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving Leicester to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him, he grew extremely dejected, and prepared presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at Norfolk, till by his friends intercession, and his own submissive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was suspiciously fearful, lest he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of Scots should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret commerce by Letters with the Bishop of Ross, Throgmorton and Leicester, (for they were sent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Queen of Scots, and certain secret conferences with the Bishop of Ross, confessed most of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevill; within two days after the Bishop of Ross, likewise is examined, and together with the Florentine Robert Ridolph is delivered to the custody of Sir Francis Walsingham, the Earl of Pembroke is confined to his house, and examined privately; but his confession was not committed to writing: It being his Request, because he could not write himself. At this time, the rumour of Insurrection in the North, begun in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earls of Northumberland, Westmerland, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance sent for to repair presently to the Queen, make delays (for they stayed waiting for supplies, both from the Scots, and from the Duke D'Alva) when the Earl of Northumberland, doubtful what to do, was frightened of purpose by his servants, telling him, that men in Arms were near at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempestuous night, riseth out of his Bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at Topcliffe, and the night following to Braspen, to the Earl of Westmerlands House, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprize: Here they broke forth in an open Rebellion, being pressed forward, by one Nicholas Morton, a Romish Priest, sent by the Pope to pronounce Queen Elizabeth an Heretic: and thereto to have utterly lost all Right of Sovereignty: By and by they send forth a Writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-Fathers might be restored, wicked Counsellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen, professing themselves most dutiful Subjects: withall they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyning with them, that many sent both the Letters and the bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purses against them; no lesse then the best Protestants, even the Duke of Norfolk himself was not backward in it.

These Rebels go first to Durham, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer they could finde in Churches of the English tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of Sussex with seven thousand, and the Earl of Warwick with twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to Rabie, the chief House of the Earl of Westmerland; going from thence, they besieged Barnard Castle, which for lack of Provision, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Tyrants, and hearing a fresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small Company, get presently into Scotland, hard by where the Earl of Northumberland hid himself at Harlow, in a poor Cottage, amongst the Grahams (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl of Murray: Westmerland made a shift to get into the Low-Countries, where he had a slender Pension from the King of Spain, and there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terror and examples sake, there were hanged at Durham, threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, Plumtree a noted Priest. At York were executed, Simon Digby, John Fulthorp, Thomas Bishop, Robert Penman; and at London a few months after, Christopher and Thomas; and some other in other places. After this, the heads of the Rebels being convicted of High-Treason, were proscribed; namely, Charles Earl of Westmerland; Thomas Earl of Northumberland; Anne Countess of Northumberland; Edward Dacres of Morton; John Nevill of Leverage; John Swinburn, Thomas Markenfield, Egremont Ratcliffe, Brother to the Earl of Sussex; Christopher Nevill, Richard Norton, Christopher Marmaduke, Robert and Michael Tempest, George Stafford, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at Naworth in Cumberland, by Leonard Dacres, second Son to the Lord Dacres of Gylisland; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner then he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kiss the Queens hand, rendered his service to go against them; and to that purpose, was sent home; but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the Rebels, and encouraged them to go on; and by virtue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of Greystock, and other Houses of the Dacres, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountered by the Baron of Hunsdon, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backed, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into Scotland, from whence soon after, he passed over the Low-Countries, and in great misery and poverty, died at Louwain.

But

1569.

Q. Elizabeth assisteth the Protestants in France.

A But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in France; for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplied them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of Navar's Jewels; and gave leave to Henry Chamberlain to lead into France a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries; amongst whom were Philip Butted, Francis Barkley, and Walter Rawleigh, a very young man, who now begin to look into the world. But as the Queen of England assisted the French, so in revenge thereof, the King of France meant to assist the Scots, but that he was taken away by death.

There was at this time a Rebellion in Ireland also, raised by Edmund and Peter, Brothers to Boteler Earl of Ormond; but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of Ormond first by persuasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursued by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and soon dispersed.

And now the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, when he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at Lithgow, riding along the street, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navill, and there fell down dead. The actor was a Hamilton, who did it upon a private revenge, for that Murray had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

C After Murray's death, the Country being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders, Th. Carre, and Walter Scot, two principal men amongst the Scottish Borders, and devoted to the Queen of Scots, made Inroads into England, waisting all places with Fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of England, under the Command of the Earl of Sussex, and the Lord Hunsdon, they were defeated: In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir Williams Drury, Sir Thomas Manners, Sir George Carie, Sir Robert Constable and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of Scotland being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of Queen Elizabeth in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of Scots, whose cause was not yet tried; they created Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent; which Queen Elizabeth did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

But while Queen Elizabeth favoured the Kings party in Scotland, the Earl of Huntley, the Duke of Castle-Herald, and the Earl of Argyle, (the Queen of Scots Lieutenants) imploy the Lord Seton to the Duke D'Alva, requiring him for many great reasons, to vindicate the Queen of Scots liberty, alledging how acceptable a Work it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church: Whereunto the Duke made answer, They should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfy their request. At which time also the French King dealt earnestly with Queen Elizabeth to the same purpose; and the Spanish Embassadour in his Masters name urged it no less extremely: but Queen Elizabeth assailed with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of Scots and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen Elizabeth to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, out comes Pope Pius Quintus with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the night-time upon the Gate of the Bishop of London's Palace, wherein all her Subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty; and all that obey her, accursed with Anathema. He that fastned up the Bull was one John Felton, who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the Fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place where he had fastned the Writing.

The same day that Felton was arraigned, the Duke of Norfolk seeming now extream penitent for his Fault, and utterly to abhor the Marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir Henry Nevill still. Indeed Cecil being a good Friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25 of Edward the Third could not take hold upon him; and now being in a kind of liberty, Cecil deals earnestly with him to marry (pecuniarily some other, thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalf; yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

At this time died William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, the grand-child of an Earl of Pembroke, yet the Son but of an Equire, and Grand-father to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery now living, who lieth buried in Pauls, under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many Conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of Scots at liberty; amongst others, there Conspired Thomas and Edward Stanley younger Sons of the Earl of Derby with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebels, the Earl of Sussex once again, accompanied with the Lord Scroop, entrench Scotland, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of Annandale; and compelleth the Duke of Castle-Herald, and the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, under

The Earl of Murray Regent of Scotland, is murdered riding in the street.

Matthew Earl of Lenox is made Regent in his place.

Many Princes intreat Queen Elizabeth to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and best answer.

A Bull of Pius Quintus against Q. Elizabeth for detaining the Scot Scots.

Felton that brought the Bull hanged.

The Duke of Norfolk upon his penitence is delivered out of the Tower, and Cecil's counsel to him.

Many Conspiracies to set the Q. of Scots at liberty.

under a Writing signed with their own Hands and Seals; to forsake the English Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Stafford* returned home, he made these Knights, *Edw. Hastings, Francis Russell, Valentine Brown, William Hilton, Robert Stapleton, Henry Carwen, and Simon Mansgrave.*

Queen Elizabeth's mind being now in great suspension, by reason of that Bull from Rome, and the late conspiracy in Norfolk, sent Sir William Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay, to the Queen of Scots, who was then at Chatsworth in Derbyshire, to consult with her by what means the breach in Scotland might best be made up, she re-invested in her former dignity and her Son, and Queen Elizabeth might be secured. The Queen of Scots did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting her self wholly upon the Queens clemency: when the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, That the Treaty of *Edenborough* should be confirmed: Then, that she should renounce her Right and Title to England, during Queen Elizabeth's life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten: Then, that she should send her Son for a Hostage into England, with other six Hostages: such as the Queen should nominate: Then, that the Castles of *Hume* and *East-castle*, should be held by the English for three years; with some other. To which Propositions the Queen of Scots for the present gave a provident answer; but referred the fuller Answer to the Bishop of *Ross* her Ambassador in England, and some other Delegates; who afterwards allowing some of the Propositions, and not allowing others; the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter rested in the state it was before.

At this time Philip King of Spain had contracted a Marriage with *Anne of Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his own Niece by his Sister; who was now setting Sail from Zealand, towards Spain; when Queen Elizabeth, to testify her love and respect to the House of Austria, sent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navy Royal, to conduct her through the British Sea.

8570.

The seven-teenth day of November began to be celebrated in honour of Queen Elizabeth's coming to the Crown.

The Earl of *Thames* intending a rebellion, is strangely discovered. A guilty Conscience betrays its self.

1571.

Sir William Cecil is made Baron of Burghley.

Queen Elizabeth requirith the Scottish Lords, to shew her what cause they had deposed their Queen; and what was done in it.

And now was the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign finished: which certain Wizards had made Papists believe should be her last: but contrary, as if it were but her first, a new Custom began, of celebrating the seventeenth day of November (the Anniversary day of her Reign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings and Bonfires: which Custom, as it now began, so it was never given over as long as the lived, and is not yet forborn so long after her death.

At this time in Ireland, *Connagher O'Brien*, Earl of *Thomond*, not brooking the severe Government of *Edward Fitton*, President of *Connaght*, entered into consultation with some few, to raise a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was strangely discovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, sent the Earl word in friendly manner, that the next day he and a few friends with him, would be his Guests. The Earl convinced by his own Conscience, imagined that his Intentments were revealed: that *Fitton* would come as an enemy, rather than a Guest. Out of which fear, he presently set sail into France; where repenting him seriously of his fault, he confessed the whole business to *Norris* the Queens Ambassador in France; and by his intercession, was afterward pardoned and restored.

In January, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen Elizabeth in Royal pomp entering the City of London, went to see the Burse which Sir *Thomas Gresham* had lately built for the use of the Merchants; and with sound of Trumpets, and the voice of a Herald, solemnly named it the Royal Exchange. A few days after, for his many great Services, she made Sir William Cecil Baron Burghley.

There were now about the Scottish affairs, in the name of the King of Scots, the Earl *Morton*, *Pernare* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and *James Mac-Gray*; whom when Queen Elizabeth required to shew more clearly, for what causes they had deposed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein with a certain insolent liberty, they endeavoured to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of Scotland, that the people of Scotland were above the King: and urged *Calvins* Authority also, That Popular Magistrates are constituted for the moderation of the licentiousness of Princes: and that it is lawful for them, both to imprison Kings; and upon just causes, to depose them. This Writing the Queen could not read without indignation; but to the Delegates she gave this Answer; She saw no just cause yet, why they should handle the Queen in such manner; and therefore willed them to think upon some course out of hand, how to allay the dissensions in Scotland. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Bacon* house, Keeper of the Great Seal, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of *Ross*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Levingston*, Delegates for the Queen of Scots, that for the security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of England; it were requisite, that before the Queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, the Earl of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lord *Humes*, *Heriot*, and another of the Barons should be delivered for Hostages, and the Castle of *Dunbarton* and *Hume*, yielded up into the hands of the English, for three years. But they made answer, that to yield up great Personages, and such Fortifications as were demanded, were nothing else, but to leave the miserable Queen utterly destitute of faithful friends, and naked of all places, fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Barons for Hostages till two years were expired: which not being accepted, they straightway gathered, and spoke it openly; That now they plainly perceived the English meant to keep the Queen of Scots perpetually prisoner, and likewise to break off the Treaty; seeing they rigorously demanded such security as Scotland was not able to make good. And now Queen Elizabeth seeing that nothing could be done, for her own, the King and Queen of Scots safety, unless both Factions in Scotland consented; she held it

As that the Lords of Scotland should themselves appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

While matters in England proceeded in this sort, the Queens party in Scotland was hardly used: *Dunbarton* Fry, the strongest Castle in Scotland was taken: and *J. Hamilton* Archbishop of Saint Andrews, the Duke of *Castle-Herald* Brother, as an accessory to the murder of *Darley*, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In England, the Queen of Scots had all her Servants taken from her, except ten onely, and a Priest to say Masse: with which indignities the Queen of Scots provoked, causeth a large Commentary of her Counsels, with certain love-letters to the Duke of Norfolk, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of Spain, by *Ridolphus*; which being brought first to the Duke, *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his Bed-chamber) had copied out: but being commanded to burn them, he hid them under a Mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber; and that (it should seem) purposely, *Ridolphus* to draw on the Duke to be Head of the discontented party in England, aggravated to him the wrongs he had suffered: how against all Law he had been kept a long time in prison, and now, to his great disgrace, was not summoned to the Parliament: he exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, who had vowed to assist him: he shewed how the Pope, (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the charge of the War, and had already laid down an hundred thousand Crowns; whereof himself had distributed twelve thousand amongst the English that were fled: he promised, that the King of Spain would send four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance; to these Reasons the Bishop of *Ross* added; that it was an easie matter for him to surpise the Queen; whom, when he had in his hands, he might set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and might easily obtain of Queen Elizabeth, a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took some-what with the Duke, but this point of surpising the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

In France, a little before this, was the Marriage solemnized between *Charles* the ninth King of France, and *Elizabeth of Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour of *Maximilian*; in gratulation whereof, Queen Elizabeth sent into France, *Thomas Lord Buckhurst*, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps the more, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord *Buckhurst* having in his retinue, one *Guydo Cavalcantius*, a Nobleman of Florence, the Queen another of France, as being a Florentine her self, had often conference with him, when he would many times say, What a happiness it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of England, and her Son *Henry Duke of Anjou*; and at last desired him to commend the motion to the Queen of England, both from her, and from her Son the King of France, as things they both exceedingly desired. The Lord *Buckhurst* returned, having for a present from the King of France, a Chain weighing a thousand French Crowns; and *Cavalcantius* at his return, made the motion to the Queen, who seemed not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match, there should be added to the Kingdom of England, the wealthy Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Burbon*, *Averno*, and in possibility, the Kingdom of France it self. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the French propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the Joynt Administration of the Kingdom; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was answered, that the two first Articles might in some sort be composed; but the third, scarce possibly: for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated, between Subjects of the same Kingdom; yet between a Wife and her Husband, it seemed very incongruous and inconvenient: Yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his preference with the Queen at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of England; he should not be compelled to use the English Rites; but at his pleasure use the Roman; not being expressly against the Word of God. But upon these *Pro-Eliot*, they could not accord; and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a year, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the Match was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended it, for only their own ends: for the Earl of *Leicester* (who knew more of the Queens mind than any man,) wrote at this time to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queens Ambassador in France, that he found the Queens inclination to cold in the matter, that though the point of Religion were fully accorded; yet she would finde one point or other to break it off.

At this time the continuance of the Duke of Norfolk's affection towards the Queen of Scots, came to be discovered by a Packet of Letters, sent by *Ridolphus* to the Bishop of *Ross*, and by *Bayliff's* confession (who brought the Letters) being set upon the Rack: so as the Bishop of *Ross* was confined to the Isle of *Ely*; *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gervard*, and *Rolfson*, were cast into the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had an aspiring mind to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* keeping. At the same time the Queen of Scots sent money to her confederates in Scotland; which being *Higford* delivered to one *Brown* to carry, and told it was Silver; when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to suspect something; and thereupon went and delivered both the money and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this, *Higford* being examined, confessed the whole matter; and withall gave notice of that Commentary also of the Queen of Scots, which is mentioned before; two days after, the Duke himself being examined, and knowing nothing what his Servants had confessed, denied every particular; and thereupon, was brought again to the Tower, by *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Smith*, *Henry Nevill*, and *Doctor Wilson*: And after him *Baunester*, who was the Dukes Counsel at Law: The Eails of

1571.

*Ridolphus* incited the Duke of Norfolk to take Arms against Queen Elizabeth, and by what Reasons.

A motion of a match is made between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou.

The Articles of the match.

But could not be agreed: and so the Treaty broke, utterly off.

The Duke of Norfolk's affection to the Queen of Scots, is discovered to continue, and by what means.

He is committed again to the Tower.

*Arundell*

1571.

The Civilians deliver their Opinions what may be done with an Ambassador, if he prove a traitor against the State.

Arundell and Southampton; the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, and others, are committed to Prison; who upon hope of Pardon, confessed all they knew concerning the matter. When these things, and especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were shewed him, he then cried out, I am betrayed by my own Servants; not having learned to be distrustful, which is the very snare of Wisdom. And then with all submission, he besought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he protested he never had the least thought of doing any hurt.

And now seeing it appeared that the Bishop of Ross had been the whole contriver of the business, it was deliberated what to do with him, because he was an Ambassador. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as David Lewis, Val-nine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones; of whom these questions were asked:

First, Whether an Ambassador who raises the Rebellion against that Prince to whom he is an Ambassador, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is not liable to Punishment? They answered, That such an Ambassador hath forfeited the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is liable to punishment.

Secondly, Whether the Minister or Proctor of a Prince, who is deposed by publick Authority, and in whose room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador? They answered, That if such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his Proctor cannot challenge the Privileges of an Ambassador, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, and such as have Right of Majesty, can appoint Ambassadors.

Thirdly, Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Countrey, and held in Custody, may have his Proctor; and if he shall be held an Ambassador? They answered, If such a Prince have not lost his Sovereignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor shall be reputed as an Ambassador or no, this dependeth upon the Authority of his Delegation.

Fourthly, Whether if a Prince gave warning to such a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under custody, that this Proctor shall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambassador; whether that Proctor may by Law challenge the Privilege of an Ambassador? They answered, A Prince may forbid an Ambassador to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom, if he contain not himself within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador.

What the Bishop of Ross pleads for himself.

Upon these Answers, the Bishop of Ross is warned by the Lords of the Council, That he shall no longer be esteemed an Ambassador, but be punished as his fault shall deserve. The Bishop alleged for himself, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambassador *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti*, (to use his own words) and therefore adviseth them, not to use harder measure to him, than was used to the English Ambassadors, Throgmorton in France, Randall and Tammworth in Scotland; who had raised rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the same; and yet had no greater punishment, than to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge him what the English had testified against him, he lovingly requested them to give no credit to it; forasmuch as by received custom, which hath the force of a Law, the Testimony of an English man against a Scot, or of a Scot against an English man, is not to be admitted: But after some altercations, the Bishops led away to the Tower, and kept close Prisoner.

Matthew Earl of Lenox, Regent of Scotland, is murdered. In his place is set the Earl of Mar, who dyed within thirteen months.

At this very season, Matthew Earl of Lenox, Regent of Scotland, the Kings Grand-father, was by the adverse party set upon at unawares; who having yielded himself to David Spense of Wormist, (that was then careful to defend him) together with him, was slain by Bell and Caulder; when with great industry he had governed the Kingdom for his Grand-child about fourteen months. In whose room, John Ereskin, Earl of Mar, by common consent of the Kings Faction, was chosen Regent of Scotland; who being a man of a quiet disposition, through extreme grief of the many troubles he sustained in the place, departed this life when he had governed thirteen months.

And now a Parliament was held at Westminster; wherein, besides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavours of seditious Subjects, another Law was made, That if any one during the Queens life, by Books written or printed, shall expressly affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Successor of the Queen, (besides the natural Offspring of her Body) or shall to that purpose publish, print, or dissease any Book or Schedules; he, and his favourers, shall for the first offence suffer a years imprisonment, and the loss of one half of his Goods: and if they offend again, they shall be in a *Præmunire*. A Law also was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of Rome, was made Treason; and it was pronounced against the Queen of Scots, That if she offended again against the Laws of England, it might be lawful to question her, as the Wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of England. But here the Queen interposed her Authority, and would not suffer it to be enacted. About this time, in May, a solemn Tilting was performed at Westminster; where the Challengers were Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton Esquire; who all did very valiantly, but the Earl of Oxford best.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, a Consultation was held, Whether John Story, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke D'Alva's Searcher (who sometime before, was by a Wile brought into England) being an English man born; and having in Brabant consulted with a forain Prince, about the

To be reconciled to the See of Rome, made Treason.

John Story Doctor of the Laws, executed for Treason, and why.

A the invading of England, were to be held guilty of high Treason? It was resolved affirmatively: whereupon he is called to the Bar, and indicted of Treason: That he had conspired with one *Prishall* a Conjuror, to make away the Queen: That he cursed her daily, when he said Grace at Table: That he shewed a way to the Secretary of Duke D'Alva, how to invade England, &c. Where he affirming, that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he belonged not to the Queen of England, but was the King of Spains sworn Subject; is nevertheless condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (forasmuch as no man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for Sir John Perce, President of Munster, had brought James Fitz Morris to submit himself, and crave pardon. Sidney the Lord Deputy returned into England, and Sir William Fitz William, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his room.

It was now the fifteenth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign; when Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, on the sixteenth day of January, was brought to his Tryal at Westminster-hall; where (as at Commissioners, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (made high Steward of England for that day) Rensel Gray, Earl of Kent; Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford; Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Walter Devereux, Viscount of Hereford; Edward Lord Clinton, Admirall; William Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain; William Cecil, Lord Burley Secretary; Arthur, Lord Gray of Wilton; James Blunt, Lord Montjoy; William Lord Sands; Thomas Lord Wentworth; William Lord Borough; Lewis Lord Mordant; John Pawlet, Lord St. John of Basing; Robert Lord Rich; Roger Lord North; Edmund Bruges, Lord Chandos; Oliver Lord St. John of Bleisho; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; and William West, Lord de la Ware. After silence bidden, Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, is commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clerk of the Crown said, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Keningale, in the County of Norfolk, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clerk with a loud voyce readeth the crimes laid to his charge: That in the eleventh year of the Queens Reign, he had trayterously conspired to make her away, and to bring in forraign Forces for invading the Kingdom: Also, That he dealt with the Queen of Scots concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his hand-writing: Also, That he relieved with money, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, that had stirred up Rebellion against the Queen: Also, That in the 13th year of the Queens Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope Pius the fifth, the Queens professed Enemy, of the King of Spain, and the Duke D'Alva, for the freeing of the Queen of Scots, and restoring of the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he sent supply to the Lord Herle, and other the Queens enemies in Scotland.

These Indictments being read, the Clerk demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these crimes, or not? Here the Duke requested he might be allowed to have Counsel But *Catiline*, chief Justice, made answer, That it was not lawful. Yet (saith the Duke) I have heard that *Humphrey Stafford*, in the Reign of King Henry the seventh, in a Case of Treason, had one assigned to plead for him. To which *Dyer*, chief Justice of the Common Pleas, made answer, That *Stafford* had Counsel assigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary, from whence he was taken by force; but in the Indictment of Treason, he pleaded his own cause. After this, the Duke yielding to be tried by the Peers; first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Gerrard* the Queens Attorney; and lastly, *Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the crimes objected against him: to all which, the Duke made colourable answers; but most of them being proved by sufficient testimony, he asked upon occasion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate, and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted enemies? to which *Catiline* answered, They were; and that the Queen of England might wage War with any Duke of France, and yet hold firm peace with the French King. When it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to say for himself: who answered, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord Steward beginning at the lowermost, asked them, My Lord de la Ware, is Thomas Duke of Norfolk, guilty of these crimes of High Treason, for which he is called in question? He rising up, and laying his hand upon his breast, answered, Guilty: in like manner they answered all. After this, the Lord Steward with tears in his eyes, pronounced sentence in form as is used. A few dayes after were *Barnes* and *Mather* executed, who conspired with one *Herle*, to make away certain of the Counsellors, and to free the Duke; but *Herle* revealed the business presently, to whom *Barnes* (when he saw his accuser brought forth) smitingly said, *Herle*, thou wert but one hour before me, else I had been in thy place for the accuser, and thou in my room to be hanged: At the same time with them was hanged also *Henry Rolf*, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the Duke were now condemned, yet the Queen was so tender of his case, that it was four months after before he was executed at 11, on the second of June, at eight of the clock in the morning, he was brought to the Scaffold upon Tower-Hill, and there beheaded.

At this time, and upon this occasion, a Parliament was Assembled, wherein amongst other Laws, it was Enacted, That if any man shall go about to free any person imprisoned by the Queens express Commandment, for Treason or suspicion of Treason, and not yet Arraigned, he shall lose all his goods for his life-time; and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; if the said person

1573.

The Duke of Norfolk is brought to his Tryall, and condemned.

No Counsel to be allowed in case of Treason.

The Duke is beheaded.

1573.

Walter Devereux is created Earl of Essex, and by what right. The L. Clinton is made Earl of Lincoln. Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, and Hen. Norris are made Barons by Summons.

Q. Elizabeth sends the Lord de la Ware, and others, to the Q. to charge her with many crimes, and what she answered.

How the Dutch got possession of their Sea-Towns.

A League concluded between Q. Elizabeth and the King of France.

Great preparation for the marriage of Henry King of Navarre with the French Kings Sister. At which marriage, was the cruel massacre of Protestants at Paris, and throughout all the Cities of France.

The King of France, for this shedding of blood, falls himself into a bloody Flix, and in grievous torments ends his life.

person having been arraigned, the Rescuer shall forfeit his life; if condemned, he shall be guilty of Rebellion.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, being before but Viscount *Hersford*; because he was defended by his Great-grand-mother, from the *Bonrehiere*, and made the 1<sup>st</sup> Lord *Clinton* (who had large Revenues in *Lincolnshire*) Earl of *Lincoln*; Also the called forth *John Pawlet* of *Basing*, the Marquess of *Winchesters* Son, *Henry Compton*, *Hen. Cheyney*, and *Henry Norris*, for Barons by Summons.

Within ten dayes after the Dukes death, *William Lord De la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Tho. Wilson*, Doctor of the Laws, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queens Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her, That she had usurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at *Edinburgh*; That she had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of prison; had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in *Scotland*, and in the *Low-Countries*; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain* and others; had conspired with certain of the *English* to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of *England*; Lastly, that she had procured the Popes Bull against the Queen, and suffered her self to be publicly named the Queen of *England* in Forraign Countries: All which accusations she either absolutely denied, or else fairly extenuated: and though (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature; yet she was content, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

About this time, the King of *Spain* by his Ambassador here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the *Netherlands* were harboured and entertained in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the *Dutch*, who could any wayes be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to *D'Alvas*, or the King of *Spain's* benefit: For hereupon, *Comte Fander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out of *England* surprised the *Brill* first, then *Flushing*, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke *D'Alva* in a manner from the Sea. And this error, to suffer the Protestant party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of *Spain*. And now many Military men having little to do at home, got them into the *Netherlands*, some to Duke *D'Alva*, but the far greater number to the Prince of *Orange*: The first of whom was *Thomas Morgan*, who carried three hundred *English* to *Flushing*; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of *Hamphrey Gilbert*; and afterward it became the Nursery of all our *English* Souldiers.

At this time *Charles* the French King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the *Low-Country* War, concluded a Peace, entered into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor signified to the Survivor within a year, that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, what aid by Sea or Land, they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, and Admiral of *England*, was sent into *France*, with whom went the Lord *Dacres*, *Rich. Talbot*, *Sandis*, and others. The French King likewise sent the Duke of *Memurancy*, and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a great Train; that the Queen in the presence of them, and the Ambassador in Ordinary, might wear to the League, which she did at *Westminster*, the seventeenth of *May*, in the year 1572. The day after, she made *Memurancy* Knight of the Garter.

*Memurancy* whilst he tarried in *England*, made intercession in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be shewed to the Queen of *Scots*; and then made much ado again about the marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; but being hopeles to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he returned into *France*; for now was great provision making ready for the marriage, between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the French Kings Sister; to which Solemnity, with notable dissimulation, the Queen of *Navarre*, and the chief of all the Protestants were assured, being born in hand, that there should be a renovation of love, and a perpetual Peace established. The Earl of *Leicester* likewise, and the Lord *Burleigh*, were invited out of *England*, and out of *Germany*, the Sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, under colour of honour, but indeed, that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion, at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the marriage being celebrated, there presently followed that cruel Massacre at *Paris*, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants, throughout all the Cities of *France*; but to set a shew of equity upon the *Faith*, Edicts and Proclamations were presently set forth, that the Protestants had plotted a wicked conspiracy against the King, the Queen Mother, the Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princess of the Blood-Royal; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyn was presently stamped, upon the one side whereof was the Kings Picture with this Inscription *Virtus in Rebelle*, on the other side, *Pietas excitavit justitiam*; But the King of *France*, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escaped not the Divine revenge; for before the year came about, he fell sick of a bloody Flix, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

A little before this *Mota Fenell*, Ambassador to the King of *France*, being in *England*, by virtue of an Order from the Queen Mother of *France*, propoundeth to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Kew* worth (two dayes before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son *Francis* Duke

A Duke of *Alencon* (for the Queen Mother had been told by some cunning men, that all her Sons should be Kings, and she knew no way for it but this.) But Queen *Elizabeth*, by reason of the disparity of ages, modestly excused her self, for he was scarce seventeen years old, and she was now past eight and thirty; yet she promised to consider of it, and *Alencon* did not leave to prosecute the suit.

At this time, *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, who first rebelled, and afterwards fled into *Scotland*, was for a sum of money delivered by the Earl of *Morton*, to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governor of *Berwick*; and a while after was beheaded at *Tork*. And now as these two great Personages, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* were taken away by a violent death, to three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural death: First *William Percy*, who from a private man came by degrees to be Marquess of *Winchester*; lived to the age of within three years of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his Children, and his Childrens Issues, after he had held the place of Lord Treasurer of *England*, above twenty years; in whose room succeeded Sir *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*; Then died *Edmund* Earl of *Darby*, famous as well for his Hospitality and good House-keeping, as for his skill in Surgery, and Bone-setting; Then died Sir *William Pater*, who being ascended from an honest stock at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, was Privy Counsellor, and Secretary to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, who planted himself in *Essex*, where he purchased great possessions; whose Son *John* was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that Country.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed money of her Subjects, she thankfully repaid in, which won her no less love, than if she had given it, and more love she gained also at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which she commanded Noble men to observe the Law of keeping retainers; by the other, she restrained Informers, who under colour of spying out Crown-land, concealed by private persons, surreptitiously seized upon the Lands of Parish-Churches, and Alms-houses, piously endowed by the Queens Ancestors. And more Love and Honour also she gained at this time by two Acts of Justice; the one, that she satisfied the *English* Merchants out of the goods which were detained belonging to the *Dutch*, and restored the rest to the Duke *D'Alva*, and made a full satisfaction with the Merchants of *Genova*, for the money intercepted; the other, that she freed *England* at this time, of the debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in forraign parts, and were increased by yearly interest, and caused the obligations of the City of *London*, which had lo often been renewed to be given in, to the great rejoicing of the Citizens.

The Spanish Affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Willem* revolted, and the Spanish Navy vanquished by the *Zealanders*, Duke *D'Alva* against his will, began to throw more hindrels towards the *English*, to assist in the month of *January*, the Trade which in *Anno* 1568. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the *Dutch* and the *English* for two years; but those two years expired, the *English* removed their Trading to the confederate States.

The last year in the month of *November*, a Daughter was born to the French King, to whom he dedicated Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon sent *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* into *France*, with a Pont of massy Gold to stand as her Deputy at the Christning. Hereupon, she for that, the Queen promised to observe the League strictly, the French King and the Queen Mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke *D'Alencon* wrote sundry Love-letters to her, and the French King and his Mother interceded for the marriage with all earnestness. It is true, the Queens conceived divers Reasons why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends dissuaded her as much from it; at last the Queen Mother of *France* was wonderful importunate, that her Son *Alencon* might have leave to come and see her; whereunto, being wearied with continual Letters and Messages, she gave her consent; but upon condition, that he should not take it for any disgrace to him, if he returned without obtaining his Suit: But as soon as Queen *Elizabeth* had notice, that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was very sick, she gave intimation to *Alencon* by *Edward Harley* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, that he should not make too much haste into *England*; but should first procure a Peace by some means or other in *France*, and declare by some notable Argument, his good will towards the Protestants, thereby to be the more welcome Guest into *England*. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Protestants were allowed to exercise their Religion; and then again the French King and the Queen Mother used all their endeavour to have the marriage go forward (for they were very desirous that *Alencon* who was of a crooked and perverse disposition, and prone to raise tumults) might be removed out of *France*; and withall, they requested Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea; he might have publick caution to sail through the *British* Ocean. To this last Request, she not only consented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alencon* fell sick of the Meazles, which his Mother signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rhuz*, excusing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determined. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where she gave him Royal entertainment; and *Maitton Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Royal entertainment to them both.

All this while, since the death of the Earl of *Morre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now by the procurement of Queen *Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton*, is made Regent; who, when his Authority in a Parliamentary Assembly was established Enacted many profitable

1573.

A motion is now made to Q. Elizabeth to marry Francis Duke of Alencon, and her answer. Thomas Percy Earl of Northumberland is beheaded. William Pavlet Marquess of Winchester dies, his great age, and numerous issue.

Some good acts of Queen Elizabeth.

The Earl of Worcester sent as Deputy for the Queen, to Christen the King of France's Daughter. The Duke D'Alencon solicits the Queen by letters.

The Queen gives leave that the Duke D'Alencon may come and see her, but with condition. In hope of this match, the Protestants are better used in France than before.

James Douglas Earl of Morton is made Regent of Scotland, but is opposed by divots of the Lords.

1573

It belongs to the Earls of Marre to have the custody of the Kings person in his Minority.

Q. Elizabeth sendeth aid to the Regent of Scotland, with which he reproves the adverse Faction.

Lydington for his variable disposition called the Chamelion.

The Duke D'Alva is called home, and Zulega sent Governour in his place.

A. Franck opinion of Peter Boucher.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal, the fourth degree of Honour in England.

fitable Laws for the defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the King. But the protection and keeping of the Kings Person, he confirmed to *Alexander Breshkin*, Earl of Marre (to whom the custody of the Kings tender years, by special privilege belonged) though he were himself in his Minority: Upon these Conditions: That no Papist, nor factious persons should be admitted to his presence: An Earl should come with only two Servants attending him: A Baron, with only one: All other single and every one unnamed: The French King in the meantime, sent his Ambassador *Adonfir Pyran*, to corrupt the Earl of Albion, and *Hansley* with large promises, to oppose the Regent: Queen Elizabeth as much laboured to defend him: but through by the Ministry of *Kilgrew*, the *Lord James Hamilton* Duke of *Chiffli Herald*, and *George Chardon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the most eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircaldy*, Lord *Granage*, (who had when he was Regent, had made Covenant with *Edinburgh Castle*) the Lord *Hume*, *Lydington*, the Bishop of *Dundee*, and others, would by no means admit of the Regents Government, but held that Castle, and fortified it to the Queen of Scots name, having *Lydington* for their Counsellor here, and trusting to the natural strength of the place, and to the Duke D'Alva, and the Kings promises, to send them supplies both of men and money: Now when these persons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Castle to the Regent, Queen Elizabeth (who could in no case induce the French in Scotland) suffered her length to be inured by the Regent, to send Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for assaulting the Castle, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hostages should be sent into England, to be security for returning the Men and Munition, which by the Condition hazard of War, they should chance to miscarry. The Conditions being agreed on: *William Drury*, Marshall of the Garrison at *Burgh*, with some great Ordinance, and fifteen hundred Soldiers (amongst whom were some Noble Volunteers, *George Carle*, *Henry Carr*, *Thomas Ochiltree*, *Henry Le*, *William Kircaldy*, *Shuton*, *Caton*, *Kilgrew*, *William Kilgrew*, and others, entered into Scotland, and besieged the Castle, which after three and thirty dayes siege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings use: All the persons that were in it: amongst whom, *Kircaldy*, Lord *Granage*, and *James his Brother*, *Musman* and *Cock Goldsmiths* (who had counterfeited Coins in the Castle) were hanged: though to redeem *Granges* life, a member of the Family of the *Kirkcaldys*, offered themselves in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, besides an annual Pension of three thousand Marks, and twenty thousand pounds of Scottish money in present, and to put to execution, that from henceforth he should continue in duty and homage to the King: but it would not be accepted. *Hume* and the rest were spared, through Queen Elizabeths merciful intercession: *Lydington* was sent to *Leith*, where he dyed, and was suspected to be poisoned: A man of the greatest understanding in the Scottish Nation, and of an excellent wit, but very variable: for which, *George Buchanan* called him the Chamelion.

And now from this time Scotland began to breathe after long Civil Wars, and to with the remains of both parties, as the Soldiers, betook themselves into *Swedenland*, *France*, and the *Low Countries*, where they valorously behaved themselves, and won great commendation. As for *John Leslie*, Bishop of *Ross*, he was now set at liberty, but commanded to depart presently out of Scotland, and being beyond the Sea, he continued still to solicit his Masters the Queen of Scots cause, with the Emperor, the Pope, the French King, and the German Princes of the Popish Religion, who all led him on with fair promises, but performed nothing: For indeed, he in whom he had greatest confidence, which was the Duke of D'Alva, was at that time called away, partly out of jealousy of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion, that by his cruelty he made the people to revolt: and therefore in his place was sent *Ladovick Zuniga*, a man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more peaceable disposition than D'Alva: and now this man did all good Offices to win Queen Elizabeth to him, and minding his own affairs only, would not intermeddle with the Scottish or English matters.

About this time, a frantick opinion was held by one *Peter Boucher*, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, that it was lawful to kill them that opposed the truth of the Gospel: and so far was he possessed with this opinion, that he assaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, and wounded him with a Dagger, taking him for *Hutton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of her Privy Council, whom he had been informed to be a great Adversary to Innovations. The Queen grew to angry hereat, that she commanded Martial Law should be executed upon him presently, till her Councils advised her, that Martial Law was not to be used, but in the Field, and in turbulent times: but at home, and in time of Peace, there must be legal proceedings: Hereupon *Boucher* was sent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he struck it into the brains of one of his Keepers, named *Hugh Longworth*, and killed him: for which fact, he was condemned of murder, had his right hand cut off, and nailed to the Gallows, and then himself hanged.

After the violent death of this Varlet, we may speak of the natural death of two great persons: First, *William Lord Howard of Effingham*, Son of that Warlike *Thomas Howard*, Duke of Norfolk, by his second Wife *Agnis Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen Mary, and Lord High Admiral of England, and by Queen Elizabeth Lord Chamberlain, till such time, that being taken with age, he yielded up that place to the Earl of *Suffex*, and was then made Keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of Honour in England. His Son *Charles* succeeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

A Queen, and then Lord High Admirall of England. A while after him dyed *Reginald Gray* Earl of Kent, whom the Queen a year before of a private man had made Earl of Kent, when as that Title, from the death of *Richard Gray* Earl of Kent, who had waisted his Parrimony, and was elder Brother to this mans Grand Father, had lien asleep for fifty years together.

At this time many particular Rebellions were in Ireland, The O'Connors and O'Moors took Arms, and committed many outrages: In Munster *James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* did the like; but by the industry of *St. John Perrot*, President of Munster, were suppressed. In Ulster, *Bryan Mac Philym* burnt *Knockfergus*, and many other joynd in Rebellion with him. Against these, *Walter Devereux*, (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of *Essex*) desired leave to go; which *St. William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of Ireland opposed, as fearing that the glory of so great an Earl would eclipse his light. But for this, the Queen finds a remedy, by appointing *Essex*, to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of Ulster. But this remedy for *Fitz-Williams*, might have made a fore in the minde of *Essex* (to receive his Authority from his inferior) but that the Noblesse of his minde, made him more to regard the Vertue, than the Glory. And so, in the end of August, he landed at *Knockfergus*, having with him the Lords *Darcy* and *Rich*, and *St. Henry Knowles* and his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carves*, *Henry William*, and *John Norris*: At his landing *Bryan Mac Philym* welcomed him, tendering unto him all manner of dutifullnesse and service; but presently after, falls from him, and joyns with *Turlough Leynigh*. After this revolt, the Earl of *Essex* finding many difficulties in the businesse, and himself not well provided of skilfull Souldiers, makes suite to the Company opposed; till after expence of a years time, and much treasure, he at last obtained leave, and returned home.

The next Year, being 1574, and the seventeenth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, the Duke of *Alanson* grew more importunate in his suit, than at any time before; so he obtained of the Queen, to come into England, any time before the twentieth of May; and this she the rather did, because she perceived him now to be really bent against the *Guysses* her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civill Law, the Queens Embassadour in France, gave intimation to the Queen, that *Alanson* and *Navarre* were in restraint, and committed to Keepers: For the *Guysses* had suggested, that *Alanson* had intimate friendship with Admirall *Colen*, the chief Leader of the Protestants in France; and indeed, *Alanson* being examined, freely confessed, that he had now for a good while desired the marriage of the Queen of England, and conceiving that good correspondence with *Colen* might be usefull to him to that end, he had thereupon had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the Low Country War. In the mean time *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dales* Secretary, got cunningly to *Alanson*, and in the Queens name, made promise both to him, and to *Navarre*, that she would omit no opportunity of procuring their enlargement. For which, the subtle Queen-Mother so complained of him to Queen Elizabeth, that he was faine to go into France, and there to crave pardon for his fault. But *Navarre*, not unmindfull of this kindnesse in *Wilkes*, when about five and twenty years after, being King of France, he saw him in Normandy, he knighted him. Hereupon the Queen sent *Thomas Randall* into France, to the Queen-Mother, that if it were possible, he might gain Reconciliation for *Alanson* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*. But before he was landed in France, *Charles* the then French King dyed, whose Funerall Rites were solemnly performed in *St. Pauls Church* in London.

As soon as *Henry* the third, King of France, was come from Poland, Roger Lord North was sent into France, to congratulate his return, and his happy Inauguration into the Kingdom; who thereupon together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith send their joynt Letters into England, strongly soliciting the businesse of Marriage, between *Alanson* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithstanding they used all possible devices, (and left no means unfought) to get the young King of Scotland to be sent into France, and to deprive *Morton* who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of Scots also was very desirous; she being perswaded, that if her Son were once gotten safely into France, she and the Catholics in England should be more mildly used. At which time, an aspersion was cast upon the Queen of Scots, as if she had made the match between *Charles* Uncle to the Queen of Scots (who had lately the Earldom of *Lenox* confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Elizabeth Cavendish* the Countesse of *Shrewsburies* Daughter by a former Husband, upon which ground, both their Mothers and some others also were kept in Prison for a time; and being doubted whereunto this marriage should tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, President of the Council in the North, is authorized with secret Instructions to examine it. It will be fit here to say something of this place of Government in the North, which from small beginnings, is now become so eminent as it is at this day, whereof this was the Original. When as in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts, about the subversion of Abbeys was quieted, the Duke of *Norfolkes* tarried in those quarters, and many complaints of injuries, done were tendered unto him, whereof some he composed himself, and others he commended under his Seal to men of wisdom to determine: Hereof when King *Henry* heard, he sent down a peculiar Seal to be used in these cases, and calling home the Duke, committed the same to *Tunfall* Bishop of *Durham*, and constituted Assistent with Authority to hear and determine the complaints of the Poor, and he was the first

*Reginald Gray* of a private man made Earl of Kent.

Many Rebellions are in Ireland.

*Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex* is made Governour of Ulster, by a Patent from the Deputy.

1574. An. Reg. 17. The Duke of *Alanson* continues his suite to Queen Elizabeth.

*Charles* the French King dies.

*Henry* the new King of France solicits the Queen for *Alanson*.

How the President of the North came first to be ordained.

first that was called President; and from that time, the authority of his successors grew in a credit.

1575.

An. Reg. 18.

Henry King of France prepares war against the Protestants.

It was now the year One thousand five hundred seventy five, and the eighteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when Henry the third King of France being returned from Poland, and Crowned at Rheims, was careful to have the League of Blois confirmed; which in the year 1572, had been concluded between his Brother Charles and the most illustrious Queen Elizabeth. Now therefore he confirmed it with His own Subscription, and delivered it to Dale the Queens Legier, as the Queen likewise ratified it at St James near Westminster. But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutual defence against all persons mentioned in the League, was intended to comprehend the case of Religion also? Whereunto the answering, that it did comprehend it; he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and Alanfon being drawn to the Adverle party, there was no speech of the marriage for a long time.

In the Netherlands at this time, Lodovick Zuvinga, who was successor unto Duke D' Alva, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which D' Alva had neglected; but not being sufficiently provided of a Navy, he sent Boischoits into England, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Mariners to go against the Hollanders and Zealanders, but this she would not grant: Then he made suit that the Queen would please not to take it in evil part, if the banished persons of the English in the Low Countries served the King of Spain in a Sea-fight against the Hollanders; and that they might have free access to the Ports of England, to buy provision for ready money; but this she would not grant neither: Then he made request, that the Dutch, who were Rebels against the King of Spain, might be put out of England; but neither would she grant this, as being an Action void of Humanity, and against the Laws of Hospitality: yet because she would not be thought to violate the old Burgundian Law, she commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the Dutch which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the Dutch, who had taken up Arms against the King of Spain, enter into the Ports of England, and by Name, the Prince of Orange, and Luty other the prime of that Faction, and this she did the more willingly, because Zuvinga at the intercession of Wilton the English Embassadour, had removed the Earl of Westmerland, and other English Fugitives out of the Dominions of the King of Spain, and had also dissolved the English Seminary at Dowry; though in stead thereof, the Guises through the procurement of Pope Gregory the thirteenth, let up another Seminary at Rheims.

The English Seminary at Dowry is dissolved, and another set up at Rheims.

The States of the Low-countries make choice of Q. Elizabeth to be their Protector, and why.

And at this time the Prince of Orange, perceiving his Forces but small, and thinking himself too weak for the King of Spain, and little hope of aid from England, he entered into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose protection they were bent and in the next security to betake themselves: The Princes of Germany they knew were not all of one mind, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible second and concur with them in their Religion; and therefore they were not so fit. Then the French they saw, were intangled in a Civil Warre, and so had enough of their own to do; besides the old grudges and heart-burnings that were between the French and Dutch; and therefore neither were they so fit. There remained then the English, as fittest of any (if it might be obtained) seeing they were Neighbours, of the same Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the commendousness of the English Nation) they sent into England, Philip Marnix of Saint Aldegond, Janus Dowla, William Nywell, and Doctor Melsen; who in an honourable Ambassage, offered the Countries of Holland and Zealand to be possessed or protected by the Queen, so far as much as she was defended from the Princes of Holland, by Philippa Wife of Edward the third, Daughter of William of Bavaria, Count of Hanonia and Holland: by whose other Sister, the hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of Spain. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, having maturely advised of the matter, her Answer was this: That as yet she conceived not how with safety of her Honour, and an upright Conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her Protection, much less assame them into her possession; but promised, she would deal earnestly with the King of Spain, that a well conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this, Zuvinga, Governour of the Low-countries dyed; after whose death, the States of Brabant, Flanders, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration, and Authority in the Common-wealth; which the King of Spain was faine to confirm to them, till such time as John of Austria were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen Elizabeth in behalf of the King of Spain, sent William Drayson in Ambassie to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet, which yet, by reason the Spanish Souldiers were so outrageous, little prevailed.

In England all was calm and quiet for all this year, onely a difference fell out between Sr John Forster, Governour of Berwick, and John Carmichill, Keeper of Liddesdale in Scotland, in composing whereof, the Regent of Scotland, having given Queen Elizabeth some discontentment, was faine to come unarmed before the Earl of Huntington, appointed the Legate for England, at Bonderod, and so the matter was taken up, and the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and to his great commendation.

The Queens Answer to their offer.

Zuvinga dying John of Austria is sent Governour into the Netherlands.

A dation, restrained the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdomes.

This year there dyed in Scotland, James Hamilton Duke of Castle-Herald and Earl of Arran, who was great Grand-child to James the second, King of Scots, by his Daughter, appointed Tutor to Mary, Queen of Scots, and designed Heir and Governour of the Kingdom, during her minority.

At this time the Earl of Essex is come into Ireland again, where having done good services, and being in the midst of Victory, he was on a suddain commanded to resign his Authority in Ulster: and as though he were an ordinary Commander, is set over three hundred Souldiers: which disgrace was wrought by his adversaries in Court, to the continuall perplexing of his milde spirit. And now is Sr Henry Sidney the third time sent Deputy into Ireland; who going into Ulster, there came to him and submitted themselves Mac Mahon, Mac Guyre, Torlogh Leynigh, the O'Conors and O'Moors, the Earl of Desmond, and the rebellious Sons of the Earl of Clanriccard, all whom he received into favour, and with great commendation administrated the Province.

At this time the Spaniards in the Low-Countries began to deal roughly with the people, and harried the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and injury; Antwerp, the most famous Town of Traffick in all Europe, was miserably pillaged, the English Merchants houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Queen Elizabeth was sent Monsieur Aubigny, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a great sum of money, the better to enable them to resist the Spaniard. But she being certainly informed, That they first sued to the French King for help, denyeth the request, yet promiseth to intercede earnestly with the King of Spain for peace. And in that employment, she addressed into Spain, John Smith, coulen german (so King Edward the sixth, a man of Spanish behaviour, and well known to the King of Spain, who was liberally received by the King; and with such wisdom retorted the contumelious speech of Gaspar Quiroga Archbishop of Toledo and the Spanish Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queens Title the Attribute of Defender of the Faith, that he had gained great thanks from the King of Spain himself, who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe command, that the Title should be admitted.

The Earl of Essex going into Ireland again, is disgraced with being made an ordinary Commander.

John Smith Embassadour into Spain, his stout carriage.

And now by this time was John of Austria come into the Low-Countries with a large Commission: for he was the Naturall Son of the Emperour Charles the sixth, to whom the Queen sent Edward Horley, Governour of the Isle of Wight, to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help, if the States called the French into the Netherlands; yet at the same time, Swingingham being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, she sent them twenty thousand pounds of English money; (so well she could play her game of both hands) upon condition they should neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the French into the Low-countries, nor refuse a Peace, if John of Austria should condescend to indifferent Conditions; but if he embraced a Peace, then the money should be paid back to the Spanish Souldiers, who were ready to mutiny for lack of pay. So careful she was to retain these declining Provinces in obedience to the King of Spain.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Sea upon the North part of America, leading to the wealthy coast of Cathaia, whereby in one commerce might be joyned the riches of both the East and West parts of the world, in which voyage was employed Martyn Forbisher, who set sail from Harwich the eighteenth of June, and the ninth of August, entered into that Bay, or Sea, but could passe no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two years after, with no better success.

Martyn Forbisher, is sent to discover the North part of America.

About this time dyed the Emperour Maximilian, a Prince that deserved well of Queen Elizabeth and the English, who thereupon sent Sr Philip Sidney to his Son Rodolphus King of the Romans, to condole his Fathers death, and congratulate his succession: as likewise to do the like, for the decease of the Count Electour Palatine, named Frederick the third, with his surviving Son.

And now Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, who out of Leicesters envy, had been recalled out of Ireland, was out of Leicesters fear, (as being threatened by him) sent back again into Ireland, but with the empty title of Earl Marshall of Ireland; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloody Flux, and in most grievous torments ended his life: When he had first desired the standers by to admonish his Son (scarce ten years old at that time) to have always before his eyes, the six and thirtieth year of his age, as the utmost term of his life, which neither himself, nor his Father before him could out-go, and the Son indeed attained not to it, as shall hereafter be declared. He was suspected to be poysoned, but Sr Henry Sidney, Deputy of Ireland, after diligent search made, wrote to the Lords of the Council, That the Earl often said, It was familiar to him upon any great discontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part, he had no suspicion of his being poysoned: yet was this suspicion increased; for that presently after his death, the Earl of Leicester with a great sum of money and large promises, putting away Douglas Sheffield, by whom he had a Son, openly married Essex his widow. For although it was given out, that he was privately married to her, yet Sr Francis Knolles her Father, who was well acquainted with Leicesters roving loves, would not believe it, unless he himself were present at the marriage, and had it testified by a publick Notary. At this time also dyed Sr Anthony Cook of Gyddy-Hall in Essex, who had been School-master to King Edward the sixth.

Walter Devereux Earl of Essex out of discontentment dyeth in Ireland.

The Earl of Leicester marries his widow Sr Anthony Cook dies, and how his learned daughters were bestowed and ed.

and was no lesse School-master to his own Daughters, whom he made skilfull in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; married all to men of great Honour; one to *St William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; a second to *St Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a third to *St Thomas Hobby*, who dyed Embassador in *France*; a fourth to *St Ralph Lowley*; and the fifth to *St Henry Killigrew*.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of *Clanriccard*, who scarce two moneths before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy soon suppressed; and *William Drury* newly made President of *Munster*, reduced the whole Province to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, trulling to the Immunities of the place. For King *Edward* the third made *Kerry* a County Palatine, and granted to the Earls of *Desmond* all the Royall Liberties which the King of *England* had in that County, excepting *Wreckby Fyre*, *Forefall*, and *Treasure Trouve*. The Governour notwithstanding, who wisely judged that these Liberties were granted for the better preservation of Justice, and not for maintenance of outrageous malefactors, entered into it, and violently put to flight and vanquished the mischievous crew, which the Earl of *Desmond* had placed there in ambush. The Earl in the mean while made great complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy; and particularly of the Tax which they call *Cresse*, which is an exaction of provision of Victuals at a certain rate, for the Deputy's Family; and the Souldiers in Garrison. This Tax, not he only, but in *Lemster* also many Lords refused to pay, alleading that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in *England*, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently imposed; and that a certain Right of Majesty, a prerogative Royall, which is not subjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wise Civilians have observed. Yet the Queen commanded to use a moderation in exactions of this nature, saying, She would have her subjects shorn, but not devoured.

It was now the year 1577, and the twentieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *John of Austria*, pretending to Queen *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal secretly with the Pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himself to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and invade *England*: of which his practises the Prince of *Orange* gives Queen *Elizabeth* the first Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep dissembling) he enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (because she would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as though she meant to foster a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) he sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with these Informations, That he had always endeavoured to keep the *Low-Countries* in obedience to the King of *Spain*; had persuaded (even with threatenings) the Prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace; but withall, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, he then requests him to restore their privileges, and to remove *John of Austria* from the Government, who not only was her deadly enemy, but laboured by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter servitude. If this be granted by the King of *Spain*, she then faithfully promiseth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him, as by their Promise to her they are engaged to do, she will utterly forsake them, and bend her self with all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John of Austria* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience and making a large declaration of the causes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princess) fate as an Honourable Arbitress between the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the States; insomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, That *France* and *Spain* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*; and *England* the Beam to turn them either way, for they still got the better, to whom she adhered.

About this time, when the Judges sat at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes* a Book-seller was questioned for speaking opprobrious words against the Queen, suddenly they were surprised with a pestilent favour; whether rising from the noysome smell of the prisoners, or from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours dyed, except Women and children; and the Contagion went no further. There dyed *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron *Robert D'Oyley*, *St William Babington*, *D'Oyley* Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Weyman*, *Phetisplace*, the most noted men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer, almost all the Jurours, and three hundred other, more or lesse.

This year the title of the Lord *Latimer*, (which had flourished in the Family of the *Nevills* ever since the days of King *Henry* the sixth) was extinct in *John Nevill*, who dyed without issue male, and left a fair estate to four Daughters, whereof the eldest married *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the second *Thomas Cecil*, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the third, *St William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, *St John Davers*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moors* and *O-Conors*, and others, whose Ancestours the Earl of *Suffex* in Queen *Maries* days, had for their rebellion deprived of their Patrimony in *Leyfe* and *Ophalie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the conduct of *Rorie Oge*; that is, *Roderick* the younger; set on fire the Village of *Nassle*, assault *Lushin*; from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward slain.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low-countries*, *John North*, the Lord *North's* eldest son, *John Norris*, second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonels, with many voluntaries, to learn Military experience. Thither also came *Casimire* the Elector Palatine's Son, with an Army of *German* Horse and Foot, at the Queens charges: upon these

The County of *Kerry* in *Ireland*, a County Palatine.

The Tax in *Ireland* called the *Cresse*.

1577.

An. Reg. 19. A suddain mortality at the Assizes at *Oxford*.

The Lord *Latimers* family in issue male extinct, and how his four Daughters were bestow'd.

*English* Volunteers go into the *Low-countries*, and do valiantly.

*Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of victory, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break through the Hedges, and brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Voluntaries had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the *English* and *Scottish* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments, by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this battell *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him, as also *Stuard* the *Scott*, *Bingham*, and *William Markham*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands*, the Count *Swarzenberg* from the Emperor, *Monsieur Bellievre* from the French King, and from the Queen of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Suffex*, by his second wife, who had been a prime man in the rebellion of the North, and served now under *Don John*, was accused by the *English* fugitives, that he was sent under hand to kill *Don John*; which (whether true or false) he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* have affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his last end, confessed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the Tower of *London*, and moved by *Walsingham's* large promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death, deny that he confessed any such thing, though the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this confession from him.

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his age, died of the Pestilence, or (as some say) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a man of an insatiable Ambition, who aimed first at the Kingdom of *Tunisi*, and after, of *England*; and who, without the privacy of the French King, or King of *Spain*, had made a league with the *Guises*, for the defence of both Crowns.

*Alanson* although very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which suit, first was *Bacherville* sent to the Queen; and soon after *Ramboulet*, from the French King; and within a moneth after that, *Simier*, a near Courtier, and exquisitely learned in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the French Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queens Bed-chamber, mentioned the Earl of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry countenance, replied, Dost thou think me so unlike my self, and so forgetfull of Majesty, as to prefer my servant, whom I my self have advanced, before the greatest Princes of the Christian World.

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* Affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, though a man of great wisdom and valour, yet was now so overcome with covetousnesse, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon, with the joynt consent of the Nobility, the Administration of the Common-wealth was translated to the King, though he was yet but twelve years old, and twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Council, three of them by course for three moneths; amongst whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, agreed on in the year 1559, to be confirmed, for the more happy restraining the robbers about the borders; and withall, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*; namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countesse his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen readily promised the former demands, but stuck a little at the last, concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That *Arbella*, the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scots* Uncle, born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the Kings of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands, by *Burligh* Master of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, satisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For she took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Infeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Uncle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arbella*; although indeed, it be a Privilege of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recall Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the Prescript Form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power, at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption, the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of *Atholl* their Captain, and in the Kings name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassadors, they were stayed from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home, and the Earl of *Atholl* soon after dyed, not without suspicion of being poisoned.

*Egremond Ratcliffe* is put to death in *Flanders*, and why.

*John D' Austria* dyeth.

The Duke D' *Alanson* solicits his suit with the Queen afresh.

The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, is removed, and sticking though but twelve years old is admitted to govern.

The King of Spain and the Pope conspire against Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas Stukeley is by the Pope honoured with the greatest dignities, and sent into Ireland. But diverted by the King of Portugal, is slain in Africa.

1579.

Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma is made Governour of the Netherlands.

Alanson comes privately into England, and hath secret conference with the Queen. Burleigh and others are enjoined to consult of the marriage Covenants. The title of Lord D'Albany from whence it came. Esme Steward made first Duke of Lenox.

At this time the King of Spain, and Pope Gregory the thirteenth held secret Consultation, to invade at once both England and Ireland, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen Elizabeth. The Pope to gain the Kingdom of Ireland for his Son James Buon of Campagno, whom he had made Marquess of Vincola. The King of Spain secretly to relieve the Irish Rebels, as Queen Elizabeth did the Dutch, while friendship in words was upheld on both sides: and being known, That the greatest strength of England consisted in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, that the Italian and Dutch Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surprised with a greater Fleet: and at that time Thomas Stukeley, an English fugitive, should joyn himself to the Irish Rebels with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of Ireland to the Popes Ballard Son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the Titles of Marquess of Lemster, Earl of Wexford and Caterlogh, Viscount Morogh, and Baron of Ross (the principal dignities of Ireland) and made him Commander over eight hundred Italian Souldiers, to be employed in the Irish War. With which Forces Stukeley setting sail from Civita Vecchia, arrived at length in Portingal, where he and his Forces were by the divine Providence diverted another way. For Sebastian King of Portingal (to whom the chief Command in this Expedition against England was assigned) being first to dispatch a War in Africa, in aid of Mahomet Abdall Son to the King of Fesse, perswaded Stukeley to go along with him into Mauritania, together with his Italian Souldiers, and then afterward they would go together against Ireland: To this motion Stukeley loom agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny; for in that memorable Battell where three Kings were slain, both he and Sebastian lost their lives.

At this time St Henry Sidney (who had been Deputy of Ireland at severall times eleven years) delivered up his Deputy-ship to St William Drury, President of Munster: Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when John Casimire, Son of Frederick the third, Count Palatine of the Rhine, came into England; where, after he had been entertained with Tiltings and Jests, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly pension, he returned. And now was Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, made Governour of the Netherlands by the King of Spain, and Queen Elizabeth supplied the States with a great sum of money, for which William Davison brought into England the ancient precious Habillments of the Family of Burgundy, and their Costly Vessels, laid to pawn by Matthew of Austria and the States.

Simier in the mean time here in England ceaseth not by all amorous devises to perswade the Queen to marry Alanson; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of Leicester gave out, he crept into the Queens affection by Love-potions and unlawfull Arts: and Simier on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down Leicester, discovering his marriage with the Earl of Essex widow; whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at Greenwich, and had meant to have him committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of Sussex (though his greatest Adversary) dissuaded her: telling her that none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimoine. But Leicester notwithstanding was so provoked for his confining, that he was bent to revenge it, and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned one Tinder a Yeoman of the Guard to murder Simier. Sure it is the Queen by Proclamation commanded that no person should offer injury to the Embassadour or any of his servants. At which time it fell out that as the Queen, together with Simier, the Earl of Lincoln, and Hatton Vice-Chamberlain wererowed in a barge to Greenwich, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a boat, shot one of the rowers in the Queens Barge through the arm with a bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows, but upon solemn Protestation, that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malicious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen that he was purposely suborned to shoot either her or the French Embassadour: but she was so far from suspecting her subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them which a mother would not believe against her children.

After a few days Alanson himself came privately into England with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at Greenwich, at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret conference together, all parties being sent away: After which, being seen of very few, he requred home; but within a moneth or two after the Queen enjoyed the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, the Earl of Sussex, Leicester, Hatton and Walsingham, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with Simier concerning the marriage Covenants.

As in England there was some fear of this Frenchman: so in Scotland at this time of another Frenchman, called Esme Steward, Lord of Aubigny, who came now into Scotland to visit the King his coulen. He was the Son of John Steward Brother to Matthew Steward Earl of Lenox the Kings Grand-father, and had denomination from Aubigny in France, which title Charles the seventh King of France had anciently conferred upon John Steward of the Family of Lenox, who being Constable of the Scottish Army in France, vanquished the English in one battail, and was slain by them in another: and from that time the title belonged to the younger descent of that house. This Esme Steward, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, and Captain of the Castle of Dumbarton, and created him first Earl and then Duke of Lenox. The fear from this man was, because he was devoted to the Swiss and the Popish religion, and

and that which increased the fear from this man, because he applied himself to Mortons adversariand mediated to have Thomas Carre Lord of Fernisburgh called home, whoof all men was most addicted to the Queen of Scots.

About this time Queen Elizabeth, at the request of William Harbounze an English man, procured a grant from the Turkish Emperour for the English Merchants to exercise free traffick in all places of his Dominions, as well as Venetians, Polanders, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Company of Turkie Merchant, manning a most gainfull Trade at Constantinople, Alexandria, Aegipt, Aleppo, Cyprus, and other parts of Asia, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapistry, Indico, Corraunts, and the like.

This year dyed St Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who by vertue of an Act of a Parliament, always exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord Chancellor; a very fat man, but singularly wife, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Council: In whose place succeeded St Thomas Bromley, the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of England.

In Ireland at this time, in the Province of Munster, James Fitz Morris kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all Obedience to the Queen, he stole away into France, and promised the French King, if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of Ireland. But being by him slighted, he went into Spain, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of Spain sent him to the Pope, from whom (by means of Nicholas Sanders, an English Priest, and Alan an Irish man, both Doctors of Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legats Authority for Sanders, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from Spain with those Divines, three Ships, and a few men, he landed at Smerrwick Kerry, a demy Island in the West part of Ireland, about the first day of July; where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the Ships close under it; but these were presently set upon and carried away, by Thomas Courteney, and thereby the Spaniards deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now John and James, Brothers to the Earl of Desmond, gathered together a small number of Irish, joyn themselves presently with their Kinsman Fitz Morris. Yet the Spaniards feeling that but a very few Irish, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to distrust the estate they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone, whom Fitz Morris heartened the best he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more

company, he passed through the Land of his Cousin William a Burgh, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown loyall, so as there fell out a skirmish between them; in which Fitz Morris being stricken through with a Pike, and shot into the head with a leaden bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withall, two of William Burghs Sons were in that skirmish slain also; when the Queen, to comfort him for the losse of his Sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of Castle Conel, and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides: which favours so overwhelmed him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now St William Drury the Deputy growing very sick, appointed St Nicholas Malby, then Governour of Connaght to be President of Munster, and General of the Army; at which time, the Earl of Desmond, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now Drury the Deputy dying at Waterford, by his death Malbys Authority ceasing, St William Pelham is by the Council chosen Justice of Ireland, with the Authority of Vice-roy, untill such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of Ormond is made President of Munster. Pelham goeth into Munster, and sendeth for the Earl of Desmond, who refusing to come, is thereupon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following the War to the Earl of Ormond, who slaying most of the Spaniards, and adherents to Desmond, compelleth him to send his Wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

The Lord Justice Pelham now certified, that Arthur Lord Gray was landed with authority to be Deputy of Ireland, at Munster delivereth the Army to George Bouchier the Son of John, second Earl of Bath, of that name, and himself returneth to Dublin, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord Gray at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Rendezvous, marched toward them, who presently betake themselves to Grandislongh, a grassie Valley, and beset thick with Trees, where they who dwell near, scarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one Cosbion an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be his leader) entered into it, where he lost divers of his men, namely, Peter Carew the younger, George Moore, Andley, and Cosbie himself that was his leader.

A short time after, there landed at Smerrwick in Kerry, under the command of San Joseph an Italian, about seven hundred Italian Souldiers, who fortified the place, and name it Fort del Or: Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpet to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in Ireland, and who sent them; withall commanding them to depart immediately. But they replied, That some of them were sent from his Holiness, other from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdom of Ireland, for that Queen Elizabeth (by reason of heresie) hath forfeited the Right due unto her; and therefore what they had gotten, they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, let flies his Ordnance four days together, in which time the Spaniards once or twice make sallies out, to their own losse much, but not an English man slain, but only John Cheek, a courageous young Gentleman, Son to St John Cheek, a learned Knight. And now San Joseph, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd Souldier, terrified with the continuall assery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King

The Turkie Merchants when set up.

Fitz Morris raiseth a Rebellion in Ireland, but is by William a Burgh encountered and slain.

The Earl of Desmond rebels.

St William Pelham is made Justice of Ireland.

The L. Gray is made Deputy of Ireland.

San Joseph an Italian with seven hundred Souldiers landeth in Ireland.

No Parlee to be allowed to Rebels.

San Joseph yields himself to the Deputy, without any condition.

His men are all slain, and why.

King of Spain, or *Desmond* (contrary to the will of all his Souldiers) heft up a white Flag, and desired Parlee, but Parlee was denied, because he had combined with Rebels, with whom it is not lawfull to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might pass away with their Bagge, but neither would this be granted. Then he required that some of the chieft fore might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At last, when they could prevail in nothing, they harged out the white Flag again, and submitted themselves absolutely, without any condition, to the Deputy's mercy, who presently consulted how to deal with them, and this was the Case; Their number was well-near as great as the *English*, there was present fear of danger from the Rebels; and the *English* were for detitute of meat and apparel, that they were ready to mutiny, unless they might have the spoyle granted them; and besides, there were no ships to send them away if they were spared: For these reasons it was concluded (the Deputy being gain-saying, and letting tears fall) That only the Leaders should be saved, the rest slain, and all the *Irish* hanged up; which was presently put in execution, to the great disliking of the Queen, who detested the slaughter of such as yielded themselves, and would not accept of any excuses or allegations.

And yet more cruelty than this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris*, and *Oliver Temple*, *English* Commanders, together with some Companies of *Dutch*, setting out early one morning, took *Mechlyn* a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an assault with Ladders; where they promiscuously murdered both Citizens and Religious persons, offering violence even upon the dead, taking away Grave-stones, which were sent into *England* to be sold.

About this time certain *English* Priests, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an *Oxford* Scholar, joynd themselves to study at *Doway*, where they entred into a Collegiate Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a yearly Pension. But tumults arising in the *Low-countries*, and the *English* Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spain's* Deputy to depart from thence, other like Colleges, for the training up of the *English* youth, were erected, one at *Rheims* by the *Guisers*, and another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, which always afforded new supplies of Priests for *England*, when the old failed, who should spread abroad the seeds of the *Romish* Religion here amongst us; from whence those Colleges had the name of Seminaries, and they called Seminary-Priests who were trained up in them. In these Seminaries, amongst other Disputations, it was concluded, That the Pope hath such fullness of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Christian world, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof it is lawfull for him to excommunicate Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them *English* men, and Jesuites. *Parsons* was born in *Somersetshire*, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow: *Campian* was a *Londoner*, of a milder disposition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*, *Campian* a Fellow of *St. John's* College, and had been Professor in the year 1569; and when he was made Deacon, counterfeited himself to be a Protestant, till such time as he slipped out of *England*. *Parsons* was of *Baylioll* College, where he made open profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dishonest carriage, he was expelled the House, and then fled to the Popish Party. Both these came privately into *England*, in the disguise one while of Souldiers, another while of Noble-men; sometimes like *English* Ministers, and sometime in the habit of Apparators. *Parsons* who was made the superior, brake forth in such open words amongst the Papists, about deposing the Queen, that some of themselves had a purpose to complain of them to the Magistrate. *Campian*, though something more moderate, yet in a Writing provoked the *English* Ministers to a dispute; and published in *Latine* an elegant Book of his ten Reasons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church; as *Parsons* in like manner, set forth another violent Pamphlet against *Clark*, who had written modestly against *Campian's* Provocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* soundly confuted *Campian*, who being after a year apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought out to a disputation; where he scarcely made good the great fame that went of him.

Captain Drake returns from his voyage about the world. His Parentage and education.

In this year was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but died in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some speciall passages. He was born of mean parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great man (*Francis Russell*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His Father, in King *Henry* the eighths time, being persecuted for a Protestant, changed his Soyl, and lived chfe in Kent. *Henry* being dead, he got a place amongst the Mariners of the Queens Navy, to read Prayers, and afterward bound his Son *Francis* to a Ship Master, who in a ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea; took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will to this *Barque Drake* sold, and then in the year 1567, went with *St. John Hawkins* into *America* in which Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after having gotten again a good sum of money by Trading and Piracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was lawfull) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels; with which he set sayl again for *America*, where his first Prize was great store of Gold and Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules, whereof

whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground; after this, he fired a great place of Traffique, called, *The Crosse*, at the River *Chirage*, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to find out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage; and for the present, having gotten much riches, he returned home. Afterwards in the year 1577, the thirteenth day of November, with five Ships, and Sea-men to the number of 163, he set sayl from *Plimmouth*, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty days, came to *Cantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along the Isle of *Fago*, which sends forth flames of Sulphur; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship blood. The sixteenth of April, entering into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sea-Calves; in which place *John Doughty*, the next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, That the Earl of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*: The twentieth of August, two of his Ships he turneth off, and with other three came to the Sea, which they call, *The Strait of Magellan*. The sixth of September, entering into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, *The Pacificque* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests disperfed; in one of which, *John Winter* was Master, who returned back into *England*; *Drake* himself, with only one ship, coasted along the shore, till he came to the Isle *Moncha*, from whence loofing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a Spanish Ship laden with Treasure lay; *Drake* making towards it, the Spaniards thought him to be their own Countryman, and thereupon invited him to come on; but he getting aboard, presently shut the Spaniards (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of Gold. At *Taurapisa*, going again to shore, he found a Spaniard sleeping by the Seaside, who had lying by him twenty bars of massie Silver to the value of four thousand Duckats, which he bid his followers take amongst them, the Spaniard still sleeping. After this, going into the Port of *Africa*, he found there three Vessels without any Mariners in them; wherein, besides other wares, were seven and fifty silver bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound: From hence, tying it to Lime, he found twelve Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboard; (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the *Cacofaga*; and by the way met with a small Ship, without Ordinance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeralds of a fingers length. The first day of March, he overtook the *Cacofaga*, set upon her, and took her; and in her, besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of Silver ready coined, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he resolved to return home; and so on the third of Novemb. 1580, he landed at *Plimmouth*, having sayled round about the World, in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what compass the World is of.

Doughty beheaded by Drake.

How he gained his great Treasure.

1579.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shore near *Durford* for a monument (where the carcase of it is yet to be seen) and her self feasted in it, at which time the Knighted Captain *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spain's* Embassador in *England*, began to rage; and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the *English* sailed upon the *Indian* Sea. To whom it was answered; That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the Spaniard had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more money than that which *Drake* brought home. And as for sayling on the *Indian* Sea, that it was as lawfull for the Queens subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, so *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain's* Agent in this business, a great sum of money was repaid; which was not restored to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the Spaniards Wars in the *Low-Countries*, as was known after, when it was too late.

But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Perr*, two skillfull Pilots, were sent forth with two Ships by the *Londoners*, to find out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-West passage; they had not the like success; for a few Leagues beyond the Isles of *Vaygato*, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no further, and had much ado to return home.

About this time, *Henry Fitz Alen*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Sirname of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz Alan*; who being descended from the *Albanets* (ancient Earls of *Arundel* and *Sussex*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel* Castle, without Creation. He had three Daughters by his Wife *Katherine*, Daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived; *Henry* a young man of great hope, who died at *Brussels*; *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her right, Earl of *Arundel*.

Henry Fitz Alen Earl of Arundel dies, in whom ended the Sur-name of that Noble Family.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur Lord Gray* the Deputy, going against the *O Connors*, who raised sirs in *Ophalie*, putteth to death *Hugh O Mokey*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mogobigans*, and *O Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting

The possession of Arundel Castle gives the Title of that Honour.

to death the Lord *Nogent*, who being confident in his own innocence, when the Deputy promised A to save his life, if he would but confesse himself guilty, chose rather to die and be held guiltlesse, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own innocence. With whose death the Queen was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a patronesse of cruelty, to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kind of people he dealt, and by this example of severity, brought *Turlugh Lemigh* to accept conditions of Peace; and the *O'Brians* and *Cavenaghs* (Rebellious Families in *Lemigh*) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer Hostages.

In Scotland at this time, great jealousie was had of *Lenox*, Lord of *Aubigny*, left being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into France, and bring into Scotland the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen Elizabeth, and proffered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the King; but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton* (who among all other was most addicted to the English) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessory to the murder of the Kings Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Angus*, and other who laboured for *Morton*, fled straightways into England.

In the Low-Countries about this time, the Count *Rheinberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of Spain, and beleaguering *Stenwick* in *Friesland*, against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the field, who put the *Rhinburgs* Company to the worst, and raised the Siege; but afterward joining Battell with *Verdugo* the Spaniard at *Northune*, even when the Victory was almost gotten C (Roger Williams having put the enemies to flight) the fortune of the War turned, *Norris* was vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain; amongst whom were *Coton*, *Fitz Williams*, and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the English (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drunkards, and deserved praise for their sobriety) in these Dutch Wars learned to be Drunkards; and brought the vice so farre to over-spread the Kingdom, that Laws were laid to be enacted for repressing it.

But now whilst the States and the King of Spain contend about a few Towns in the Low-Countries, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of Portugal. For the last year, *Henry*, King of Portugal dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as the Duke of Savoy, the Prince of Parma's Son, *Katherine Bracant*, and the Queen of France. But Philip King of Spain, the Son of *Henries* eldest Sister, putting the Case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of right it belonged, they pronounced, for him; whereupon he sent Duke D'Alva, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the people had elected King, and within few days subdued all Portugal. The Queen of France angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of Spain's Dominions thus enlarged, being now Master of Portugal, the East-Indies, and many Islands besides, adviceth, amongst other Princes, Queen Elizabeth, to bethink themselves in time, of restraining his too excessive Dominions. Whereupon the Queen received Don Antonio, and lovingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with Spain, seeing Don Antonio was descended of English blood, and of the House of Lancaster; and that no Caution was in the League, That the Portuguese should not be admitted into England.

And now the Queen Mother of France, and the King her Son, more eagerly than ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson* now Duke of Anjou, for the transacting whereof, they sent in Ambassage into England, *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of Dauphine, *Arthur Cesse*, Marshall of France, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a House being purposely built at Westminster for that use, royally furnished; Tiltings and Jests proclaimed, by Philip Earl of Arundel, *Frederick* Baron of Wondor, *St Philip Sidney*, and *St Fulk Grevill*, against all comers. The Delegates that were to confer with the French concerning the marriage, were *St William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer, *Edward* Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admirall, *Robert Dudley*, Earl of Leicester, *St Christopher Hutton*, and *St Francis Walsingham*, Secretary; by whom Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on; First, That the Duke of Anjou, and the Queen of England, within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on, in the Marriage between Queen Mary and King Philip, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Moneths, by the faithfull Promise and Oath of the French King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reservation was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegates, That Queen Elizabeth is not bound to finish the Marriage, until she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some Particulars, and have certified the French King of the same within six weeks. Before those fix weeks were expired, *Simier*, Secretary to the Councell, is sent into France, to require the King of France his Confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contracted, and that nothing else was to be done. *Simier* on the other side, sheweth by the Articles, That a League offensive and defensive must first be concluded. This the French King disclaimeth: Whereupon *Walsingham* is presently sent to compose this difference, who jointly with *Henry Cobham*, the Ambassador ordinary, and *Simier*, alledgeth to the French King these Particulars, That Queen Elizabeth for no other reason was willing to marry, but

For the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civil War in France, and the Dukes engagement in a War with Spain, which makes the wives of her Subjects now to be against the Match: This hath made her to defer the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the French Duke be freed from the Spanish war, and a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The French King willingly accepted of the League defensive; but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the marriage were finished.

Not long after, the French Duke himself came into England, having with good success raised the Siege of *Cambray*; he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted, whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome: Insomuch that in November, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined, that by this Ceremony the marriage was confirmed between them; and *Aldegond* Governour of *Antwerp* being there, presently dispatched messengers into the Low-Countries, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoicing. But the Earl of Leicester (who privily plotted to cross the Match) *Haston* the Vice-chamberlain, and Secretary *Walsingham*, first and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she calleth to her the French Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging, cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the levity and inconsistency of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a Book lately put forth, with this Title, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed by the French Marriage*: whereof, conceiving that some Puritan was the Author, it made her highly displeased with the Puritans: whereupon within a few days, *John Stubbes* of *Lincolns* Inne, a zealous Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose sister, *Thomas Cartwright*, the Father of the Puritans, had married) *William Page* that dispersed the copies, and *Singleton* the Printer, were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by virtue of a Law made in the Reign of Philip and Mary, against the Authors and dispersers of Seditious Writings, (though the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon *Stubbes* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose, in the Market place at Westminster, and their right hands with Butchers knife and a mallet cut off by the wrist; the Printer was pardoned. At that time, *Stubbs* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out, *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the beholders.

At this time the Queen, upon importunatesuit of her Councell, gave way, that *Edmund Campian*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Bryant*, Priests, should be called to the Bar, who being accused by virtue of a Law made in the five and twentieth year of King Edward the third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queens enemy, and coming into England, to raise Forces against the State, were then condemned of High-treason, and accordingly executed. *Campian* after he was convicted, being demanded; First, whether Queen Elizabeth were a lawful Queen? would make no answer; afterward, Whether he would stand for the Queen, or for the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly protested, That he would be of the Popes side, and witnessed so much under his hand. After this some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to death, which the Queen rather necessarily, than willingly assented to, as being unwilling to force the conscience of any. These, and the like exorbitances of Papists, were cause, that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next January.

The French Duke after three moneths abode in England, took his Journey in February, into the Low-Countries, whom the Queen her self brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*; and then commanded the Earl of Leicester, the Lord *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, *Sheffield*, *St Philip Sidney*, *St Francis Russell*, *St George Bourne*, and some other prime Knights to accompany him to *Antwerp*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limbourg*, and *Lorrain*; for the Dutch had long before removed the King of Spains Government, and quitted the people from their oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of Anjou gave free leave to exercise the Roman Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of Spains authority: but after all, having spent a great matter of money, with which he was supplied from England; and observing that only vain and empty titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly entered an assault upon *Antwerp*, and some other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter performed.

At this time Queen Elizabeth, as well to get her some friends, as she had procured her self many enemies; received into the Order of the Garter, *Frederick* the second King of Denmark; to whom she employed *St Peregrine Berrye* (whom she had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*) to love him.

The Duke of Anjou comes himself into England.

And in a private conference with the Queen, the draws a Ring off from her finger and puts it upon his. The English Lords and Ladies, imagining the marriage to be confirmed, reexceedingly.

The next day she calleth the French Duke to her, and after a long discourse, made him exclaim against the inconsistency of Women.

*Stubbes* and *Page* have their Right hands cut off for writing a seditious Book against the marriage.

*Campian*, *Sherwin* and *Bryant* are executed.

The Duke of Anjou goes out of England, whom the Queen brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*.

I 582. *St Peregrine Berrye* made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.

But

The Earl of Morton is beheaded, as accessory to the murder of the Kings Father.

General Norris raiseth the Siege at *Stenwick*. But is afterward vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain.

In these Dutch wars the English learn to be Drunkards.

The King of Spain seizeth upon the Kingdom of Portugal, and putteth Don Antonio to flight.

Whom Queen Elizabeth received, and relieved.

I 581. The Match with Anjou now Duke of Anjou is pursued as usual.

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.

But the King of France disclaimeth the Articles.

The Earl Gowry and other Lords take the King and keep him as a prisoner.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guyes* design in Scotland, which was to make use of the Duke of *Lenox* favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the *English*: *William Reuben*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, endeavour'd with others, by all means to remove *Lenox*; and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and so, while *Lenox* was gone from *Perth*, (where the King at that time was) to *Edinburgh*, and *Arran* was also absent on a journey: the Earls *Gowry*, *Murre*, *Lindley*, and other, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Reuben*, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad: All his trusty servants they removed from about him, *Arran* they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily consented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, to approve and allow of this his thralldom. The Queen of *Scotland* the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the distress of the King her Son, layeth open the same in a large Letter, written to the Queen in *French*: With which Letter, Queen *Elizabeth* being somewhat affected, sent unto her *Robert Beal* Clerk of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning the querulous writing, and jointly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat of the setting her at liberty. And indeed serious consultations was held at the Council Table about it, and the most were of opinion, that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the *Scottish* of the *English* faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonel *William Steward*, and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, profering all manner of respect and obsequence, and requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in *Scotland*, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, even at the very point of death, as often times before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion; thereby confuting those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the sufferers of the King were left up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough, He on a sudden (though scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, conveyed himself to the Castle of *St Andrews*, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoiding of tumult, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* only asked pardon, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; and then the King sent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, employing him to compose the differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from civil dissensions.

While he is sedulous in these cares, comes *St Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors to the destruction of both Kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty than he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, he put the King in minde, of what the Queen out of *Isocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him: That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, that more credit may be given to his bare Word, than to another's oath; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his youth of evil Counsellors, and always to be like himself. The King answered, that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Counsellors whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first-fruits of his amity to the Queen of *England*, his dear Sister, and doth now willingly make proper of the same. *Walsingham* now dealt with him further; not to lay to the Queens charge, what broyles had lately fallen out in *Scotland*; sheweth, how beneficiall to him, and to both Kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were laid asleep, by a Law of Oblivion enacted in Parliament, the Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, Religion looked into, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with *England*, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly dismissed *Walsingham*, though he held him no good friend to him and his Mother; and carefully looking to matters with understanding, even above his years, proposed and profered reconciliation to those that had surprized him, if within a limited time they asked pardon; which they were so fast from doing, that they entred into new consultations to surprize him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set time to leave the Kingdom, of which number, *Murre*, *Glames*, *Paulet*, and some other, becooke themselves into *Ireland*; *Boyd*, *Zetter*, *Weeme*, *Luchlevin*, into the Low-countries; *Dumferlin* into *France*; the Earl of *Angus* is confined to his Earldom, *Gowry* only to his own estate; layeth behind the limited time, hatching new devices.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a War, between the Emperours of *Muscovia*, and the King of *Sweden*; when *John King of Sweden*, doubting himself to be so fit Match for the Emperour, sent a Royal Ambassage to Queen *Elizabeth*, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperour; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassadour drew the *Muscovian* to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But the *Muscovian* shortly after dying, and *Theodorus* his Successor granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither, the Queen importuned him to admit of none but *English* Merchants, requiring him to

confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them: Whereunto, by way of Answer, he demanded Free Trading for all the *English*, saying, It was not fit that a small Company should exercise a Monopoly, and all other be restrained: But as for Customs, he promised to take lesse by half of that Company, than of any other, because they first opened the way thither.

The next Summer, *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, of a comely personage, and great learning, came into *England* to see the Queen, who was nobly entertained, both by her, and the Nobility, as also by the Scholars of *Oxford*, with learned Orations, and other Recreations: but having tarried here four months, and run into much debt, he secretly withdrew himself and departed. This man I saw my self afterward in *Crakow*, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a Wife, fifty Cattles of great value: but what mine can bear the charges of prodigality.

This year proved fatal to divers great men; for there dyed this year, first *Thomas Ratcliffe*, the third Earl of *Suffex* of this Family; a man of a great spirit, and great faithfullnesse to his Country. There dyed also *Henry Wryghthly* Earl of *Southampton*, one exceedingly devoted to the *Romish* Religion, and a great favourer of the Queen of *Scotts*, which cost him Queen *Elizabeths* displeasure, and imprisonment besides. There dyed also *St Humphrey Gilbert*, who was cast away at Sea, in his return from the North part of *America*, whither he lately sayled with five Ships, having sold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There dyed also *Edmund Grindall*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being blind through age, a grave and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queens favour for a long time, till he lost it at last, by favouring (as was said) the Puritans Conventicles; but the true cause indeed was, for disallowing the Marriage of *Julius an Italian* Physician with another mans Wife, against the Earl of *Leicesters* pleasure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitgift* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being translated thither from the See of *Worcester*.

At this time, certain Popish Books written against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly, so intoxicated one *Somerville*, an *English* Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and death against all Protestants, set upon one or two by the way with his drawn sword. Being apprehended, he suck not to say, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his father-in-law (a man of an ancient House in *Warwickshire*) *Ardens* wife, their daughter, *Somerviles* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned; *Somerville* as principall, the rest as accessaries. Three dayes after, *Somerville* was found strangled in the Prison, *Arden* was executed and quartered; the women and the Priest were spared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as misled by the Priest, and (as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leicester*, whom he used to call Whore-master, Upstart, and many such opprobrious names.

In the Netherlands, the *English* Garrison at *Alost* in *Flanders* being neglected; the Governour *Pigo*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon Composition, yielded up the Town to the *Spaniards*, and then fearing disgrace at home, joynd themselves to the Prince of *Parma*; at whose hands finding themselves slighted, by degrees they stole all away, and came all to unlucky ends.

In *Ireland* the famous Rebell, *Gyralt Fitz Gyralt*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places escaped the *English*, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage and slain. His head was sent into *England*, and set upon *London Bridge*. This end had this great Lord, descended from *Maurice*, the Son of *Gyralt of Windsor*, an *English* man, famous amongst those who first set upon *Ireland*, in the year 1170. He possessed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at least five hundred Gentlemen at his Command. All whom, and his own life also, he lost within the space of three years, very few of the House being left alive. And this dyfaster he fell into, by proving Trayterous to his Prince, at the instigation of a certain Popish Priest. Of whom, the chief was one *Nicholas Sanders* an *English* man, who at the same time dyed miserably of Famine, being starved to death, when as being forsaken, and running mad upon his ill fucesse, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to sustain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebels, and promising large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill successe, *James Fitz Eustace*, Viscount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He out of zeal to the *Roman* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his neighbour, to do the like, (who drew his Linage from *St Thomas of Canterbury*, he used these words to persuade him, That if *St Thomas of Canterbury* had not died for the Church of *Rome*, thou hadst never been Earl of *Ormond*: for King *Henry* the second, to expiate the murder of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in *Ormond* to his Predecessors.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain *Scotts*, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to surprize the King, pretending only a care of Religion, and to remove ill Counsellors from him: but the King having intelligence of their practise, used means by Colonel *Steward*, to have *Gowry* taken and cast into prison: whereupon *Murre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the confederates fled into *England*, and beseech the Queen to commiserate their estate, who had incurred the Kings

1583.  
Albertus Alasco  
a Palatine of  
Poland comes  
into England.

A year fatal to  
divers great  
men.

Somerville and  
Arden are con-  
demned; and  
why.

Gyralt Fitz  
Gyralt the fa-  
mous Rebell in  
*Ireland*, is by a  
Common souldier  
slain. His great  
possession, and  
numerous kin-  
dred, all dead  
within the  
space of three  
years.

Whether a Secretary of State may not transact a business without special Commission from the Prince. The Earl Gowry is arraigned, condemned and beheaded. Many Practices are plotted against Queen Elizabeth in behalf of the Queen of Scots.

displeasure to do her and the Kingdom of England service. The King on the other side, accuseth them to the Queen of heinous crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary Walsingham, who bore great good will to these men, sent Letters with a Command, That they should be safely admitted into *Lindisferne*, otherwise called, The holy Island, where *Hunsdon* being Governor there, and greatly addicted to the King of Scots, resided. *Walsingham's* Command, alleading he could not satisfy the Secretary in this point, unless the Queen gave expresse Command. Hereupon grew a Dispute, Whether a Secretary of State might not transact business of State, without special Commission from the Prince. How this Case was determined, is uncertain; but sure it is, the Scots came not thither, though some favour they had shewed them here in England. In the mean time, Gowry was tried by his Peers, at *Stirling* where, being accused of many Treasons, though he gave colourable answers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemned, and beheaded; whose head his servants sewing to his body, committed to the Grave.

About this time were practises plotted against Queen Elizabeth, in behalf of the Queen of Scots chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldest Son of *John Throgmorton*, Justice of Chester, who came to be suspected, by reason of Letters sent to the Queen of Scots which were intercepted. Upon his apprehension, *Thomas Lord Paget*, and *Charles Arundel*, privately stole away into France, grievously complaining against *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and using such wiles, that scarce any man was able to live in safety. *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, and *Philip Earl of Arundel*, were confined to their houses, his wife committed to the custody of *St Thomas Shirley*, *William Howard*, the Earls Brother, and *Henry Howard*, their Uncle. Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, were examined about Letters from the Queen of Scots, and many Stratagems were set on foot, dangerous to some particular persons, but necessary (as should seem) for the Queens security. Certain it is, That now the Malice of the Papists against the Queen, brake forth more violently than ever before; for in printed Books they stirred up the Queens own servants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olophernes*. The Author of these Books could not be found, but the suspicion lay upon one *Gregory Martin* sometime of Oxford, and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, suffered for it. And whereas the Papists every where traduced the Queen for cruelty, she desirous always to leave a blessed remembrance behind her, grew extremely offended with the Commissioners for Popish causes, taxing them of too much cruelty: inasmuch that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to clear themselves, protesting; That they questioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts against the Queen and State; and that *Campion* himself was never so racked, but that he could presently walk up and down. But all this gave no: the Queen satisfaction, but she Commanded the Commissioners to forbear tortures, and the Judges other punishments; and not long after, when seventy Priests were taken, and some of them condemned, and the rest in danger of the Law, she caused them all to be shipped away, and sent out of England: The chief of whom were *Gasper Heywood*, the great Epigrammatist's Son, the first Jesuite that ever set foot in England, *James Bulgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Rishston*.

At this time *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, was thrust out of England, for joyning with *Throgmorton* in his Treason against the Queen; whereupon *Sir William Wade* was sent to the King of Spain, to satisfy him how ill *Mendoza* had discharged the Office of an Ambassador here in England; who, when the King admitted him not to his Presence, but in a slighting manner, putting him off to his Counsellors; *Wade* taking it in great disdain, boldly said, That it was a declared Custom amongst Princes (though in heat of War) to give Ambassadors audience, and thereupon stoutly refused to declare his Ambassage, and so returned into England unheard. The greatest matters laid to *Mendoza's* charge, were gotten out of *Throgmorton's* Confession; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he sent to *Mendoza* a box of Writings, and when his Chefts were searched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of England, and in the other the names of the Nobility and Gentry in England, that favoured the Romish Religion. These, when *Throgmorton* saw brought forth, he said they were counterfeited, and stood to it upon the very Rack; but being brought to the Rack the second time, he then confessed all; That *Morgan* by Letters out of France, had given him information, that the Catholick Princes had decreed to invade England, and with the help of the Duke of Guise, to free the Queen of Scots; and that nothing was now wanting, but money and aid in England; and that for procuring of this, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, was sent into *Switzer*, where the Duke of Guise intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noblemen that should assist. But being arraigned at the Guild-hall, he denied all this again, saying, He had spoken so, because he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned to die, he flying to the Queens mercy, confessed in manner all he had before related; and then at the Gallows went about to deny it again. So falling to it selfs the mind of man when it is divided between hope and fear, and lies under the burden of a guilty conscience.

*Sir William Wade* being returned from Spain, was employed to the Queen of Scots about a Treaty begun two years before: To whom the distressed Queen sincerely professed, That she devoted her service and her self to the Queen of England; and made solemn promise, That if the former Treaty might go on, she would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of Angus, and the other Scottish Lords, and would charge the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Glasgow*,

her Agents in France, to have no further to do with the English Fugitives. These things Queen Elizabeth heard gladly, and thereupon sent *Beal* to the Queen of Scots, who joyntly with the Earl of Shrewsbury should signify unto her, That if she continued still in the same minde, as she had delivered to *Wade*; *Sir Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her liberty; but withall she commanded *Mildmay* and *Beale* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what practises the Duke of Guise had on foot. To that which she had spoken to *Sir William Wade*, the Queen of Scots made a wary answer; but to that concerning the Duke of Guise, she plainly confesseth; That being sickly her self, and weak of body, she had committed her self and her Son, to the Protection of the Duke of Guise, her dear Cousen, of whose intendments she knoweth nothing; nor if she did, would she disclose them, unless she might be sure of her own liberty. Lastly, she requesteth, That being a free and an absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled, than Queen Elizabeth her self was, when she was a subject, and kept in prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange accident; for *Creighton* a Scottish Jesuite, sayling from the Low-Countries, and taken by Dutch Pirats, had certain papers which he tore and threw away, which thrown over-board, and by the wind blown back unto the ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himself said) they were brought to *Sir William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour and cunning, discovered by them some new intendments of the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Guise, about the Invading of England: Whereupon, and upon divers other rumours, the better to provide for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of Leicester being the formost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their oaths and subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which league of theirs they called the Association.

The Queen of Scots who presently apprehended, that this Association was entred into for her destruction; maketh this proposition by Nave her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queens love, she would enter a strict league and amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honour her, above all the Princes of the Christian world: yea, and (saying the ancient League betwixt France and Scotland) she would her self be comprehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen Elizabeth was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But see what malice can do; for many in England, but specially the Scots of the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it; exclaiming, That the Queen could be no longer in safety, if the Queen of Scots were set at liberty; That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if she were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papists were admitted within the Court walls; nor was this all, but the Scottish Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded the Queen of Scots with all manner of contumelies, slandering the King himself, and his Council in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority, and that Ecclesiastical persons were not to be censured by their Prince, but by their own Consistory (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiastical, or Secular, was confirmed; and namely, That the King and his Council, were Supreme Judges in all Causes; and that whosoever refused to be tried by them, should be holden guilty of High-treason; all Presbyters and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Bishops restored, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian: And lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his Mother prohibited; namely, the Scottish History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

At this time, upon her Adversaries suggestion, the Queen of Scots is taken from the Earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to the custody of *Sir Amias Pawlet* and *Sir Drue Drury*, and that on set purpose (as some were persuaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this, she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of Spain, to hasten their interment, whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that *Leicester* sent out assassins to make her away, but that *Drury* detested the villany, and would grant them no access.

And now to alienate Queen Elizabeth utterly from her; it is suggested to her, That *Allen* for the Catholics of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of Scots, with consent of the Pope and King of Spain, had joyntly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of Scotland from his hereditary Right to the Crown of England, and to marry the Queen of Scots to an English Nobleman of the Romish Religion, and him the English Catholics should choose King of England, and the Pope confirm the Election; and all this upon the credit of *Hari* the Priest; but who this English Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of Scots, could not be found, though *Walsingham* were busie to search it out: the same went upon *Henry Howard* the Duke of Norfolk's Brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of high estimation amongst the Catholics.

This year died in Exile and misery, *Charles Nevell*, who was in the Rebellion in the North, the last Earl of *Westmerland* of this Family; a House from whence descended many Noble

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen of Scots offers to enter into the Association, if she may have her liberty.

To which Queen Elizabeth is inclining.

But is made averse from it by Scots and English of the adverse party, and specially by Scottish Ministers.

The Queen of Scots is taken from the Earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to the custody of *Sir Amias Pawlet*. A Combination in the Catholics to marry the Queen of Scots to some English Nobleman of the Romish Religion; and who he was thought to be.

Charles Nevill the last Earl of Westmerland of this Family, dies in Exile: and of the many Noble Personages descended from that House. Plowden the great Lawyer dies. The Prince of Orange is shot and slain by a Burgundian.

1585. William Parry Doctor of the Laws, condemned and executed: and for what cause.

Laws made for safeguard of the Queen.

The Earl of Arundel committed to the Tower, and why.

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland being in the Tower, is found dead in his bed.

Q. Elizabeth enters League with the Princes of Germany.

Personages, six Earls of Westmerland, two Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an Earl of Kent, a Mar-  
quisse Montacute, a Duke of Bedford, Baron Ferrers of Ouseley, the Lord Latimer, the Lord of  
Aburghveny, one Queen, and five Dutcheffes (so let passe Countesses and Baronesses) an Archbi-  
shop of York, and a numerous company of other Lords. In England died none of reckoning this  
year, but only Plowden the famous Lawyer; but in France, the Duke of Anjou died of grief; and in  
Holland, William Prince of Orange, shot into the body with three Bullets, by one Balisner Gerard, a  
Burgundian.

It was now the year 1585: and the eight and twentieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when, to  
tie the French King more nearly to her, whom the year before she had received into the number of  
the Knights of the Garter, she sent the Earl of Derby into France, to invest him with the Robes and  
Ornaments, according to the due Solemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer B

At this time a Parliament was assembled at Westminster, wherein William Parry a Welsh man, a  
Doctor of the Laws, when in the Lower House a Bill was read against the Jesuites, he alone stood  
up, and exclaimed that it was a cruel and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly  
refused, unless he were requited by the Lords of the Council. Hereupon he was sent to  
the Gate-house, but upon submission was received into the House again. Soon after, he was  
accused by Edward Nevill, for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away,  
Who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination, confessed in effect thus much, That out  
of discontent, he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of Campegio the Pope  
Nuncio at Venice, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Q  
Queen; but coming into England to that intent, he altered his minde, and disclosed to the Queen  
the whole matter. After this, he received a Letter from the Cardinal of Como, perswading  
him to go forward with the Enterprize; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this,  
he chanced to see a Book of Doctor Allens, written contra Justitiam Britannicam, wherein was de-  
clared, That Princes who were for heresie excommunicate, might lawfully be deprived of their  
life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirmed him, and he read it to Nevill; who,  
though he took an oath of secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of Westmerland, be-  
trayed him. This was his confession, before Baron Hunsdon, St Christopher Hutton, and St  
Francis Walsingham: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the Lord Burleigh, and the Earl  
of Leicester, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few days after, he was called to  
the Bar in Westminster Hall, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned.  
After the sentence of death pronounced, he curiously cited the Queen to Gods Tribunal; five days  
after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragged through the City to Westminster, where at the Gibbet  
he made a vain-glorious boasting of his faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a word  
commended himself to God; and in the great Palace at Westminster was executed as a Traytor, the  
Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

In this Parliament, the Association before spoken of, was universally approved, and enacted  
in this Form; That four and twenty, or more, of the Queens Privy Council, and Peers of the  
Realm, should be selected and authorized, under the Great Seal of England, To make enquiry of  
all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evil  
against the Queens Person, for Whomsoever, that layeth any claim to the Crown of  
England, and that person for whom, or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether in-  
capable of the Crown; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety, were enacted  
against Jesuites and Popish Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve them. These Laws  
terrified many, and particularly out of fear of them, Philip Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Nor-  
folk, eldest Son, purposed with himself to travel beyond Seas; for having been once or twice  
cited before the Lords of the Council, and confined to his house, and after six moneths set at  
liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the service of God, and his souls  
health, he purposed to leave his Country, but not his loyal affection towards her; but as he  
was taking Shipping, by his own servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended and laid in  
the Tower.

At the same time lay in the Tower Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland; a man of a lofty spirit,  
being suspected by reason of secret consultation with Throgmorton, the Lord Paget, and the Gwis, of  
about the invading of England, and freeing of the Queen of Scots (whose cause he ever highly  
favoured) but in the month of June, he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body  
with three bullets, under his right pap, and the door bolted on the inside. The Coroners  
Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounced that he had killed himself. Three days  
after, the Lords meeting in the Star-chamber, Bromley Lord Chancellor, declared this fact of the  
Earls, and then commanded the Attorney General to shew the cause of his imprisonment, and the  
manner of his death; whereupon, Popham first, and then Egerton the Queens Solicitor, in long Ora-  
ons, lay open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law, he had laid violent hands upon himself.

And now the Queen knowing that the seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of  
Guise, and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of herself, to enter into the League  
with the Princes of Germany; and to this end, she sent St Thomas Bodley to the King of Denmark,  
to the Count Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to the Duke of Saxony, Wittenberg, Brunswick, Lüne-  
burg, the Marquess of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse; and into Scotland, she sent St Ed-  
ward Wootton, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and wisheth

A to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commess to  
him the Match of the King of Denmarks Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter  
of the League, but for the present the business was interrupted, by the death of Francis Russell,  
Son to the Earl of Bedford, slain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Border-  
ers, by a sudden tumult of the Scots, but who it was that slew him, was not known. The English  
laid it upon the Earl of Arran, and the Lord Fernhurst Governour of the middle Borders;  
whereupon, at the Queens complaint, the Earl of Arran was confined, and Fernhurst commit-  
ted to prison at Dundee, where he dyed; a man of great valour and resolution, and one that was  
always firm for the Queen of Scots. But Queen Elizabeth not thus satisfied, gave leave by way  
of connivence to the Scottish Lords that were fled into England, namely the Earl of Angus, the  
B Hamiltons, and John Cladius, the Earl of Marre, Glames, and other, that they should steal away  
into Scotland, (the supplying them with money) there to matter and subdue the Earl of Ar-  
ran. For Maxwell, who was lately made Earl of Bothwell, Baron Humes, Goldingknolls, and other  
in Scotland, had already promised them their assistance, even in the very Court. St Patrick Gray  
(Arrans great Rival for the Kings favour) Belenden, and Secretary Maitland (by Woottons craft)  
were made against Arran. These men, upon their first entry into Scotland, command all persons  
in the Kings name, to aid them for conserving the truth of the Gospell, for freeing the King  
from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the English, so as there presently  
joyined with them about eight thousand men. The Earl of Arran hearing hereof, makes halt  
to the King, and accuseth Patrick Gray as Author of this commotion: but whiles Arran was  
making provision for defence of the Town, the enemies were ready to scale the Walls: where-  
upon Arran being advised, that only his life was sought, gets secretly away with only one ser-  
vant, the rest betook themselves to the King in the Castle. Then the Rebels get into the Market-  
place, and display their Banners against the Castle: The King sends Gray to know the reason of  
their coming; they answer, to submit themselves and in humble manner to kisse the Kings hands:  
the King offereth restitution of all their goods, if they would depart; They desire to be ad-  
mitted to his Presence, which upon these conditions the King granted. That they should not  
attempt any thing against his life, or those whom he should nominate, nor make any inno-  
vation in the Government. They protest, They are ready to sacrifice their lives for the Kings  
safety; and of any Innovation they had not so much as a thought; only they request to have  
their adversaries, and the Fortifications of Scotland delivered up into their hands. Hereupon  
after a days Consultation, they are admitted into the Kings Presence, and forthwith the Earls  
of Mount Rose, Crawford, and Rothsay; Colonel Steward, Downs, Arrans Brothers, and others,  
were delivered to them: The Earl of Arran, who was fled into the Western Islands, is called  
home: the assaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good subjects. Hamilton is set over  
Dumfriess Castle; Goldingknolls over Edinburgh; the Earl of Angus over Tumballon; the Earl  
of Marre over Stirling; and Glames is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proscriptions  
and Outlaws against all Persons, since the Kings Inauguration (saving some few proscribed for  
the murder of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous consent of all parties,  
the Treaty of a League with the Queen of England is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to  
that purpose.

In Ireland likewise was a Combustion this year, first the Burkes (descended of the ancient  
Family of the Burroughs in England) provoked by the severe Government of Richard Bingham,  
Governour of Connaught, raise Rebellion; but this was soon suppressed, for Thomas Burke dyed  
fighting; Meyler, and Theobald Burke, were taken and hanged. After this the Clan Gibbons, Clan  
Donells, and Joyes, combined together in great numbers, and say plainly, They will have  
a Mac-Williams of their own, one of the Burkes to rule over them, or some other Lord out of  
Spain; they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country, nor appear before the English Courts  
of Justice; and thereupon harried all the Country with Fire and Sword, and neither by the per-  
suasions of the Archbishop Tuan, nor by the intreaties of the Earl of Clanriccard (the chief of  
the House of the Burkes) would be quieted, till John Bingham the Presidents Brother, following  
them into the Woods, drave away five thousand head of their Cattell, so as after forty days,  
half starved, they came forth and submitted themselves. But this was not yet an end, for  
now the President understood, That two thousand Scottish Islanders were landed, and ready to  
break into Connaught; whereupon he musters his men to give them battell; but they flying to Bogs  
and Woods, he retires back as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm ground,  
and then with his whole Forces set upon them, slew three thousand of them (indeed all but four-  
score amongst whom were Donell Garmy, and Alexander Garmy, the sons of James Mac-Conel, who  
had long disquieted this part, and those Burkes who were the first authors of this Rebellion. This  
was a famous Victory, for the good of the present and future times; for hereby the name of the  
Mac-Williams in Connaught was utterly extinct, and the insolent attempts of the Scottish Islanders ab-  
solutely crushed.

In the Low-Countries at this time the States were very hard beset, so as they held a Consulta-  
tion, whither to flee for Protection, either to the French King, or to the Queen of England.  
Monsieur Prunie the French Ambassadors shewed many advantages, and gave many reasons why  
they should flee rather to the French King; the English on the other side, alleged many rea-  
sons why they should flee rather to the Queen of England: but in conclusion they have first  
recourse to the King of France, and afterward being by him neglected, to the Queen of  
England.

L. I 3

A great tumult  
amongst the  
Lords in Scot-  
land, and why.

A combustion  
in Ireland how  
caused, and  
how pacified.

The name of  
the Mac-Willi-  
ams in Con-  
naught, is ut-  
terly extinct.  
The States of  
the Low-coun-  
tries flee to Q.  
Elizabeth for  
protection,  
which she for  
the present re-  
fuset.

England. But then in England it was consulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Counsel was divided; some were of opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, lest the Spaniards first conquering them, might have the better way to annoy England; other again thought, They were to be held no better than Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of assistance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refused to take into Protection, much less to exercise Sovereignty over them. Nevertheless to raise the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was then beleaguer'd by the Prince of Parma, she was content to supply them with four thousand Souldiers, so as the Town of *Sluce*, and the Ordinance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was discussing, the Town of *Antwerp* was fain to yield it self.

But the Queen better bethinking her self, partly as fearing the growth of the King of Spain's power, and partly, as commiserating the afflicted of her own Religion, at last resolves to undertake their protection, upon condition of her part, to supply them with five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, under a sufficient Generall, paying them during the War; and afterward the expenses to be payed back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver *Flushing* and the Fort of *Ramstein*, the Town of *Brill*, with the two neighbouring Ports: and for the justifying of this her action, she set forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein she incensed the King of Spain, she thought best to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon sent out

Sir Francis Drake, and Christopher Carleile, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thousand Volunteers and Mariners) towards the West-Indies; who first surprized the Town of *S<sup>t</sup> Jago*, afterward *S<sup>t</sup> Dominick* (where five and twenty thousand Crows were given them, to spare the Town from burning) afterward *Cartagena*, which they held seven weeks, till the Spaniards redeemed it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this the *Calcutra* waxing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they returned homewards, passing by *Virginia*, a Colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had there planted; from whence Drake brings home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the first that brought Tobacco into England, which the Indians take against cruelties of the Stomach. At this Expedition were lost about seven hundred men, who for the most part dyed of *Calcutra*: their Booty amounted to the value of three score thousand pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty Barres and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone in America; when in the mean while, Captain John Davis, with two Ships (at the charges of William Sanderfon, and other Citizens of London) found out a way to the East-Indies, by the higher part of America, under the Frigid Zone.

At the end of this year, the Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Q Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Eords Audley and North, *S<sup>t</sup> Wil. Russell*, *S<sup>t</sup> Tho. Sherley*, *S<sup>t</sup> Arthur Bassett*, *S<sup>t</sup> Walter Waller*, *S<sup>t</sup> Gervase Clifton*, and divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Flushing*, he was first by *S<sup>t</sup> Philip Sidney* the Governor his Nephew, after by the Towns of *Zeland* and *Holland*, entertained in most magnificent manner, and coming to the Hague in January, the States by Patent committed to him the command and absolute authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governour and Captain General of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and the Confederate Provinces: So as being now saluted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to assume unto him Princely spirits. But the Queen took him soon off from further aspiring; writing unto him in most peremptory manner, That she wondered how a man whom she had raised out of the dust, could so contemptuously violate her commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Injunctions she sent him by *Hennage* her Vice-Chamberlain; Withall, in Letters apart, she expostulateth with the States, that to her great disparagement, they had cast upon the Earl of Leicester her Subject, the absolute command over the united Provinces, without her privy, which she herself had utterly refused; and therefore willeth them to desist him of that absolute authority, to whom he had set bounds, which he should not passe. The States return Answer, That they are heartily forry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the Earl that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted, but they beseeched her to consider the necessity of it; seeing, that for avoiding of confusion, that Authority must needs be cast upon some one or other; Neither was there any great matter in the word *Absolute*; seeing the Rule and Dominion resided still in the people. By these Letters and Leicester's own submissive writing, the Queen was soon satisfied; Leicester all this while receiveth Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, maketh martial Laws, and endeavouring likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandizes, incurred great dislike amongst the common people. His first service was to relieve *Grave* a Town in *Brabant*, which the Prince of Parma, by Count Mansfeld had besieged: Hither he sent the Count *Hohenlo* a German, and *Norris* General of the English Foot, but notwithstanding all the great service they did there, the Town in the end was taken; but *Hemart* the Governour, for his cowardly yielding it up, lost his head. From hence the Prince of Parma marched into *Gelderland*, and pitched his Tents before *Venlow*, where *Skenkie* a Friesland, and *Roger Williams* a Welshman performed great service, yet that Town in a short time was taken also. But in the mean while the Lord Willoughby Governour of *Bergen op Zome*, cut off the enemies Convoyes, and took away their victuals; and Sir Philip Sidney and *Maurice* the Prince of Oranges Son, upon a sudden onset, took *Axela* a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlow* the Prince of Parma goes to *Berke*, where there were twelve thousand English, under the command of Colonel *Morgan*; he notwithstanding laid Siege to the Town, which the Earl of Leicester came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to raise it, he seeks to divert it, by besieging

But at last she undertakes it. She sends Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Carleile to the West-Indies, and what they effected there. Tobacco first brought into England at this time by Ralph Lane. John Davis finds out a way to the East-Indies by the higher part of America. The Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queens Forces into Holland. The States commit to him the absolute command over the united Provinces. Which the Queen is angry at.

And the States excuse it. What was done by the Earl of Leicester at his being in Holland.

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A guering *Duisburgh*; which before the Prince of Parma could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of Parma, fearing lest *Zurphin* should come in danger, commandeth victuals to be carried thither, which the Spaniards carrying along in a fogge, the English by chance lighted on them, vanquished a Troop of their Horse, slew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others, but then on the English side was one slain, more worth than all the English and Spaniards put together, *S<sup>t</sup> Philip Sidney*, who having his Horse slain under him, and getting upon another, was shot into the thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his age, dyed: A man of so many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valour and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all those of former Ages, so future Ages will hardly be able to equal him. His Funerals were in sumptuous manner solemnized at *S<sup>t</sup> Pauls Church* in London. James King of Scotland made his Epitaph, and both Universities celebrated his death with Funeral Verses.

After this Leicester assaulted *Zurphin*, where setting upon a Fort, he takes it in this manner: *Edward Stanley* (of the *Stanleys* of *Elford*) catching hold of a Spaniards Lance, which was brandished at him, held it so fast, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon the Spaniards being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were coming up) forsook the place, Leicester Knighted Stanley for this act, gave him forty Pounds in present money, and a yearly Pension of an hundred Marks during his life. And now though in this forwardnesse to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unreasonable to besiege it any longer (especially so many English Garrisons lying round about it, which were in nature of a siege) but returned to the Hague, where the States entertained him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the English supplies were not full, that foreign souldiers were levied without their consent, that the Priviledges of the United Provinces were set at nought, and new devices for contribution invented; for all which evils, they intreated him to provide some present remedy. To which complaints (having a purpose to go for England) he gave a friendly answer; but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the government of the Province, to the deliberation of the States; and the same day made another private instrument of writing, where he reserved to himself the whole authority over the Governours of the several Provinces, Cities, and Forts; and more than this, taketh away the wonted jurisdiction from the States Council, and Presidents of the Provinces, and came into England the third day of December. And thus passed the affairs of the Netherlands for this year.

But in England, Philip Earl of Arundel, who had lyen in Prison a whole year, was at last brought to the Starchamber; and being charged with fostering of Priests, and having correspondence with *Allen* and *Parsons* the Jesuite, and offering to depart the Kingdom without license, was fined ten thousand Pounds, and imprisonment during the Queens pleasure.

At this time, the Queen, by *S<sup>t</sup> Horatio Palavicino*, supplied with a large sum of money the King of Navarre; through whose side the *Guyfies* opposed the reformed Religion in Scotland, but her most intensive care was how to unite England and Scotland in a solid frinedship: To which end, she sent *Thomas Randall* into Scotland, who making Propositions to the King, touching a League offensive and defensive, though the King at first required some additions, and though the French Ambassadour infinitely opposed it, yet at last he consented to it; and in July following, there met at *Darwick*, *Edward Earl of Rutland*, *William Lord Ever*, and *Thomas Randall* for the Queen of England; *Francis Earl of Bothwell*, *Robert Lord Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of Scots, and there the League (which was called the League of strict amity; for that the word *Offensive* liked not the Scots) was upon certain points concluded; First, for the maintenance of the reformed Religion, and then other such Articles, as commonly in Leagues are usual.

The very same month that this League was agreed on, a most dangerous conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. For first, one *John Savage* was by the persuasion of *Gifford*, Doctor in Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work, to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen Elizabeth: but to make the Queen and her Council secure, at the same time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papiests in England, to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. About *Whitsunide*, one *Bullard* a Seminary Priest of *Rhemes*, acquainted with the vow of *Savage*, (having dealt in France with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading of England) arrived here in a Souldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name, called *Captain Fosco*, with these matters he acquainted one *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Darbyshire*, who by the Bishop of *Glasco*, the Queen of Scots Ambassador in France, had been commended to her, as one worthy of her love; so, as between them there passed often Letters in unknown Characters. In short time, *Babington* had drawn into the Plot, other Gentlemen as zealous of the *Romish* Religion as himself; namely, *Edward Windsor*, Brother to the Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury* of a good Family in *Devonshire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queens Pensioners, *Chydock Tichburn* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington* (whose Father was Coferer to the Queen) *Roberts Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Traverse*, and *John Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *John Jones*, *Savage* formerly spoken of, *Barnwell* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* a Clerk in the Office of First-fruits and Tenths; one *Pollie* also secured himself into their company, a fellow thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of Scots, who was thought to have revealed all their consultations to *Walsingham* day by day. To these Gentlemen, *Babington* communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to *Bullard*, *Tichburn*, and *Dunne*, he sheweth the Letters which passed between him and the Queen of Scots; with *Tilney*, and the rest, he dealeth to be assistants, of whom, some at first loth, at last consented,

Sir Philip Sidney is slain.

1586.

Leicester takes the Fort at Zurphin by the valour of Edward Stanley, and in what manner. The States complain of the Earl of Leicester's carriage.

Philip Earl of Arundel is fined, and why.

A League of strict Amity concluded with the King of Scots.

A dangerous Conspiracy is at this time discovered, begun by John Savage, but prosecuted by Anthony Babington and divers others.

confented, and in a foolish vaingloriousness, a picture of the Assassins was made to the life, and *Babington* in the midst with these words: *Quorsum hac alio properantibus?* This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but only *Bernwell*, (who had oftentimes come to her in the caules of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose servant he was.) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this *Bernwell*, and turning to *Hutton*, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a sword by his side? Thus much *Bernwell* himself told the rest of his confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if she had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the foresaid *Gifford*: This man was a Gentleman of a good House at *Cheshington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the English fugitives in *France*, under the counterfeit name of *Nelson* to purchase *Savage* in minde of the vow he had made, and to convey letters between them and the Queen of *Scots*. But he, whether pricked in conscience, or dismayed in minde, came to *Walsingham* privately, revealing who he was, and for what end, and by whom sent into *England*. *Walsingham* courteously entertained him, and sent him down into *Staffordshire*, to do the work he had undertaken. Here *Gifford* bringing the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of *Scots* lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to *Walsingham*'s hands, who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one *Thomas Philips*, found out the meaning of the private Characters, and by the singular Art of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties, to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former letters from the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted; as also, other letters written at the same time to *Alondora* the Spanish Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Page*, the Archbishop of *Gloucester*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Queen as soon as she understood by these Letters of the storm hanging over her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a sudden is taken in *Babington*'s house. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walsingham*, with whom he had long been a suitor, for licence to go into *France*, promising to do great matters in discovering the practices of the Fugitives; *Walsingham* with fair promises drives him off from day to day, and now persuades him, that for a small space till he could get his licence sealed, he would lodge at his house in *London*, where they might have secret conference without suspicion. This web *Walsingham* himself had spun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Council were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread out, but that the Queen was unwilling, lest (as she said) not avoiding danger when she might, she should seem rather to tempt God, than to trust in him. Whereupon, *Walsingham* sent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to look carefully to *Babington*: This Note was delivered in such manner, that *Babington* sitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, overlooked him, and read it likewise; Hereupon suspecting that all was discovered, the next night he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walsingham*'s servants supping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuse that he must needs step aside, and rose up, leaving his cloak and his sword, and so made hast through the dark to *Westminster*, where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themselves into *St Johns* wood near the City, whither *Barnwell* and *Dun* betook themselves. In the mean space they were proclaimed Traytors all *England* over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods and by-places; they shave *Babington*'s face, disfigure the beauty of his countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the husks of green Wall-nuts; and when they were half starved, went to the houses of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow* on the hill, who were great Papists; There they were hid in Barns, and put into a Countrey habit: but notwithstanding all their shifting, within ten dayes after they were discovered and brought to *London*. The other Complices were soon after taken, most of them in the Suburbs of the City, *Salisbury* and *Traverse* in *Cheshire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his house, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors, *Windsore* only was never heard of. Many dayes were spent in the examination of them, who cut one the others throats, with their own confessions. All this while, the Queen of *Scots* and her servants are so narrowly looked to by *Pawlet*, that she knew nothing of all these passages: as soon as they were apprehended, *Thomas Gorge* was sent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till she was got on Horse-back to ride a hunting, and was not then suffered to return, but in shew of curtesie was carried up and down, to see the Houses of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while *John Manners*, *Edward Aiton*, *Richard Bago*, and *St William Wade*, took *Nave* and *Curle* the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, and the rest of her servants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no speech between themselves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scots*. Then they broke open all dories, and such Desks and Boxes as they found with any papers in them, they set their seals upon, and sent them to the Court: In which, being broken open before the Queen, were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the copies likewise of Letters sent to several persons, and three score Alphabets at least of private Characters; as also, Letters to her from some of the English Nobility, containing great proffers of love and service, which the Queen notwithstanding took no notice of, but passed over in silence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I see, and say nothing. *Gifford* now, who had all this while served their turn, is sent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the French Ambassador here in *England*, with Instructions that he should deliver no Letters to the Queen

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one *Gifford*, and by what means.

*Walsingham*'s State-craft.

*Babington* seeks to escape.

But is discovered and taken.

The Queen of *Scots* hath her Closets broken open and her Boxes searched.

A Queen of *Scots*, or the Fugitives in *France*; but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he sent under-hand to Sir *Francis Walsingham*.

The twentieth of September, seven of the forenamed Conspirators were Arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemned of High-Treason. Two dayes after, seven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithstanding were found guilty by their own confessions, and condemned; *Pellie* only, though he were privy to all passages, yet because he had disclosed many things to *Walsingham*, was not called in question. The twentieth day of the month, the first seven in *St. Giles* Fields, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down instantly, their privy members cut off, and themselves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowelled and quartered; namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, (who, the roap breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was presently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowelled, while he was perfectly living) *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, and *Abington*. The next day, the other seven were drawn to the same place, and executed in the same fashion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens special charge who detested the former cruelty, for they were to hang till they were quite dead, *Salisbury* first, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Chernock*, *Traverse*, *Gage*, and with them *Hierome Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor (whose Brother being guilty of the same fact, had strangled himself in Prison.)

When these men were executed, *Nave* a French man, and *Curle* a Scotch man, Secretaries to the Queen of *Scots*, were examined concerning the Letters, the copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of *Scots* Closet; who under their own voluntary subscriptions acknowledged, that they were their own hand-writings, dictated in French by the Queen her self, taken by *Nave*, turned into English by *Curle*, and copied out in secret Characters. Hereupon, Sir *Edward Wootton* was sent out of hand into *France*, to make known to the King, the order of the Treason, and to shew him the copies of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, confirmed by the testimony of sundry of the English Nobility, that the French King might see what dangerous plots were by *Charles Paget*, and the English Fugitives contrived against the Queen of *England*.

And now, what should be done with the Queen of *Scots*, was a great consultation; wherein the Counsellours were not all of one mind; some conceived, That it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in safe custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only conscious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith Arraigned and put to death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poisoned and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawful, but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what Law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25 of *Edward* the Third; (In which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen, Enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevailed, who thought best to proceed against her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the Privy Council, and other of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by virtue of that Law, and passe sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invaded the Kingdome, or attempted any violence against the Queen. These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of October repaired to *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Pawlet* and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary, who delivered her the Queens Letters; which having with a sealed countenance read, she said, It seems to me strange, that the Queen should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen, no lesse than her self; but howsoever, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, she standing still upon her innocence, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specially for yielding to be tried by the English Laws; of which, One (she said) had lately been made of purpose for her destruction: It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellor and Treasurer, That if she refused to answer to such crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Prefence Chamber; a Chair of Estate was set for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against, was placed a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*; on both sides of the Cloth of Estate, stools were set, upon which on the one side sat the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, The Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and Viscount *Mountacute*; On the other side sat the Lords *Aburgavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *St John* of *Blesbo*, *Compton*, and *Cheyne*; Next to these, sat the Knights that were Privy Counsellors, *St James Crofts*, *St Christopher Hatton*, *St Francis Walsingham*, *St Ralph Sadler*, *St Walter Mildmay*, and *St Amias Pawlet*; Forward, before the Earls, sat the two Chief Justices, and the Lord chief Baron; on the other side, the two Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale*, and *Forod*, Doctors of the Civil Law; at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorney General, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdie* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of *Scots* was come, and had placed her self, silence being made; *Bremley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said;

Fourteen of the Conspirators are Arraigned, and hanged.

Sir *Edward Wootton* is sent into *France*, to acquaint the King with this conspiracy.

Consultation's held, what should be done with the Queen of *Scots* and the resolution.

Commissioners are sent to the Queen of *Scots* to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent.

Hereupon she appears before the Commissioners.

And the Queens Council open the crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her.

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen, that the Sentence passed against her might be promulgated. And the Queens Answer.

A while after, the Queen treats the Lords to think of some way, by which the Queen of Scots life may be saved, and her own not endangered. The Lords return Answer, that there can be no way of her safety, but the Queen of Scots death.

said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to a crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, that nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear, that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this, she rising up, said; That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gardie*, opened every speciality of the Law lately made (against which she had taken exception) shewing by *Babingtons* confession, by Letters passed between them, by the confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the confessions of her Secretaries, *Nave* and *Carle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, the rest, in hope of life, might be drawn to confesse that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily. That she never consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she conspired the did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of Scots; At last, she requested, that the might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this request prevailed not; for on the twenty fifth day of *October* following, at the Star chamber in *Westminster*, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the seven and twentieth year of our Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington*, and others, with the privy of *Mary Queen of Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

After a few days, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglesfield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydwick Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the complices, was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom, with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, that for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the sentence passed against *Mary Queen of Scots*, might according to Law be presently promulgated: They put the Queen in minde of the fearful examples of Gods Judgements extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*, and upon *Ahab*, for not putting *Benhadad* to death. But the Queen answereth them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affections towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to minde things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of Scots is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other ancient Laws enough to condemn her, Nothing could have been more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signify my minde unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjectalook for, from a Gracious Prince.

Twelve days after, having deeply weighed the matter in her minde, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to bethink themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of Scots might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict; That the Queens life could not be in safety, while the Queen of Scots lived, unless she either repented and acknowledged her crimes, or were kept in straight custody, or bound by oath and obligations, or gave Hostages, or lastly, departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be remedies; it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledge her self faulty; Close Imprisonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hostages they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and the would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and the *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon, the Queen after a short pause, spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, than that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety without her destruction, is in a more deplorable estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardoned to many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivance, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly allied to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say I will not grant your Petition, I shall happily say what I meant not; If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I my self into destruction headlong, whole

A whose safety you so earnestly desire; And that I know, you in your wisdoms would not I should do.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lords *Buckhurst* and *Beal* sent to the Queen of Scots, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore persuaded her, that before her death, she would make acknowledgement of her offences, against God and the Queen; intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not subsist. Hereupon, she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, that she should be accounted an Instrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament to her; but was denied, which she deemed, not inhumane only, but tyrannicall and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected, and jeered at the *English* Nation, saying; The *English* were ever and anon wont to murder their own Kings, and therefore no marvell, they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was proclaimed, in *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this Promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the impotency of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Queen of Scots being told hereof, seemed not a whit dejected with it; but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small requests; one, That she might be buried in *France* by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her servants to be present; the third, That her servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests, she desired the Queen to vouchsafe her an answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

This condemnation of the Queen of Scots, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far and near; so as intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but specially from the King of Scots, and the King of *France*, who sent their severall Ambassadors, using all the reasons that natural affection in the one, and likeness of condition in the other, could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State, seemed to obstruct all ways of clemency, the French Ambassador *L'Aubespine*, falleth from reasons to action, and thinketh no way so effectual for saving of the Queen of Scots life, as to take away Queen *Elizabeths* life; and thereupon, first, he dealt covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Brother at that time, Ambassador Liger in *France*) and afterward, more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murder the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act such a villany himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him, a resolute fellow, and one that for money would be sure to do it. Upon this, *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Goal, who upon *Trapps* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done? *Moody* propounded poyson, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of these ways, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Council. Whereupon *Trappe* who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to *Cecil*s house, the twelfth of *January*; where met him by the Queens appointment, *Cecil* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, *Sr Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyson* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassador every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secretary had confessed. As soon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassador interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearful imprecations, that the Ambassador first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) it appears, that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replied; That if he had known of any such thing, yet, being he was an Ambassador, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him, to beware how he offended hereafter in this kinde; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence, though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of Scots Adversaries put many terrors into Queen *Elizabeths* minde, giving out, That the Spanish Navy was come to *Milford Haven*; That the Scots were broken into *England*; That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army was landed in *Staffex*; That the Queen of Scots was escaped out of Prison, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this; That the sealed Letters, for executing the Sentence against the Queen of Scots, and one of her greatest persuaders to it (as the Scots reported it) was one whom the King of Scots had sent to disswade her from it; namely *Patrick Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*; when she is dead, she cannot bite.

The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but

Upon this the Queen of Scots is made acquainted with the Lords Petition to have the Sentence executed, at which she seemed to rejoyce.

The King of Scots and the King of France solicit for her life.

*L'Aubespine* the French Ambassador, set agents awork to kill *Q. Elizabeth*.

*Q. Elizabeth* terrified with many rumors, seals a Warrant for executing her.

But being long in suspense about it, at last the commanded Secretary Davyson to get the Commission made: but not disclose the matter to any. Yet Davyson acquaints divers of the Privy Council with it. Hereupon Beale is sent down to give authority to the Earl of Shrewsbury and others to see her executed.

1587.

The Commissioners acquaint her with it, with which she was not a whit daunted.

She makes her Will.

Her devout carriage at her death.

She is belated.

Her age when she died.

Q. Elizabeth hearing of her death, is infinitely dejected

but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her, many practical reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers and Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspense, she would oftentimes sit speechless, and her countenance cast down: At last, her fear prevailing, she delivered to Secretary Davyson, Letters under her hand and Seal, to get the Commission made under the Great Seal of England, for the Execution of the Queen of Scots, which might be in a readinesse upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next day her mind was altered, and sent Sir William Killigrew to Davyson, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon Davyson goes to her, and lets her know, That the Commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat, the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his haltnesse; yet Davyson imparteth the matter to Privy Counsellors; and periwades them, That the Queen commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon, Beale Clerk of the Council, is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law; with which proceeding, the Queen was not once made acquainted; and more than this, although she had intimated to Davyson, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of Scots, yet did not he stay Beale from going.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy, for as soon as the Earls were come to Fotheringay; they, together with Sir Amias Pawlet, and Sir Drue Drurie, with whom she was then in custody; go unto her, and reading the Commission, signify the cause of their coming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare her self for death, for that she must die the next day. Whereunto, without any change of countenance or passion of minde, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth that she might confer with her Confessor, and Melvyn her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of Peterborough they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastened, where the eat (as she used to do) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, she comforted them, and bid them rejoice rather, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After supper, she looketh over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted hour she went to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awaking, spent the rest of the night in her devotion. And now the fatal day being come, which was the eight of February; she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook her self in her Cloist to Almighty God, imploring his assistance with deep sighs and groans; untill Thomas Andrews Sheriff of the County gave notice, that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majesty, and cheerful countenance she came out, her head covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hands. In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where Melvyn her Servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune, that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into Scotland; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament Melvyn, Thou shalt by and by see Mary Steward freed from all cares. Then turning her self to the Earls, she requested that her Servants might stand by her at her death, which the Earl of Kent was very loth to grant, for fear of superstition; to whom she said, Fear nothing, these poor wretches desire only to give me my last farewell. I know the Queen my Sister, would not deny me so small a request. After this, the two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the Scaffold, which was set up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of Peterborough going to Prayers, she falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix in both her hands, prayed with her Servants in Latine, out of the Office of the blessed Virgin. Prayers being ended she kissed the Crucifix, and signing her self with the sign of the Crosse, said, As thy arms, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Crosse, so embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins. Then the Executioner asking her pardon, she forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into shrieks, and cries, she kissed them, signed them with the Crosse, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her sorrows was at hand; and then shadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Block, she repeated the Psalm, In te Domine speravi, ne confundar in aeternum; at which words she stretching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at Peterborough; but since that, her Noble Son James, King of great Britain, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King Henry the seventh's Chappel at Westminster. This end had Mary Queen of Scots, in the six and fortieth year of her age, and of her Imprisonment in England the eighteenth; a Lady so compleat in all excellent parts of body and minde, that must needs have made her a happy woman, if she had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if she had not been Heir to the Crown of England: For why did all her endeavours want successe, but only from the fear of that Succession? and no Innocency of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealousie made the Assault.

As soon as it came to the Queens knowledge, that the Queen of Scots was put to death, her countenance grew dejected, and her speech failed her; insomuch that all in mourning weeds, she gave her self over to sorrow, commanded her Counsellors from her Presence, and caused Davyson

A Davyson to be cited to the Star-chamber. And as soon as grief would suffer her, she wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, to this effect; That her mind was infinitely disquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, against her meaning and intent, entreating him to believe, that if he had commanded it, she would never have denied it, and with all protesting her true affection towards him, and her assiduous watchfulness for the prospering of his affairs.

While Cary was on his journey, Davyson is cited to the Star-chamber before these Delegates, Sir Christopher Wray Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Earls of Worcester, Cumberland, and Lincoln, the Lords Gray, and Lumley, Sir James Croft, Comptroller of the Queens Houfe, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron (where note, that Bromley Lord Chancellor, Burleigh Lord Treasurer, Leicester, and Hatton, who were indeed more guilty of the fact than Davyson, were none of the number.) Before these Delegates, Popham the Queens Attorney layeth to Davyson charge Contempt of the Queens Majesty, violating of his trust, and neglect of his duty, laying open all particulars of his fact; which after Egerton the Queens Solicitor, Gawdy, and Puckering, Serjeants at Law, urged also against him with great aggravation: To which Davyson mildly answered, That he would not contest with the Queen; only Protests, That if he had done any thing otherwise than he ought, it was out of ignorance and mistake, and not out of any purpose to disobey her Majesty. It seems the Queen had carried her self as one that would have it done, and yet was loath to do it, scarce knowing her own mind, and yet would have another know it, meaning to make it the work of mistaking, rather than of purpose, that so at least she might leave some place of satisfaction to her self, that it was not absolutely of her doing.

The pleadings ended, the Commissioners went to censure; Manwood began, and gave his opinion that Davyson for the inconsideratenesse of his fact, should be fined ten thousand pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queens pleasure; the rest went on in that sentence, only the Lord Gray excused Davyson so far That he thought him worthy of reward rather than of punishment: The conclusion was, the first Sentence for his Fine and Imprisonment, was by Wray Keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and Davyson never after recovered the Queens favour, though she relieved him sometimes in his necessity. A man ingenious indeed, but not thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the Court; and thought to have been raised to this place, of purpose to act this part, and for nothing else.

By this time Sir Robert Cary, Son to the Lord Hunsdon, who was sent to excuse the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not suffered to set foot in Scotland; The King would scarce hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambassador out of England, and thought of nothing but revenge.

But the Queen still laying the fault upon Davyson, and the unadvised credulity of her Counsellors, by little and little allayeth his passion; and expecting till time had somewhat allwaged his grief, that it would indure to be touched, at length by her Agents in Scotland, and soon after by the Lord Hunsdon Governour of Berwick, she admonished him, How dangerous it would be for him, to break out into War against England, and what little help he could justly expect from either Spain or France; but if he persisted in the amity with England, he might be sure the Queen of England would most lovingly account him for her Son. And to the end that he should assure himself, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privacy, she sent him the Sentence against Davyson, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of England; and another Instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of England; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of Scots, could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Having now by these and the like courtes somewhat allwaged the King of Scots indignation; to prevent the War which they foresaw was imminent from the King of Spain, they send forth Drake with four of the Queens ships and others, unto the Coast of Spain, to set upon their ships in the Haven, and to intercept their Munition. Drake entering into the Port of Cales, sunk, took, and fired about an hundred ships, wherein was great store of Munition and victuals: Then returning to the Cape of St Vincent, he set upon three Forts, and compelled them to yeeld. Thence setting sail to the Western Islands, called Azores, under the great Meridian, by great good fortune he happened upon an huge and wealthy Carack, called St. Philip, returning from the East-Indies, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of Philip, portended no good luck to Philip King of Spain.

At the same time, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk, in the other part of the World, who two years before had set sail from England with three ships, passing through the Straights of Magellan, in the Coast of Chily, Peru, and Nova Hispania, fired a great number of Spanish Towns, took and pillaged nineteen great ships and amongst them a wealthy ship of the Kings nigh unto California, in North America; and so by the Philippine Isles, the Molucces, the Cape de Bone Esperance, and the Island of St. Hilene, returned home the next year, being the third after Magellan, that sailed about the World.

As Drake and Cavendish at this time gained great fame and renown; so two other men in the Netherlands (Stanley and York) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This York was a Londoner, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing fire into England, the manner of turning the point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the English till this time, were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it was held no manhood to turn the point; or strike below the girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl

And soon after writes to the King of Scots to satisfy him in it, that it was done against her meaning.

Davyson is cited in the Star-chamber, and charged with violating her Majesty's trust.

And his answer.

His censure in the Star-chamber.

The King of Scots will not admit the Queens messenger and threatens revenge. Queen Elizabeth seeks to pacify him, and by what reasons.

Drake is sent to the Coast of Spain, and what mischief he did the King.

And the like also did Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk.

Tork and Stanley in the Low-Countries, perfidiously deliver up Towns to the Spaniards and their ends.

Earl of Leicester, fled away, and for a time, served under the Spaniards in the Netherlands, till at a length being reconciled to Leicester, he was set over the Fort near Zutphen; but being bribed, he not only yielded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one Stanley, who with great valour had served in an Irish expedition, to yield up Davenport to the Spaniards, a wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The Spaniards let York and Stanley at variance, they poison York and seize upon his goods, his carcass was three years after digged up by the States commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; Stanley went into Spain, where there was no credit given to him; for the Spaniards have a saying, It is lawful to give honour to a Traytor sometimes, but never to trust him.

Upon the complaint of the States against the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Buckhurst is sent to examine his doings.

These late Treacheries wrought the Earl of Leicester much envy with the Confederate Netherlands, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the States in large letters to the Queen, accuse Leicester for his ill managing of the Weal publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accrued by York and Stanley. The Queen, for the narrow sifting of the matter, and composing it, sent thither Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (lately taken into her Privy Council in Leicester's absence) Norris, and Bartholomew Clerk: But when the officious diligence of Buckhurst, seemed to trench upon Leicester's reputation, his grace with the Queen proved so forcible, that Buckhurst at his return, was for certain months confined to his house.

Afterward Sluce being beleaguered by the Prince of Parma, Leicester was by the States sent for out of England, to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted, with seventeen thousand great shot, and a mighty breach was made into it; which nevertheless Roger Williams, Francis Vere, Nicholas Barker, with the Garrison of the English and Walloons, was valiantly defended for a while, but at last were enforced to yield it up, Leicester, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the besiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the States would not commit any great Army to his Command; who (they knew) had a determination to seize Leyden, and some other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon the States use means, that Leicester was called home; gave up the Government to the States, and in his room succeeded Maurice of Nassau Son to the Prince of Orange, being now but twenty years of age. Peregrine Lord Willoughby, was by the Queen made General of the English Forces in the Low Countries, to whom she gave command to reduce the English Factions into the States obedience; the which, with the help of Prince Maurice, he easily effected.

Leicester is called home, and gives up the Government to the States.

Being called to examination before the Lords of the Council, how he eludes it.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an accusation was preparing against him by Buckhurst and others, for his unfaithfull managing of affairs in Holland; privately with tears cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that she should not receive him with disgrace, at his return, whom she had sent forth in honour, and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the publick instructions which he had received, were limited with private restrictions; and making his appeal to the Queen, concluded the whole crimination, with the secret indignation of his Adversaries.

How the honour of Aburgavenny came to the Family of Nevil.

This year was famous for the Death of many great Personages: In the month of February, dyed Henry Nevill, Lord of Aburgavenny, great Grandchild to Edward Nevil, who in the Reign of King Henry the Sixth, got this Title in the right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Worcester, and Lord of Aburgavenny; In which right, whenas the only Daughter of this Henry, Wife to St Thomas Fane, challenged the Title of Baroness of Aburgavenny, a memorable contention arose concerning the Title between her, and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the same confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Castle of Aburgavenny was bequeathed. This question being a long time debated; at last in a Parliament holden in the second year of King James, the matter was tried by voyces; and the Heir male carried the Lordship of Aburgavenny, and the Barony Le Dispencer, was ratified to the female.

Anne Stanhope Dutchess of Somerset dies, of great age.

St Ralph Sadler dies, the last Banneret of England.

St Christopher Hatton is made L. Chancellor.

This year also, in the month of April, dyed Anne Stanhope, Dutchess of Somerset, ninety years old, who being the wife of Edward Seymer Duke of Somerset, and Protector of England, commended for precedency with Katherine Parre, Queen Dowager to King Henry the Eighth. There dyed also St Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, the last Banneret of England, with which dignity he was adorned at the Battel of Mussilborough in Scotland. After him dyed Thomas Bromley Eord Chancellor of England; and six days after, he, whom the Queen meant should have succeeded him, Edward Earl of Rutland; but he now taying, Sir Christopher Hatton was made Lord Chancellor, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honest man, thought him not unfit for the place, where conscience hath, or should have more place than Law; although some were of opinion, That it was not to much the Queens own choice, as that she was persuaded to it by some that wisht him not well, both thereby to be a cause of abetting him from the Court, and thinking that such a sedentary place, to a corpulent man that had been used to exercise, would be a means to shorten his life, and indeed he lived not full out three years after.

This year St John Perot was called home out of Ireland, and left all in great quiet to Fitz Williams his Successor. For hitherto the English found it no hard matter to vanquish the Irish, by reason of their unskillfulnesse in Armes; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, were held an invincible

Invincible Army: but after by Perots command, they were exercised in Feats of Arms, and taught to discharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the Low Countries learned the Art of Fortification, they held the English better to it, and were not so easily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, being the year 1588, long before spoken of by Astrologers, to be a wonderfull year, and even the Climatrical year of the World. And yet the greatest Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that Spain provided for invading of England, if the defeat of that wonderful Fleet were not a greater Wonder.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between England and Spain; and the Earl of Derby, the Lord Cobham, St James Crofts, Dale, and Rogers Doctors of Law, Commissioners for the Queen, for the Prince of Parma, the Count Aurenberg, Champignie, Richardot, Mais, and Garoyer, Doctors, had many meetings about it, neer to Offend; but it seemed on the part of Spain, rather to make the English secure, that they should not make provision for War, than that they had any purpose of reall proceeding, being they accepted not of any reasonable Conditions that were offered, but tr fled out the time, till the Spanish Navy was come upon the Coast, and the Ordinance heard from Sea, and then dismissed the English Delegates.

The Spanish Navy consisted of one hundred and thirty Ships; whereof Galeasses and Gallies seventy two, goodly Ships, like to floating Towers; in which were Souldiers 19290; Mariners, 8350; Gally slaves, 2080; Great Ordinance, 2630; For the greater holiness of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called the twelve Apostles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was Don Alphonso, Duke of Medina; and next to him, John Martin Recalde, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of May they weighed Anchor from the River Tagus, but were by Tempest so miserably disperst, that it was long ere they met again; but then they sent before to the Prince of Parma, that he with his Forces, consisting of fifty thousand old Souldiers, should be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into England, and to land his Army at the Thames Mouth.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time was this; The Lord Charles Howard, Lord Admiral, with all her Navy, and St Francis Drake, Vice-Admiral, to be ready at Plymouth; and the Lord Henry Seymer, (second Son to the Duke of Somerset) with forty English and Dutch Ships, to keep the Coasts of the Netherlands, to hinder the Prince of Parma's coming forth. Then for Land Service, there were laid along the Southern Coast, twenty thousand Souldiers, and two Armies besides of Trained men were levied; over one of which, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty thousand Foot, the Earl of Leicester commanded, and pitched his Tents at Tilbury, near the Thames mouth: Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Person, and consisting of four and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Lord Hamdon was General. Arthur Lord Grey, St Francis Knoller, St John Norris, St Richard Bingham, St Roger Williams, and other Military men, were chosen to make a council of War, and consult how the Land service should be ordered. These declared amongst other things, That the places which lay fittest for the Enemies landing, as Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the Downs, the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, and such other, should be fortified with Works and Garisons; the Trained Souldiers of those Shires, which lay near the Sea Coast, should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to spoil the Country round about, that he might find no Food; and by continual crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give Battel, till good store of Commanders were come together.

At this time many fearing the Papists at home, no lesse than the Spaniards abroad, persuaded the Queen to take off the heads of some of the greatest of them; but she detesting such cruelty, took order only, That some of them should be committed to custody in Wubych Castle.

Many Papists are committed to custody in Wubych Castle.

And now all things on both sides prepared, the Spanish Navy set forth out of the Groyn in May, but was disperst and driven back by weather. The English Navy set forth, somewhat later out of Plymouth, bearing up towards the Coast of Spain; but partly by occasion of contrary winds, partly by advertisement that the Spaniards were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might passe by towards the Coast of England, whilst they were seeking them afare off, they returned to Plymouth: At which time, a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admiral, That the Spaniards could not possibly come forward that year: whereupon the English Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the men were gone on shore, when suddenly the invincible Armada (for so it was called in a Spanish ostentation) was discovered upon the Western Coast: whereof the Lord Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queens Navy out of the Haven (the wind being contrary) yet at length he hailed it forth. The next day, the English beheld the Spanish Ships, in height like to Castles, sayling slowly along, whom they suffered peaceably to passe by, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The one and twentieth day of July, the Admiral of England sent a Pinnace before, called The Defiance, which by a great shot, challenged the Spaniards to fight, and by and by they fell to it. Then Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher let fly against the outmost Squadron, which Recalde commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for succour. The night following, a mighty Byscayner of Oquenda's (in which the King of Spains Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between England and Spain, the King of Spain sends his great Armado against England.

Of what number of Ships the Armado consisted: and who was General.

The Queens preparation both by Sea and land, to resist it.

The two Fleets encounter; and the passages and events of it.

Ships sent to her succour; one of which Ships, was the *Galleon of Don Pedro*, whom *S<sup>t</sup> Francis Drake* took prisoner, and sent him to *Dartmouth*. The *Biskayner* it self (the *Treasure* being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behind them, which the *English* brought into the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The three and twentieth day of this Moneth, they had a second fight, in which most of the *Spanish* shot flew over the *English* Ships, and never hurt them; Only *Cock* an *English* man, being with his little Vessel in the midst of the Enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day they rested on both sides, in which time the Lord Admiral ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The first he ruled himself, *Drake* the second, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbisher* the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was *Saint James's day*) they fell to it the third time, in which Fight, the *English* had again the better, so as after this time, the *Spaniards* would no more turn upon the *English*, but holding on their course, dispatched a Messenger to the Prince of *Parma*; requiring him forthwith to joyn himself to the Kings Fleet, and withall to send them Bullets.

The day following, the Lord Admirall knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsland*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*; and holding a Council of War, they decreed not to let again upon the Enemy, till they came to the Straight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry Seymour* and *S<sup>t</sup> William Winter* waited for their coming. And now so far were the *English* from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of special note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admirall; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *S<sup>t</sup> Charles Blunt*, *S<sup>t</sup> Walter Raleigh*, *S<sup>t</sup> William Hatton*, *S<sup>t</sup> Robert Cary*, *S<sup>t</sup> Ambrose Willoughby*, *S<sup>t</sup> Thomas Gerard*, *S<sup>t</sup> Arthur Gurg* and others.

The seven and twentieth of July towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* cast Anchor near unto *Calice*, and not far from them rode the *English* Admirall, within shot of a great Ordinance, to whom *Seymour* and *Winter* joyned themselves: so as by this time there were in the *English* Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and serviceable for fighting or Sailing, yet only fifteen of them bore the stroke of the Battell. And now again the *Spaniards* sent Post after Post to the Prince of *Parma* to send them forty Fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the *English*, by reason of the greatesse and unwieldiness of their Ships, and importune him presently to put to Sea with his Army; But he was unprepared, and his Flat-bottomed Boats were full of chinks and leaked, and besides, the *Hollanders* hovered before the Ports of *Dunkerk* and *Newport*, in such sort, that he durst not look forth.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord Admirall made ready eight of his worst Ships, on the outside dawbed with *Wilde-fire*, *Rozin* and *Brimstone*, within full of combustible matter, and under the conduct of *Young* and *Prosser*, sent them down with the winde in the silent time of the night, towards the *Spanish* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* saw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire; imagining withall, that those Fire-ships might carry in them some murdering Engines, they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cabies, spread Sails, and betook themselves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the *Spanish* Gallies having lost her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in sight by *Annis Priest*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvie*, who slew Captain *Hugh Moncada*, cast the Souldiers on board, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordinance was wreck to the Governour of *Calice*.

*Drake* and *Fenner* in the mean while perceiving the *Spanish* Fleet to gather together again before *Graveling*, set upon them with great violence, to whom straightways, *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beecham*, *Crosse*, and *Riman* joyned themselves, and soon after the Admirall himself, *S<sup>t</sup> Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; the *Galleon* called *Saint Matthew*, was sorely battered by *Seymour* and *Winter*, driven toward *Ostend*, and set upon again by the *Zealanders*, and at last was taken by the *Flushingers*.

And now the *Spanish* Navy having want of many necessities, and no hope of the Prince of *Parma's* coming, they resolved to return Northward for *Spain*; in which passage they lost both many Ships and men, the *English* Navy still following them close, till they were faine to give them over for want of Powder. Whilst these things passed at Sea, the Queen in Person came to *Tilbury* to view the Army and Camp there, where she shewed such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that it wonderfully animated the spirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years in preparing, in the space of a Moneth was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being slain, more than half of their Ships taken and sunk (of the *English* not above a hundred at the most missing, nor so much as a Ship, but *Cocks* little Vessel) and sailing about all *Brittain* by *Scotland*, the *Orkneys* and *Ireland*, they returned into *Spain* with as much dishonour as they came out with boasting, for indeed *Moncada* in *France* by a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

For the happy successe of this Action, Queen *Elizabeth* appointed prayers and thanksgiving over all the Churches in *England*, and she (as it were in Triumph) came in Person, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increased the publick joy, was the news which *S<sup>t</sup> Robert Sidney*

The Prince of Parma is unprepared to put to Sea.

A stratagem used by the English Admirall.

The Spanish Navy returns home.

The Queen in person comes to Tilbury to the Army.

Q Elizabeth comes to Pauls and gives publick thanks to God for this Victory.

*A Sidney* brought out of *Scotland*, That the King had over-past all injuries, was lovingly affected towards the *English*, and desired to imbrace sincere and perfect amity with the Queen. For as for the King of *Spain*, he wittily told the Embassadour, that he expected no other curse from him, but such as *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*, that he should be the last whom he would devour.

And now dyed the great Earl of *Leicester* the fourth day of September, at his Manor of *Killingworth* of a violent Fever; I may well say the great Earl, considering the many great honours he enjoyed, which are extant in the Story, yet one honour greater than any he had before, he effected even then when he was ready to go out of the world, and that was, To be Vicegerent in the high Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which the Patent was already drawn, and had been sealed, but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* shewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for so great Authority to reside in one Subject. He was while he lived in so great favour with the Queen, that some thought (and himself not the least) that she meant to marry him; yet when he dyed, his goods were sold at an Outcry to make payment of the debts he owed her.

About this time *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who three years before had been cast in prison, was now cited in *Westminster Hall*, to the judgement of his Peers, and *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made High Steward of *England* for the time. The matters laid to his charge were these: That he had contracted friendship with *Cardinall Allen*, *Parsons* the Jesuite, and other Traytors, exciting divers both abroad and at home to restore the *Romish* Religion, promising his assistance thereunto; and for that reason had a purpose to depart the Kingdom. That he was privy to the Bull, in which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had deposed the Queen, and given *England* to the *Spaniard*; That being imprisoned in the Tower, he caused Masse to be said for the prosperous successe of the *Spanish* Fleet, and for that purpose had framed peculiar prayers for his own private use. Being demanded whether he were guilty of these things, turning himself to the Judges, he asked them these questions: First, whether it were lawfull to heap up so many crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They answered that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from presumptions were of force? They answered, that it was lawfull for him to interpose exceptions if he saw cause. Then again, if he might be Arraigned for those things which were Capital, by the Law made the thirteenth year of the Queen, after that the time expressed in the Act was expired? They promised, they would proceed against him by no Law; but the old Statute of Treason, made in the Reign of King *Edward* the third. But now again asked if he were guilty or not? he pleaded not guilty; whereupon *Puckering* the Queens Serjeant at Law, *Popham* Attorney General, *Shutlworth* Serjeant at Law, and *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, in their turns, urged and proved the crimes objected, some whereof he denied, some he extenuated; but in conclusion was by his Peers found guilty and condemned; yet the Queen spared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the Papists.

It was now the year 1589. and the two and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; when to be in some sort revenged of the *Spaniards* for their Invasion, she gave leave to *S<sup>t</sup> John Norris* and *S<sup>t</sup> Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition at their own private charges, requiring nothing of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with them *Anthony* the ballard, laying claim to the Kingdom of *Portingall*, and of Souldiers to the number of eleven thousand, of Seamen about fifteen hundred: setting sayl from *Plimmouth* the fifth day of April, they arrived at the *Groyne* in *Galatia*; whereof with great valour they took first the Lower Town, and afterward the Higher, and from thence sailing towards *Portingall*, they met *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, who without the Queens leave had put to Sea: After two days they arrive at *Pe nycha* a Town of *Portingall*, which they took; and left the Castle to *Don Antonio*, and from thence they march by land towards *Lisbon* threescore miles off: The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promised to follow with the Fleet, being come to the West Suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no body there but a few poor disarmed *Portugals*, who cried out, *God save King Antonio*. The day following the *Spaniards* made a sallie out, in which skirmish *Bret*, *Curelly*, and *Carre*, (stout Commanders) were slain; yet did the Earl of *Essex* drive the *Spaniards* to the very gates of the City. And now having tarried here two days, and seeing no sign of the *Portugals* revolting; which *Don Antonio* had assured them would be, finding fresh supplies come into the Town, their own Army sickly, Victuals and Powder failing; and which was most of all, *S<sup>t</sup> Francis Drake* not bringing the great Ordinance as he promised, they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Castais*, a little Town at the mouth of the River *Tagus*, which Town *Drake* had taken this mean while, who excused his not coming to *Lisbon*, by reason of the Flats he must have passed, and the Castle of *Saint Julian* fortified with fifty pieces of great Ordinance. Near this place they found threescore Hulks of the *Hanse* towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victuals or Munition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sayl to *Virgo*, a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Souldiers and Mariners about six thousand; yet not so much by the Enemy, as by eating of strange fruits and distemper of the Climate.

It concerns the Fate of *England*, to look at this time into the Fate of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext

The King of Scots is reconciled to the Queen.

The Earl of Leicester dies.

Philip Earl of Arundell is cited to be tried by his Peers, by whom he is condemned, but the Queen spares his life.

I 589.

*Norris* and *Drake* undertake an expedition into Spain, to see *D<sup>e</sup> Antonio* in his Kingdom of *Portingall*, but prevailed not, and why.

A combination called the Holy League, is made in France.

The head of his League was the Duke of Guise. Whom the King for his insolent carriage, caused to be murdered in the very Court.

The Confederates make a New Seal and usurp the Royal Authority. The King is murdered by a Monk.

Being ready to dye he declareth the King of Navarre to be his lawful successor.

The Cardinal of Bourbon is proclaimed King of France, and at the same time also, the King of Navarre.

The King of Navarre is aided by Queen Elizabeth, both with money and men.

St William Drury is slain by Mr. Borroughs in a single Combat upon a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other a Barons younger Son. James King of Scots marries Anne the King of Denmark's Daughter.

Many great personages die William Somerset Earl of Worcester, his numerous issue.

Customer Smith is raised in his Farm of the Customs, and how much.

1590.

pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, entred into a combination, which they called *The Holy League*: The purpose whereof was, to root out the Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of France; For they bound themselves to each other by oath, to suffer no person but a Catholick to be King of France, which was directly to exclude the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, if the present King without issue male should fail. The head of this League, was the Duke of Guise, who having given some overthrows to the German Forces, that came into France in aid of the Protestants, was immeasurably extolled by the Clergy and others, and grew to such a height of reputation, that entering into Paris, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at Blois, to make him great Master of the French Cavalry, and to consent by Edict, to the cutting off the Protestants. So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murdered; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a confusion followed, that the people every where disobeyed the Magistrates, and spoiled the Kings very Palace at Paris. Some Cities affected a Democracy, others an Aristocracy, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurped the Royal Authority, seized into their hands the best fortified places, intercepted the Kings Revenues, call in Spanish Souldiers, and in all places denounce war and violence against the King. And the King in this case being forced to flee to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one James Clement a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, Declareth the King of Navarre to be his lawful Successor, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree, some would have the Duke of Lorraine, as being descended from the ancient Kings of France, some the Duke of Savoy, as born of the French Kings Daughter, a Prince Potent and Courageous; others would have the Duke of Guises Brother that was murdered; others the King of Spain; but the greatest part gave their voices for the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was one degree nearer allied to the slain King, than the King of Navarre his Nephew. He therefore was proclaimed King of France, with the Title of Charles the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of Navarre also was at the same time proclaimed King of France, who abode at Diepe a Sea Town in Normandy, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of France.

The King of Navarre being thus raised in Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the Queen of England, offering to make a League Offensive and Defensive; the Queen out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently two and twenty thousand pound sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold, as he professed he had never seen at one time before) and withall supplied him with four thousand Souldiers, under the command of Peregrinus Lord Wilkoughby; for Colonels, she appointed St Thomas Wilsford, who was made Marshall of the Field, John Borroughs, St William Drury, and St Thomas Baskerville, and gave them a months pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates (whom the King had vanquished a little before at Arques beyond all expectation) began to quail, and the day before the arrivall of the English they vanished away: with this addition of Forces the King marcheth to Paris, and being ready to enter the City, causeth a retreat to be sounded, as loath to have spoil made of a City, which he hoped shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the assistance of the English he won many Towns, and then having marched at least five hundred miles on foot, he gave them leave after a long Winters service, to return into England. In which Voyage of men of note, died Captain Hunninges, but of a natural death, also Stubbbs (he whose right hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queens marriage) and St William Drury slain by Master Borroughs in a single Combat, where the quarrell was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of Borroughs that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the English Gentry.

About this time, James King of Scots (with Queen Elizabeths goodliking) espoused Ann the Daughter of Frederick the second King of Denmark by his Deputy; but the afterward sayling for Scotland, was by tempest cast upon Norway, and there, through continual storms forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter season set sayl thither, that the marriage according to his vow might be accomplished within the year: some were of opinion that those storms were caused by witchcraft, and was confirmed indeed by some witches taken in Scotland, who confessed they had raised those storms to keep the Queen from landing in Scotland, and that the Earl Borthwell had asked Counsel of them concerning the Kings end; who was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasioned new Riots in Scotland.

This year many Noble personages dyed; Frances Countesse of Sussex, Sister to St Henry Sidway, St Walter Mildmay, Chancellor and Vice Treasurer of the Exchequer, William Somerset Earl of Worcester, so numerous in his off-spring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, than all the Earls of England. Also John Lord Brunton, Henry Lord Compton, and at Brussels the Lord Pager.

At this time, the Queen who was always frugall, strained one point of Frugality more than ever she had done before; for upon the information of one Carmarden, (though Leicester, Burgh, and Walsingham were offended, that credit should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected) she raised Thomas Smith the Customer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, and at last to fifty thousand.

It was now the year 1590. and the three and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, in which the Earl of Cumberland made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid sevell to the ground the Fort of the Isles of Fiala, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordinance.

This

This year was fatal to many Noble personages, first dyed Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, (Son to John Duke of Northumberland) without issue. After him St Francis Walsingham, Secretary, a man more skilfull in the Politicks, than in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, than of his own private estate, which he left so mean, and dyed so much indebted, that he was faine to be buried by night, without any Funerall pomp, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul; leaving behinde him one only Daughter, famous for her three husbands, all of them the goodliell men of their time; the first St Philip Sidney; the second, Robert Earl of Essex; the third Richard Burgh Earl of Clanriccard, by King Charles made Earl of Saint Albans. Within two Months after Walsingham dyed St Thomas Randall, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassage to severall Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postmastership of England. Soon after him dyed St John Crofts, who had done good service in Scotland, in Edward the Sixths time; in Queen Marys time was condemned of high Treason; in Queen Elizabeths time set at liberty, and made Comptroller of her house. After him dyed George Talbot, the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of this house; he was made Earl Marshall of England, and left behinde him a memoriall of Wifdom and Integrity. Lastly dyed Thomas Lord Wansworth, the last of the English that had been Governour of Calice.

In Ireland at this time Hugh Gaveloo (so called, because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of Shain O Neale, caused Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen, for holding private consultations with certain Spaniards, who in 88 were by Ship-wrack cast upon the coast of Ireland: Tir-Oen to prevent the Accusation, took the said Hugh, and when others refused to do it, took a cord and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into England, and came, and upon pardon obtained, solemnly undertook in presence of the Queen at Greenwich, to maintain the peace with Turkegh Leynigh; Not to usurp the Title of O Neale, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of Tir-Oen to the form of a County, and civill behaviour, and many such matters, giving hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, Hugh Ros Mac-Mahon, a Potentate in the Territory of Monaghan, compelled those under his jurisdiction to pay him tribute; whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken, and tried by a Jury of common Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongst certain English, and some of the Mac-Mahons, reserving a certain yearly Rent to the Crown of England, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of Mac-Mahon. But hereupon, O Rork, fearing that he should be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom Bingham President of Connaghy soon distressed, and drove into Scotland, and at the Queens request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

It was now the year 1591. and the four and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when she, carefull lest Brittain should come into the Spaniards hands, sent Edmund Tork into France, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named Cherbourg, Granville, or Briff, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand English should be sent into Brittain and Picardy; but in the mean time, Henry Palmer was sent to Sea, with certain Ships, who seized upon thirteen Spanish Ships, as they were returning from Nova Francia. And now Roger Williams, with a Company of six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to Diepe in Normandy; and St John Norris with the rest of the Forces, hasten into Brittain soon after. Roger Williams, with his own six hundred, and the help of Charter Governour of Diepe, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the French King in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more courageous, and not minding his charge, which was to stay at Diepe, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of Paris, where in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the Spaniards, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the English, and a hundred Musqueteers, with as many Spaniards, in open Field.

After this, the King of France acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon Roan, or New-haven, before the Prince of Parma should come into France, and thereupon requested her, to send four thousand English into Normandy, which upon certain conditions he willingly did, and sent them under the command of Robert Earl of Essex, accompanied with St Thomas Lightson, and St William Killgrew, as his Counsellours. When the Earl came into France, he found that the King was at Noyen, and in Normandy no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by St Roger Williams comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to Noyen, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey, and being come thither, the King told him he was now of necessity to go himself into Champagne; but promiseth to send Marshall Biron, and the Duke of G Montpensier forthwith to him, to lay siege to Roan. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before, so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to Roan, where his Brother Walter Devereux was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of France were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen of England, and by the mediation of the Earl, and Adornay Lord du Plessis, whom to that end he sent into England, obtained new supplies, and then besieged Roan.

Many Noble personages die St Francis Walsingham dies.

Some disturbances in Ireland, but soon composed.

1591.

St Roger Williams extolled by the King of France.

Robert Earl of Essex is sent with an Army to aid the King of France.

As



And the Kings  
Answer.

Richard Hawker  
condemned  
and executed:  
and why.

Ferdinand Earl  
of Derby his  
horrible death.

Tir-Oen in Ire-  
land assumes to  
himself the title  
of O-Neal, more  
esteemed,  
than to be called Empe-  
rour.

1594.

The Papists  
think upon a  
Successor to  
the Queen.  
Some would  
have the Earl  
of Essex; and  
frame a Right  
to him by De-  
scend.

The most are  
for the Infanta  
of Spain, as  
having divers  
just Titles.  
Prince Henry  
of Scotland is  
born.

The Spaniards  
sent Lopez a Jew  
and Physician  
to the Queen  
to kill her, and  
how the matter  
was carry-  
ed.  
He is executed  
at Tyburn.

Richard Haw-  
kins taken pri-  
soner by the  
Spaniards.

James Lanca-  
ster, takes nine  
and thirty Span-  
ish Ships, and  
much rich  
Merchandize.

thereof. But I hope your minde may alter; In the mean while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That A  
the hands of Elau, may not hinder the blessing of Jacob.

To this the King answered, That though he had done this in his own person out of necessity,  
yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his  
special care and Protection.

And now was Richard Hawker, condemned and executed for Treason, being sent from the English  
Fugitives beyond Sea, to persuade Ferdinand Earl of Derby, Son to Henry newly deceased, to  
assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from Mary, Daughter to Henry the  
Seventh; and threatening him, that unless he undertook this enterprise, and withall, con-  
cealed him the Abettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fear-  
ing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows threatening proved not alto-  
gether vain, for the Earl within four Moneths, dyed a most horrible death. This year, Death  
had his tribute paid him from the Nobility; for there dyed Henry Rutcliffe Earl of Sussex,  
and three renowned Barons, Arthur Grey of Wilton, Henry Lord Cromwell, and Henry Lord Wen-  
worth; besides St Christopher Carlile, whose Warlike Prowesse at Sea and Land, deserves to be  
remembered.

In Ireland, at this time, divers great men in Connaght Rebelled; and Turlogh Leynigh being dead,  
Tir-Oen assumed to himself the Title of O-Neal, (which in Ireland is more esteemed, than to be cal-  
led Emperour;) but upon a sudden, dissembling his discontent, he submitted himself to the De-  
puty and promised all obedience.

It was now the year 1594, and the seven and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when the  
good correspondence between the King of Scots and Queen Elizabeth, gave the Papists small hope  
that ever he would prove an Instrument to restore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they  
began to bethink themselves of some English Papist, that might succeed the Queen; but finding  
none of their own Sect, a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of Essex, whose  
ways seemed a very moderate man; and him they devised to have some right to the Crown, by  
Descent from Thomas of Woodstock, King Edward the Thirds Son. But the English Fugitives were  
for the Infanta of Spain; and desiring to set the King of Scots and the Earl of Essex at odds, they  
sent forth a Book, which they Dedicated to Essex, under the name of Doleman, but was written in  
deed by Parsons, (Dolemans bitter Adversary) Cardinal Allen, and Francis Englefield. The scope of  
which Book was, to exclude from Succession, all persons whatsoever, and how near soever al-  
lied to the Crown, unless they were Roman Catholicks; Contending further, for the right  
of Isabella, Infanta of Spain, as being descended from Constance, Daughter of William the  
Conqueror; from Eleanor eldest Daughter to Henry the Second, married to Alphonso the  
ninth King of Castile, from Beatrix, Daughter to King Henry the third: Titles obsolete, and  
which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to discuss. This year, the nineteenth of February, was Henry  
Prince of Scotland born, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and sent Robert Earl of Sussex for  
her Deputy.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid against the Queens life; some Spaniards  
thinking to make her away by Poyson, and not daring to trust any English man in such a busi-  
ness, they treat to that purpose, with Roderick Lopes a Jew, and Physician to the Queen,  
with Stephen Ferreira, Emmanuel Loyse, and other Portugals; for divers of that Nation came  
into England at this time, in relation to Don Antonio; who being discovered by letters of theirs,  
that were intercepted, were Arraigned at Guild hall, and by their own confessions convinced; to  
have conspired against the life of the Queen: they were all condemned, and Executed at Tyburn;  
Lopes professing that he loved the Queen, as well as Jesus Christ: which was the cause of laughter  
to them that knew him to be a Jew. The next day after them, was condemned Patrick Cullen an  
Irish Fencer, sent him by the English Fugitives, to kill the Queen, who was straightway executed,  
though he were at that very time sick and ready to die.

About this time, St John Norris having been in a hot conflict at Sea against the Spaniard, where  
St Martin Forbysser received his deaths wound, was now called home, with a purpose to send him in-  
to Ireland. In which mean while, Rich. Hawkins son of St Joh. Hawkins the famous Sea Captain, had  
been sent forth a year since, with three of the Queens ships, and two hundred men in them; where-  
of one of them at the Isle of St Anne, was by chance fired, another of them separated by tempest,  
returned into England; himself in the third, passed the Straights of Magellan, being the sixth  
man in the Spanish scompt, that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern  
Sea, he took five ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffered  
to redeem themselves for two thousand Duckats: But at last being set upon by Bertrandus a Castro,  
who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those parts, with eight ships against him, after three days  
battery, he yielded, and though upon composition, yet was nevertheless sent into Spain, and there  
for divers years kept prisoner.

But James Lancaster in another part of America, had better success; for being set forth by  
some London Merchants (whose goods the Spaniards had seized) with three Ships and a long  
Boat, he took nine and thirty Spanish Ships, and at Fernambucks in Brasile, where the wealth  
of an East-Indian Caraque was lately unladen; he desperately venturing upon the shoar,  
loaded fifteen ships with the wealth of the Indian Caraque; Sugar, Reed, Red wood called Brasill,  
and other Merchandize, and then safely and victoriously returned home.

At

At Rome, about this time dyed Cardinal Allen, born in Lancashire, of an honest Family, brought  
up in Oxford, in Oriol Colledge. In Queen Mariess days he was Proctor of the University, and  
after Canon of the Cathedral Church at York. Upon the change of Religion in England, he  
left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at Doway in Flanders, and made Canon of the  
Church at Cambray. He procured a Seminary to be set up in Doway, for the English; another at  
Rhims, and a third at Rome; and through zeal of the Romish Religion, forgot whose subject he  
was born.

At home, at this time, dyed John Peers Archbishop of York, in whose place, succeeded Mat-  
thew Hutton, translated from the See of Durham. There dyed also Ferdinand Stanley Earl  
of Derby, being in the flower of his age, miserably tormented, and vomiting stiffe of a dark rusty co-  
lour, being thought to have been poysoned or bewitched. There was found in his chamber a little  
Image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thrust into the belly: which some thought was  
done of purpose, that men should not suspect him to be poysoned; his vomit so stained the  
silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in scarclothes, and  
wrapped in lead, did so stink and putrefie, that for a long time none could endure to come near  
where he was buried. The Master of his Horse was much suspected, who the same day the Earl  
took his bed, took one of his best Horses, and fled away. About this time also dyed Gregory Fines  
Lord Dacres, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of Thomas Lord Dacres, hanged in the Reign of King  
Henry the Eighth.

And now St William Fitz Williams Lord Deputy of Ireland was called home, and William Rus-  
sell youngest Son of Francis Earl of Bedford, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the  
Earl of Tir-Oen, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not presented him-  
self at the call of the late Lord Deputy. Bagnal Marshal of the Irish Forces, exhibited many Arti-  
cles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dif-  
ficult. But fee the subdolisness of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again,  
though the Deputy sent for him with many kinde messages.

It was now the year 1595, and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign; when  
Edmund York and Richard Williams who were formerly apprehended, came to their trial, and were  
executed at Tyburn, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

At this time a constant rumor was blown abroad from all parts of Europe, that the Spaniards  
were coming again against England, with a far greater Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it  
was already under sayl; whereupon, Souldiers were levied, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Na-  
vies were made ready, one to expect them at home in the Channel; the other to go for America,  
under Hawkins and Drake; but when all came to all, it was but certain Spaniards, who loosed  
from the Sea-coast of France, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in  
Cornwall, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, New-  
lyn, Mossfule, and Pensans, and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one person;  
And these were the first and last Spaniards that in hostile manner ever set Foot upon English  
ground.

And now mischiefs growing dayly in France, a great number persuaded the King, to con-  
clude a peace with Spain, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him; especially, having lately  
received intelligence out of the Popes Conclave; that he was received into the bosome of the  
Church of Rome, with the Popes Benediction, and that upon conditions prejudicial to the Pro-  
testants.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the English against Spain; St Walter  
Rawleigh Captain of the Guard, having desoured a Maid of Honour (whom afterward he mar-  
ried) had lost the Queens favour, and was held in prison for certain moneths; but afterward  
being set at liberty, though banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to Guyana, setting sayl  
from Plymouth in February, he arrived at Trinidad, where he took St Josephs Town, but found  
not a jot of Money there: From hence, with Boats, and a hundred souldiers, he entred the vast  
River Orenoque, ranging up in Guyana four hundred miles, but getting little but his labour for his  
travel. In like manner, Amyas Preston and Sommers, pillaged sundry Towns of the King of Spains in  
the Western parts, and three ships of the Earl of Cumberland, set upon a huge Caraque which by casu-  
ality was fired when they were in sight, and these were the enterprises of private persons: but the  
Queen being informed, that great store of wealth for the King of Spains use, was conveyed to  
Port Rico, in St Johns Island, sent thither Hawkins, Drake, and Barkerville with land Forces, fur-  
nishing them with six ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other men of War. They set  
sail from Plymouth the last of August, and seven and twenty days after, came upon the Coast of  
the great Canarie, which being strongly fortified, they forbore to assault. A month after, they  
came to the Isle of St Dominick, where five Spanish ships being sent forth to watch the English,  
sighted upon one of the small English ships which was strayed from the Company, and putting  
the Master and Mariners upon the Rack, understood by them, that the English Navy was bent to  
Port Rico; whereupon they make all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarned,  
they might accordingly be armed. And thereupon as soon as the English had cast Anchors in the  
Road of Port Rico, the Spaniards thundered against them from the shore; St Nicholas Clifford, and  
Brus Brown were wounded as they sat at supper, and two days after dyed; Hawkins also, and Drake,  
partly of disease, & partly of grief for their ill success, dyed soon after. At the end of eight months,

Cardinal Allen  
dies, and of his  
Education.

The strange  
death of Ferdi-  
nand Earl of  
Derby.

William Russell  
is sent Deputy  
into Ireland to  
whom Tir-Oen  
submits him-  
self but dissem-  
blingly.

1595.  
Edmund York  
and Richard  
Williams exe-  
cuted for being  
bribed to kill  
the Queen.

A new rumor  
spread of a  
new Fleet of  
Spaniards to  
invade England,  
but false.

St Walter  
Rawleighs  
Voyage to Guy-  
ana, and what  
he did.

Hawkins, Drake  
and Barkerville  
are sent to Port  
Rico.

Their ill suc-  
cesse, through  
grief whereof  
Hawkins and  
Drake dyed.

the Fleet came home, having done the Enemy little hurt, fired only some few Towns and Ships, but received infinite damage themselves; lost two such Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may say, all Europe had not their like left. For the Spaniards having of late years received great harms by French and English, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not ealie to be won.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the Low-Countries, the great charges she had been at in relieving them ten years together; for which she requirerth some considerable recompence: The States again alleadge the great charges they were at in Eighty eight, in repelling the Spaniards in her cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable retribution; but yet for the present, nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the Hanse Towns in Germany make a complaint to the Emperour, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from customs anciently granted them by the Kings of England, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoy of English Merchants was set up in Germany; To which the Queen by *St Christopher Perkins*, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the reason of Queen *Maries* prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an answer, that those very Hanse-Towns which complained, brought into England at this time, such store of Corn, that it prevented a mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have hapned in London.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages, *Philip Earl of Arundel*, condemned in the year 1589. The Queen had all this while spared, but now death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to contemplation, and macerated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one only Son, *Thomas* by his Wife *Anne Dacres of Giltland*. He had two Brothers, *Thomas Lord Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Wal-den*, and King *James* afterward Earl of *Suffolk*; and *William Lord Howard* of the North, who yet live; and one sister, the Lady *Margaret*, married to *Robert Sackville*, afterward Earl of *Dorset*, and father of *Edward Earl of Dorset* now living; a Lady so milde, so vertuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no lesse, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happinesse to know her living, and the unhappinesse to be a Mourner at her Funerall. There dyed this year also, *William Lord Vaux*, a zealous Papist, and *St Thomas Hineage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, whose only Daughter married to *St Moyle Finch of Kent*, was no small advancer of that House. There dyed also *William Whitker*, Master of *St Johns Colledge in Cambridge*, and Divinity Professor: As likewise *St Roger Williams*, and *St Thomas Morgan*; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Souldiers.

In Ireland at this time *Russel* the Deputy doubting a storm of War from *Tir-Oen*, sent into England, requiring to have some experienced souldiers sent to him with Forces, who though he desired *Baquerzyle* to be the man, yet *St John Norris* was sent, with thirteen hundred old souldiers, besides a further supply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the absence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governour, took it. But now being doubtful of his case, in a subdalous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, against the Deputies servants; and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl of *Ormond*, and *St Henry Walpole*, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh O'Neal*, bastard Son to *Con O'Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebels in *Ulster*, a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: and in *Connaught*, two thousand three hundred, all at *Tyr-Ons* command: and the Forces of the English under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marched together to *Armagh*; which so terrified the Rebels, that *Tyr-Oen* forlaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the Title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himself and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour *Tyr-Oen*, as much as the Deputy hated him; inasmuch, as he had private conference with him (a thing not lawfull with proclaimed Traytors) and upon his submission, and hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the first of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tyr-Oen* exhibited certain Petitions, protesting, if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of *April*: during which Truce, *Tyr-Oen* dealt secretly with the King of *Spain* for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingness to obedience, so far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Instrument which conferred the Earldome upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

In the midst of these Irish Affairs, *Albertus Arch-Duke of Austria*, and Cardinal, whom the King of *Spain* had newly set over the *Netherlands*, mulstered together the Spanish Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of *La Fere in Picardy*; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besiegeth *Calice*; and taking *Norham Fort*, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of Divine Service, commanded to levy Souldiers, whom she committeth to the Earl of *Essex*; but before they could be shipped, certain

This year many great personages dyed.

*St John Norris* is sent into Ireland with an Army to aid the Deputy.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* proclaimed Traytor.

*Norris* out of emulation to the Deputy favours *Tyr-Oen*.

*Tyr-Oen* to win time, dissimulates.

*Albertus Duke of Austria* takes *Calice* by a sudden assault.

A certain news came, That the Town and Fort were taken by the Spaniard: Whereupon, the Queens Army was dimissed, and only some money lent to the French King.

But a few days after, a far greater, and more select Army is raised in England, wherein many of Noble Houses served as Voluntaries: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty ships was made ready; where were Souldiers under pay, 6360; Voluntaries of the Nobility and Gentry, 1000; Mariners, 6772, besides the Dutch men, who brought two and twenty Ships. *Robert Earl of Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall of England, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admirall to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Council of War, were joyned, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Conyers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admirall commanded the first; *Essex* the second, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and *Rawleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis Vere*, Serjeant Major General, or Marshall; *John Winkfield*, Quarter-Master General; *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers Clifford*, Serjeant Major. Colonels were, *Robert Earl of Sussex*, *St Christopher Blunt*, *St Thomas Gerrard*, *St Richard Winkfield*; *William Winkfield* was Commander of the Voluntaries, and *Anthony Abley* Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withall, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimmouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cabo S. Vincent* they lighted upon an Irish Barque, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and that in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, Ships of War, and a great many Merchants Vessels. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two days they were agreed to set upon the Spanish Ships, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his Cap for joy. This business was allotted to the lesser Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Gallies quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the Spanish Ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntall*, turned their broad sides; so as the English fight with them, lasted from break of day till noon; at which time the Spaniards having their Gallies miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the Ships, or run them on shore. The Spanish Admirall being fifteen hundred Tun of burthen, was fired by a Moor, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When this Sea-fight was ended, *Essex* landed eight hundred Souldiers at *Puntall*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the Spanish Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straight way cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having enticed forth their enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, near the Gate, where he spied a passage into the Town, but to high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Sussex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage*, and other, leaped down; and the mean while *St Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the rest with him. In the Market-place *John Winkfield* was shot in the head, and with stones from the tops of houses divers were wounded; amongst whom, *Samuel Bagnall* received eight wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloody all over; which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Castle was yielded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the cloathes on their backs, the rest to be left for spoyle. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into England. Now *Rawleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port Real* when they promised two Millions of Duckets to redeem them: but this the Admirall would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismisst them upon Composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of Money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, That the Spaniard could not be damaged lesse by this Expedition, than twenty Millions of Duckets. None of note was slain, amongst the English, but only *Winkfield*, who also slew a Spanish Captain; and now at last, three-score Military men were honoured with Knighthood. After this, having spoyled the whole Island, and demolished the Forts, they returned into England, much against the will of *Essex*, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprise.

The Queen receiving them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principal note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex* and the Admirall, above the rest. And now, bethinking her self of a fit man to be Governour of the *Bryll*, which was given by the States as a Caution Town for money due, she made choice of *St Francis Vere*, although *Essex* commended other to her for the place: but another thing he took with great indignation, That in his absence she had made *St Robert Cecil* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great instance commended *St Thomas Bodley* to her.

And now the King of *Spain*, to recover his honour lost at *Cales*, setteth forth a Navy for England and Ireland, with a great number of Irish Fugitives; but being at Sea, most of his ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms; so as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better security, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the French King, against the Spaniard, upon certain Conditions; which League she confirmed by Oath, in the Chappell at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *August*, laying her hand upon

*Robert Earl of Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admirall are sent with forces against *Spain*: who take *Cales*; and the passages of it.

*St Robert Cecil* is made Secretary of State. *Q. Elizabeth* enters a League Offensive and Defensive with the K. of France.

the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloigne*, and Marshall of *France*, the Bishop of *Chichester* holding forth the Evangelists, and a great company of the Nobility standing round about. In September following, *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent on Ambassage into *France*, to take the French Kings Oath, and to present *St. Anthony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambassadors in Ordinary in the room of *St. Henry Unton* lately there deceased, and to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskerville* went into *Picardy* with two thousand Souldiers; for no more were by agreement to be sent this year.

1596.

An. Reg. 39. Thomas Arundell of Warder is by the Emperour made Earl of the Empires, and what the priviledges of that honour are. Whether honours given to the Queens Subjects without her privy, are to be admitted.

Many great persons die.

It was now the year 1596, and the nine and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths reign, when *Thomas Arundell of Warder* returned into *England*, from the Wars in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, whom, for his good service done there, the Emperour by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the sacred Empire, and all and singular his Heirs and their Posterity, Males or Females, lawfully descended from him, to be Earls and Countesses of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperiall Diets, may purchase Lands in the Emperours Dominions, may take up voluntary Souldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Question came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens subjects without her privy, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl stuck in the stomachs of the English Barons, who inwardly grudging to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both sides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That *St. Nicholas Clifford*, and *St. Anthony Sherley*, whom the French King two years since received into the Order of *St. Michael*, were laid in Prison at their coming home, and charged to resign their Robes of the Order.

This year many great Persons dyed; *John Puckering*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher*, Bishop of *London*, who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queens displeasure; and to cure his cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesties Houfe, and her Cousin german. *St. Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdons* Sister, in Queen *Maries* days an Exile in *Germany* for the Gospel, by Queen Elizabeth made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Household, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Council in the North, who spent his estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis Lord Hastings*, Nephew to him by his Brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom, and *Margaret Clifford* Countesse of *Derby*, (who defended of the blood Royall, from *Charles Brandon*) conspired with forgers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queens favour.

The Queen at this time was told, that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the Queens, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of provision: They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also chief Commander in the expedition; the Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Rawleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Monmouth*, *Vere*, *Carew*, *St. Christopher Blunt*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwell*, *Rich*, and many other. The ninth of July they weighed Anchor from *Plimmonth*, and went to direct their course to *Ferall* and the *Groyne*, to seize upon the Spanish Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at their return into *Spain*; but this expedition was crossed and overthrown by Tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues, from *Plimmonth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plimmonth*; The Navy being mended, they hoise up sayl the second time, but the wind fell presently again to cross, that for a whole Moneths time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to *Plimmonth* the seventeenth of August they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side winde hoise up sayl, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispersed by another horrible tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at *Celice*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandered no man knew whether. At the Island *Flora* the Fleet met again, where *Rawleigh* being distressed for water went on shore without leave, and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Fayall*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Councell, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a booty. Upon this *Rawleigh* with some of the prime Volunteers, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, that he had done it only to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the exploit: whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Councell of War and then displace him; others again to take off his head for going to Land, without the chief Commanders leave; saying, he was never like for to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and other of *Rawleighs* company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Rawleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his Party; *Essex* rebuketh him angrily, for landing his Forces, which none upon pain of death might doe, without the

The Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Rawleigh and others are sent to seize upon the Spanish Fleet, but are distressed by tempests.

Rawleigh, with our leave, goes ashore, and takes Fayall,

For this he is questioned by the Earl: but his Answer, and the Lord Th. Howards mediation, reconciles all.

the Generals command; *Rawleigh* made answer, that the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compasse of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Rawleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

From hence they sail to *Gratiola*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the *Indian* Fleet; but that *Graves* the Pilot dissuaded, because the Harbour was not good: and now see the unluckiness of ill counsel, for the English were not gone above an hour, or two, from this place; when loe, the *American* Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them laden with treasure) cometh thither; which, hearing that the English were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the English took: and then were minded to set upon the rest, in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from hence to *St. Michaels*, where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockway* were Knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town, and well furnished with Merchandize, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days: and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the *East-Indies*; which by a warning-piece shot off in a Dutch Ship, perceiving that the English were there; run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the English had ill luck every where in this expedition: And the ninth of October they hoisted sail for *England*; but within two days, a terrible tempest, from the Northward dispersed them; and the Spanish Fleet also at the same time, so as they never came in view of one another: one Spanish Ship was cast upon *Dartmouth*, the Mariners and Souldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the Spanish Fleet intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Channell, might be convenient to receive Forces from *Spain*: but the divine Providence frustrated the designs both of the Spaniard and the English.

But now at his return, the Earl of *Essex* found that done in *England*, in his absence, which infinitely discontented him: *St. Robert Cecil* made Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; and which was more, *Charles Lord Howard*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in eighty eight; and his good service at *Cales*: This glory he envied him, and besides stomached it, that he must now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the eighth, that the chief Officers of the Kingdom, should have Precedence of all men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was faine to create him Earl Marshal of *England*; by which he recovered his place again.

About this time, an Ambassadour came into *England*, from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he should give her thanks for having procured a Peace between the King his Master, and the *Turk*; he clean contrary expolulated unkindness, for breach of Priviledges, in trading with *Spain*, requiring a present remedy, or else the King would otherways right himself. The Queen not a little offended, suddenly replied, How was I deceived? I expected an Ambassadour, and behold a Herald; such a speech I never heard in all my life time. And after some further checking of him for his boldness, she referred him to her Councell; and then retired into her Closet. The Ambassadour afterward, in private conference with some of the Councell, excused himself, saying, that his speech was penned by others, and then given him in writing. To his Message, the Councell gave the like answer, as they had given before the *Hanse-Towns*, upon the like occasion: though now again, the *Hanse-Towns* obtain of the Emperour, to prohibit the English from trading in *Germany*, which made the Queen to prohibit the *Hanse-Towns* from trading in *England*, and put them out of the Steelyard till this difference was accorded.

This year the Chancellour of *Denmark* came into *England* to restore the Garter, which she had bestowed upon the Kings Father, and withall offering the Kings help, to make a peace for the Queen with the Spaniard. The Queen thanked him, but meant not to use his help for that which she did not desire, and especially not now, when he had newly molested the King of *France* her Allye, and had taken *Amyens* the strongest Town of *Picardy*: Though why should the Queen be so tender of the French King, when now to get an aid of four thousand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices, intimating unto her, that he was now offered by the Popes Nuntio a very commodious peace, if he would but forsake her. But while these things were in Treaty, *Amyens* was recovered again by the valour of *Baskerville* (who dyed at the siege) and of *St. Arithur Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

About this time a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, where Subsidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware*, and restored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the reign of King *Edward* the sixth was tainted; Also to this Parliament was called *Thomas Lord Howard*, by the Title of Baron *Howard of Walden*.

In *Ireland* at this time, a great part of *Ulster*, and almost all *Connaght* was in Rebellion; Whereupon *Russel* the Deputy was called home, and *Thomas Lord Burroughs* sent in his place, a man very stout and courageous, but no souldier: This infinitely discontented *Norris*, who thought

The English misse the Spanish Fleet, through ill counsel.

Charles Howard Lord Admiral is created Earl of Nottingham to the discontentment of the Earl of Essex.

The Earl of Essex is made Earl Marshal, of purpose to take place of the Admiral. The fawcie speech of a Polish Ambassadour to the Queen, and her Answer.

Baskervilles and St. Arithur Savages service in recovering of Amyens.

The Lord Th. Howard is made Baron of Walden.

The Lord Burroughs is sent Deputy into Ireland.

Norris that expected the place, disconcerted, falls sick and dies. The Fort of Blackwater gained by the Deputy.

thought himself sure of the place himself, and now to see his Rival preferred before him, and himself to be under him, President of *Munster*, drove him into such a melancholy, that in a very short time (and as he thought to himself with much disgrace) he ended his life.

And now the Earl of *Tir-Oen* craveth, and obtaineth a moneths Truce of the new Deputy, at the moneths end, the Deputy marcheth against the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at *Blackwater*, when suddenly the Rebels flew themselves upon a hill hard by, against whom the Earl of *Kildare* marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with some losse of his own side, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies Brother in Law, *Turner* a Serjeant Major, and two *Foster*, Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose death he took so heavily, that within a few days he dyed himself.

The L. Burroughs dies.

*Tir-Oen* complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances; and at the same time stirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion. The King of France concludes a Peace with Spain, against *Q. Elizabeths* liking. A Consultation, whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England or no. *Burleigh* is for it, *Essex* against it.

The Queen gives the Earl of *Essex* a box on the ear, and why; and how he took it.

The Lord *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer dies.

The Earl of *Cumberland* takes *Port-Rico*.

As soon as the Deputy had fortified the Castle at *Blackwater* and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to besiege it again; (for this was the main place of their strength) which caused the Deputy with all possible speed to make thither, but unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebels set upon the Fort more fiercely than before; but being still repelled, they comforted themselves with this, that there was not many days provision left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain, and the Garrison Souldiers saved the place, who, when their Horse-flesh was all spent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kinde of misery. And now the Lord *Burroughs* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from England, was committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Government to two Lords Justices, *Adam Lofthouse* Archbishop of *Dublin* and Chancellor, and *Robert Gardiner*: To this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppressions and grievances with request of pardon, and at the same time stirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion in *Leinster*.

In France at this time, the French King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own subjects, began to incline to a Peace with Spain; which the Queen understanding, she sent into France *Robert Cecil*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who died at his landing in France) The States likewise sent thither, *Justine of Nassau* and *Barneveldt*, and others likewise into England to dissuade the Peace, but notwithstanding all they could say or do, the French King shortly after concluded a Peace, to the great discontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and establishment of the French Common-wealth.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her peoples safety, sent *Sr Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the Spaniards; if not, what they would afford toward a War; and to deal earnestly with them, about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time, a great Consultation was holden, Whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England, or no; and many Reasons were on both sides alleadged. *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer was for Peace, *Essex* for War, and so vehement in it, that the Treasurer, after a long debating, in a strange manner of Presage, reached forth the Book of the *Psalms* to him, pointing him to that Verse, *The bloody minded man shall not live out half his days*. Which made *Essex* afterward to set forth an Apology, with Reasons for justification of his opinion.

But now another Consultation was held, about a fit man to be Deputy of Ireland; The Queen intended to send *Sr William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle; but *Essex* was violent for *Sr George Carey*, whom he had a minde to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means persuade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himself and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuously turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon she growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; *Essex* laid his hand upon his sword hilt, and swore a great oath, That he could not, nor would not put up such an Indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and so in a rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admonished by the Lord Keeper, he became more milde, and in a short time, returned into the Queens favour.

About this time, *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treasurer of England, finding himself to droop with age, (for he was now threescore and seventeen years old) sent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to release him of his publick charge; whereupon she went to visit, and comfort him, but within a few days he ended his life, after he had been the principal stay of the English Common-wealth for many years together. One great good he did to his Countrey, a little before his death, that he brought the States of the Low Countries to a Composition, for the payment of Eight hundred thousand pounds, by Thirty thousand pounds yearly; likewise a new League to be concluded with them.

The King of Denmark's Subjects having lately seized upon some goods of the English as Prize, to the value of a hundred thousand Dollers; the Queen sent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Christopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embassy to the Dane, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Electors Daughter of *Brandenburg*; and also to crave restitution of the English goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threescore thousand Dollers were repaid. And now *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, having with a Navy of eleven ships, waited for *Portingall* Cariques, and the American Fleet, till the season of the year was past (they not daring to stir forth) he at last set upon *Port-Rico* and took it; but seven hundred of his men falling sick of Calentures, and dying within forty days, he was fain to return home with some honour, but little profit.

About

About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treason; he had been at first an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queens stable, and going as a Souldier in *Drakes* last expedition, was taken prisoner and carried into Spain, there he came acquainted with one *Wallpoole* an English J-suite, who caused him to be put into the Inquisition for an Heretick, and the fellow talking of misery, was easily drawn to become a Papist, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cause. His ghostly father perswaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, and sent him into England with a certain payson, wherewith to annoint the pommel of the Queens Saddle, and the chair in which the Earl should sit, which accordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon *Wallpoole* suspecting *Squires* fidelity was bent to revenge it, and sent one into England, who in general terms should lay this aspersions upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in question, and never thinking that his Confessor would detect him, directly denied all at first; but after seeing himself betrayed, confessed all the matter and was executed.

This whole year the rebellion was hot in Ireland; For *Tir-Oen* notwithstanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a sudden besieged the Fort at *Blackwater*, to the raising of which siege, the Lieutenant General (for there was as yet no Deputy) sent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marshal, *Tir-Oens* sworn adversary, him *Tir-Oen* slew, and put his whole Army to rout, and achieved such a Victory, with so great losse to the English, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in Ireland; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Souldiers were slain at this skirmish, and soon after the Fort of *Blackwater* was yielded up. And now *Tir-Oens* fame began to resound as the Assessor of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a sudden all *Munster* brake forth into Rebellion. For the cheif rising whereof *Tir-Oen* sent thither *Omny Mac-Rorye* and *Terell* (who originally an English man, was grown a deadly enemy to the English Nation) with four hundred *Kernes*. Against these, *Thomas Norris* President of the Province, marched to *Killmallock* with a good force; but finding that the Irish Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to disperse his Army and retire to *Corke*. Hereupon the Rebels grew insolent, spoiled the Countrey, and in cruel manner put all the English to the sword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz-Thomas* to be Earl of *Desmond*, but upon condition he should hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now dispatched Letters to the Spaniards, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the English, and yet at the same instant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered some kinde of submission to the Lieutenant, but withall made unreasonable demands.

The State of Ireland being thus in combustion, a serious consultation is holden whom to send to quench it: the Queen and most of the Council thought *Sr Charles Blunt* Lord *Mounjoy* the fittest man; but *Essex* covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and besides was too Bookish to prove a good Commander: he seem'd to aim at the place for himself, though he made a shew modestly to refuse it, and yet still ready with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the bloud Royal of Scotland and England, and had better Right to the Crown, than any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority, to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater than ever Ireland had seen before, Twenty Thousand Foot, and Thirteen Hundred Horse: with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into Ireland, where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch-rebel) he marched towards *Munster*, against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoining. His Forces being now impaired, he carrieth to make them up; but in the mean time sendeth directions to *Sr Conner Clifford*, President of *Connacht*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another; *Clifford* marched toward *Belike*, with 1500 Souldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rorke*, (his Son that was hanged here in England) The English repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish, *Clifford* and many of the old Souldiers were slain.

*Essex* having by this time received new supplies out of England, and a check for neglecting the Queens Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Ulster*, with Thirteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a Messenger requested Parley, *Essex* refuseth, saying, he might speak with him the next morning, between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to *Essex*, that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queens mercy, and that he might only be heard speak, appointing the shallow of *Balla Clinch* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the girls) had private conference a full hour. A while after, *Con Tir-Oens* bafe Son came to *Essex*, requesting in his Fathers name a second Parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present: *Essex* consented, so there came not more than six. At the day appointed, many words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks, till *May* day.

*Edward Squire* executed, and why.

*Tir-Oen* breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the English a great defeat.

Yet at the same time makes some offer of submission.

A Consultation is held, whom to send against *Tir-Oen*.

At last the Earl of *Essex* is sent with ample authority.

He hath private conference with *Tir-Oen*.

A Truce is concluded,

The Queen writes to Essex blaming his delay.

Essex without leave comes over to the Queen.

Is welcomed with committing him to the L. Privy Seal.

1600.  
The Earl of Tir-Oen, upon Essex's departure carries himself as Monarch of Ireland. Sir Charles Blunt L. Montjoy is sent Deputy into Ireland.

A Treaty of Peace is agreed on with Spain.

The English Commissioners have a charge not to give precedence to Spain, and why.

The Spaniards being denied Precedence break off the Treaty.

The famous Battail of Newports, won by the valour of the English.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and money spent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his minde, than the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity: with which Letters Essex was so nettled, and chiefly troubled, that the Queen had now made Cecil Master of the Wards, which he expected himself: that he began to cast strange projects within his minde, and held private consultations of returning into England with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries; But from this course, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Christopher Blunt dissuaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a moneth, over he went, and came to the Court at *Nonsuch*, to inform the Queen of the State of Ireland. By the way, the Lord Gray of Wilton crossed him, but saluted him not; whom one of his followers offered to kill for his contempt: but Essex would not suffer him: And made such hast, that early in the Morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy Chamber. She entertained him courteously, but not with the countenance she was wont: and after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; And soon after, Committed him to Custody, in the Lord Privy Seals House; where entering into Consideration of his case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderfull Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of Essex, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himself as Monarch of Ireland, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the possessions of such as continued in their loyalty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*, thrust him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withall. Whereupon the Queen sent Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, to take upon him the Deputies place, who loseth no time, but first of all marcheth towards *Ulster*, buildeth a fort within eight miles of *Armagh*, which, in honour of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he calleth by the name of *Mount Norris*; there he placed *Edward Blanche*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts, from thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, wherein the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donel-Spanish*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O Tooles*, taking hostages of them; then back into *Ulster* again, being victor whosoever he cometh, and at *Tradagh*, receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Comly*, and other Rebels who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his first year, and no lesse successfull was *Carew* President of *Munster*, who drave out of the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province in April, he overcame and made it so quiet by December following, that the Rebels maintained not one fort in it against the Queen.

And now a new consultation was holden in England, touching a peace with the King of Spain, the which he sought both by the French King, and by *Albericus* the Archduke, who was now returned into the Netherlands out of Spain, where he was marryed to the Infanta. The Queen consenting to a Treaty, left it to the French King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the month of May, and *Bulloigne* in France; But now fore-seeing that a question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search the Ancient Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the Court of Rome, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the rest, as the Lady and Mistress; that amongst Kings, the first place is due to the King of France, the second to the King of England, and the third to the King of Castile; That the English quietly held this privilege in the General Councils of *Basil*, *Constance*, and others: besides the Kingdom of *Castile*, which is the Spaniards first Title, is but an upstart in regard of England, which had Earls, but no Kings till the year 1017. In like manner, that Pope *Julius* the third, gave sentence for *Henry* the seventh of England, against *Ferdinand*, who was then King of *Castile*.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at *Bulloigne*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Legier Embassadour, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beal*, and *Thomas Edmunds* for the English, and other for the King of Spain, and the Archduke. The English had instructions, first concerning Precedency, in no case to give way to the King of Spain, yet if they contended, to put the matter to the division of the Lots, rather than the Treaty should be dissolved; and for the rest, to propose and mention the renewing of the ancient *Burgundian* League, freedom of commerce, &c.

At the meeting, when they had severally shewed their Commissions; the English challenge the Precedency, the Spaniards do the like, and in so peremptory a manner that without it they would dissolve the Treaty: Hereupon the English made a proposition, to let passe the question of Precedency; and to transact the business by writing, and Messengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for threescore days, not quite broken off; but all was to no purpose; and at three moneths end they parted.

The States the mean while, were so far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea Coast of *Flanders* into their command; and thereupon they landed an Army there, of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the conduct of *Maurice* of *Nassau*; and fifteen hundred of the English under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his Brother *Horatio*: At which time happened the famous Battail of *Newports*, against the Archduke, wherein nine thousand of the Spaniards were slain; and the Victory, by the valour of the English, fell to the Dutch; for so forward were the English in this Battail, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred

A hundred were slain and sore wounded, eight Captains killed, and of the rest every man hurt.

All this year, and the year past, sundry quarrels and complaints arose between the English and the French, touching reprisals of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Also touching Customs and impositions, contrary to the Treaty of *Blays*, and deceit in English Clothes, to the great infamy of our Nation. In Denmark likewise arose controversies touching Commerce, and the Fishing of the English upon the Coast of *Iceland* and *Norway*. The Queen also at that time, for the increase of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of East-India Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges: but whether this hath proved beneficial to the Common-wealth, (there having been by this means such a masse of money and great store of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and so many Mariners lost every year) will make a question.

About this time also, Pope *Clement* the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, sent two Breeves into England, the one to the Popish Clergy, the other to the Laity, to suffer no person whatsoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that should promise by Oath, to promote with all his might, the Roman Catholick Religion, how neer soever otherwise, he were allyed to the Bloud Royal of the King of England.

This year by reason of intemperate weather, happened a great scarcity of Corn in England, and thereby many grievous complaints were occasioned. The common people call out reproachfull slanders against the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst*, as the granter of Licences for transportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, she forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon the Broggers of Corn, and Foretellers of Markets, and gave order that the slanderer should be reprehended and punished.

The Earl of Essex, who had now been Prisoner six moneths in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earnest, resolving to put away his perverse Counsellors, *Gilly Merrick* and *Henry Caffe*, and then he shewed so much patience and great submission, that the Queen then sent him to his own house, and to be there confined, always protesting that he would doe nothing that should be for his ruine, but only that, which should be for his amendment. Nevertheless, whenas the common people extolled his Innocency, the could not for the removal of suspicion of injustice, free her self and her Counsellors, but bring him to tryall; not in the Star-Chamber, lest the censure should fall too heavy on him; but in the house of the Lord Privy Seal, where the cause should have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of Southampton Generall of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into *Munster*, neglecting the Arch-rebell *Tir-Oen*, entertained a Parlee with him, against the Dignity of the Queens Majesty, and the person of a Viceroy, which he represented; and that the said Parlee was suspicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt sentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years since, as these; *No storm is more fierce than the indignation of an Impotent Prince. What? cannot Princes erre? May they not injure their Subjects?* and such like.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, professed he would not contest with the Queen, nor excuse the faults of his young years, either in whole, or in part; Protesting that he always meant well, howsoever it fell out otherwise, and that now he would bid the World farewell; withall shedding many tears, so as the slanders by wept also. Yet could he not contain himself, but began to plead excuses, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, advising him to proceed as he had begun, to fly to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him questioned for disloyalty, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the rest, he pronounceth this Sentence against him; That he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Counsellor, suspended from the functions of the Earl Marshall, and Master of the Ordinance, and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure. She had given expresse charge, not to suspend him from the Office of Master of the Horse (minding shortly to take him into favour) and that his Censure in no case should be Recorded. After this he made shew of wonderfull humility and mortification, which so affected the Queen, that shortly he removed *Barkley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him, To make his own discretion his keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Presence.

After this Sentence, *Caffe*, who always perswaded the Earl to stand stoutly in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of cowardize and pusillanimity, that the Earl in anger, commanded his Name to be put out of the Rowl of his servants, yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Caffe*'s minde himself.

Essex being now ready to go into the Countrey, remembered himself to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard* in these words; *That he kissed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had only corrected, not overthrown him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed eyes, which had been his load-stars, whereby he had happily steered his course, while he held on his way at lawfull distance; But now he resolved to eat grass with Nebuchadnezzar, till it please the Queen to restore*

The Company of East-India Merchants founded by the Queen.

The Earl of Essex upon his penitence is allowed to live at his own house.

Yet he is brought to a private Trial in the Lord Privy Seals house, and what was objected against him.

The Earl protests his Innocency, and sheweth his repentance with tears.

What his Censure was.

Yet upon his humility he had leave to go at large.

*Caffe* taxeth the Earl for cowardize.

The Earls submissive Letter to the Queen.

1601.

Being denied the Farm of Sweet Wines, he grows again discontented.

Use all the ways of popularity.

Who were his chief adherents and Counsellors.

They resolve to let upon the Queens palace, and in what manner.

But are prevented.

The L Keeper and three others of the Privy Council, sent to Essex house, to know the cause of this concourse, and his answer.

But presently giving charge to keep the Lords, he goes into the City.

He comes to Sheriff Smiths house, looking for aid, but Smith was gone.

Essex is proclaimed a Traytor.

Gorge goeth and fetcheth all the Lords at liberty.

restore his senses. She being greatly joyed with these his speeches; *Would to God (said she) his deeds might be answerable to his words; he hath long tried my patience, I must now make trial of his unity.*

And now the Earl grew to confident of the Queens favour, that he became a tutor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines; but she to try his temper, and with what mind he would bear a repulse, made him Answer; That she must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head; and had oftentimes in her mouth, the Aphorism of Physicians, That foul bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to finde, whether the ulcer of his mind were thoroughly cured or no; for being not thoroughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denial of a courtesie, were an injury that required revenge; his melancholy was presently turned into choler, now he began to hearken to *Cuspe* again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poor as *Job*, that he should live of the basket, and gather crums under the Table. Hereupon he returned to London, *Southampton* is sent for out of the Low Countries, his doors are set open for all comers, *Merrick* his Steward receiveth to his own table decayed souldiers, discontented and audacious persons, Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and all signs of popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queens ears, alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was despised by him; for (not to say the worst) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in minde as body.

And now again, he runneth upon desperate counsels, for the removal of his adversaries from the Court, seeketh to serve himself into the King of *Scots* favour, to whom he traiceth his adversaries, by name *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecil*, and the Admirall as inclined to the Spanish Faction, and at one and the same time, seeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his party, but few of his counsell; and these were the Earl of *Southampton*, *St Charles Davers*, *St Ferdinando Gorge*, Captain of the Garrison of *Plimouth*, *St Christopher Blunt*, and some other. With these he met privately in *Drury* house to avoid suspicion, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, whether it were better to set upon the Tower of London, or the Queens Palace; this latter they resolve upon, which should be done in this manner. *Blunt* should keep the great Gate with a select number of men, and *Davers* seize upon the Prefence Chamber; Then *Essex* with his Company should come from the *Mues*, and present himself before the Queen. But now suspicions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary *Herbert* was sent to call him before the Council, at the Treasurers House; but he doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of seizing upon the Court, which had been four moneths in contriving, was by this means quite dashed, for they had ready at the present, neither Souldiers, nor munition, so as some speedier course must now be thought on; at which time very opportunely cometh one to them (set on no doubt by *Essex* his Adversaries) as if he had been sent on purpose from the Citizens, to promise him their Aid, which made *Essex* to applaud his own great good fortune.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, *St William Knolles*, and the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, sent by the Queen to *Essex* house, who could hardly be suffered to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court, they found a confused number of people, and the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton* in the midst of them. The Keeper turning himself to *Essex*, told him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the cause of this concourse, promising Justice, if any person had done them wrong. *Essex* with a loud voice cryeth out, Theyly in wait for my life, we are met to defend our selves. The Keeper urging *Essex* again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, Kill them, cast away that Great Seal *Essex* retireth into the House, the Lords follow him, he chargeth them to make the doors fast, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (saith he) I must go into the City, to dispatch a little business with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return presently.

There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh hast into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way, joyn themselves: coming into London, he cryeth out aloud, For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life. The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smiths* house, who shiftest himself forth at a back-door, and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time, certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admirall made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartened, *Gorge* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl contents that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *Gorge* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

Now when *Essex* thought to return, he found a chain fastened crosse the street, at the West end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his sword; and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded

wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring he took Boat at *Queen-Hythe*, and went to *Essex* house, where finding the Counsellors all dismissed, he grew extreme angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admirall besiegeth the house, commanding them to yeeld. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admirall would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admirall answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proffer Conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolved to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, It were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex* his mind upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their weapons to the Admirall, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more were slain with Musket shot, and as many of the besiegers. The next day, *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout fellows to go to the Queen, and compell her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them, *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danvers*, and *Bromley*, the rest were put in common prisons.

On the nineteenth of February, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment, before their Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded, If it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, that in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they jointly indited of High-Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Counsellors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain Fictions; by assaulting the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withall averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature. *Tilperton* aggravateth the specialties; and *Edward Coke* Attorney, argueth That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Countrey, he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex*, by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecil*, and *Raleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the Spaniards: whereto *Essex* replied, That he heard indeed, that *Cecil* the Secretary should say to one of the Lords of the Council, That the right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecil* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Counsellor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecil*) it is a fiction: Still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecil* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him, by all manner of Obsecrations, to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to *Cecil* himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it; they affirming He might, *Southampton* nameth *St William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecil* intreaty, said, That *Cecil* two years since told him, that one *Dolman* in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise than so.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alledged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of high Treason. Then the high Steward advising *Essex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff and departed.

The next day, *St Robert Vernon*, *St William Constable*, *St Edward Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cluff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryall: but the Queen (informed by *St Falk Grevill*, That most of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that only *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* should have their Tryall, the rest to be sent back to prison. These were all condemned, but their lives spared; which favour (*Raleigh* for a good sum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

*Essex* in the mean while, requested he might speak with some of the Counsellors, to whom he reconciled himself, and to *Cecil* especially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in safety while he lived; he requested he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievously inveigheth against some of the Conspiracy, & wisheth to speak with some of them, but specially with *Blunt* and *Cusse*; whom as soon as he saw, he brake forth into these words; O *Cusse*, ask pardon of God and the Queen, for thou hast chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty. Also he intimated *St Henry Nevill* ordinary Ambassadour in *France*, to have been acquainted with the Conspiracy; and that other in *Scotland*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, Deputy of *Ireland*, knew of his purpose, and other in *England*; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, ordering the Affairs of *Ireland* in good fashion, the Queen wisely would take no notice of it.

*Essex* returning and finding the Counsellors all dismissed, grows much dismayed.

At ten a clock at night, *Essex* yeelds himself to the Lord Admirall.

He is sent to the Tower, together with the Earl of *Southampton* and other Lords. *Essex* and *Southampton* are arraigned.

They plead not Guilty.

But are found guilty by their Peers.

*Essex* complains of *Blunt* and *Cusse*.

The five and twentieth day of *February*, which was to be the fatal day, there were sent to the Earl divers Ministers to give him ghostly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her self, one while remembering the ancient kindeffne she had shewed him, she commanded he should not be executed; then again, thinking of his stubbornness, that he would not once ask her mercy, and had said openly, That he could not live, but she must perish; countermanning her former word, she gave order that he should be executed.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and sundry of the Nobility present, among whom *Ramleigh* also; but being told, it was an inhumane thing to stand by and behold the death of his adversary, he withdrew himself into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Essex* being ascended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, cast up his eyes towards Heaven, and crying God mercy for the manifold sins of his youth, but this last specially, which he said was a bloody, crying, and contagious sin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counsellors, commended his spirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the first bereft him both of his sense and motion.

The fifth of *March*, *St Christopher Blunt*, *St Charles Davers*, *St John Davis*, *St Gyllie Merrick*, and *Cusfe*, were brought to their Tryall in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Queens delegates. The Heads of their Indirements, were the same which were objected to *Essex* and *Southampton*. The others said little in their defence, only *Cusfe* stood upon these two Answers; Whereas (saith he) I am challenged of Treason, because I was in *Essex* house the day of the Rebellion; by the same Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indicted; all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Consultation in *Drury* House, it is no more to be called High Treason, than an Embryon may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other side demonstrated, That no necessity lay upon him to tarry in the House; and that the Consultation in *Drury* House was it self a Treason, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* said only this, The Earl of *Essex* raised me, and he hath over-turned me.

The thirteenth of *March*, *Merrick* and *Cusfe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, where *Cusfe* entering into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and desiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was cast from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boisterous and turbulent disposition. In the same manner dyed *Merrick*.

The fifteenth of *March*, *St Charles Davers*, and *St Christopher Blunt* were beheaded on the Tower Hill; albeit *Davers* offered ten thousand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual imprisonment. The Earl of *Southampton*, and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept prisoners; though *Smith*, after some time, was upon sureties suffered to go at large. The eighth of *July*, Sir *Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Council, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was present at the Consultation in *Drury* House, yet had not revealed their sinister purposes, and had imparted to *Essex* the secrets of his French Embassy. He confessed, That at the Earls intreaty, he shewed him the Commentaries of the French proceedings, was present at one of their Consultations only; but contemned their counsels, yet durst not be an Informer against so great Personages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to prison.

One act of the By, is not here to be omitted. *Essex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Countesse of *Essex* being fearfull in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which she had received from him, to the custody of one *Rhibow*, a Dutch woman that waited on her; this Dutch womans husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving some passages in it which might bring the Earl of *Essex* into danger, got a cunning fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the said Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatening to give the same to her husbands adversaries, unless she would presently give him three thousand pounds. She to shun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and seventy pounds at the very instant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make use of the true one, to get another sum of the Earls Adversaries. This imposture being found out, he was censured to perpetual imprisonment, condemned in three thousand pounds (two of which were to go to the Countess:) and his ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; A notorious Cheater.

Soon after a Parliament was assembled, wherein grievous complaints being tendered to the lower House touching Monopolies, the Queen, by way of prevention, sendeth out Proclamations, declaring the said Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving some part to the discussion of the Laws: which thing was so acceptable to the lower House, that they presently sent eighty select persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and she on the other side, gave them thanks, for being such faithfull Monitors to her, to recall her from an error, whereinto through ignorance, not willfulness she was fallen.

In *Ireland*, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himself; *Carm*, President of *Munster*, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, That the Spaniards invited by *Tir-Oen*, had a purpose to land in *Munster*, yet could not persuade the Deputy they had any design for *Ireland*; but in the midst of *September*, certain news was brought, the Spaniards were in sight, who wanting wind to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put into *Kinsale*, the three and twentieth of *September*,

The Queen sets forth a Proclamation, declaring all Monopolies to be void.

1602.

The Spaniards land in *Ireland* and take *Kinsale*.

*September*, and land their Souldiers without resistance. *Richard Percy* having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave *Kinsale* to the Spaniards, into which they enter with Ensignes displayed, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants, were bidden welcome.

*D' Aquila*, who commanded the Spaniards, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he sheweth, That Queen *Elizabeth* was deposed from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her subjects absolved from their Allegiance; And that the Spaniards were now come to deliver *Ireland* from the jaws of the Devil. *Tir-Oen* joyneth his Forces with them, so as they were now six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the English being not near so many. The four and twentieth of *December*, a Battell is joyned; where, after a long fight, the Victory inclined to the English. *Tir-Oen*, *Odonell*, and the rest, cast away their weapons, and save themselves by flight. *Alphonso O Campo*, chief Leader of the Spaniards, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine Colours taken, whereof four belonged to the Spaniards: of the English not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

After six days, *D' Aquila* sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; *St William Godolphine* is sent, to whom he complained of the cowardise, and (he feared!) treachery of the Irish; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did daily expect great Forces from Spain, yet was willing to make a Composition; whereupon, at last it was agreed, The Spaniard should yeeld up *Kinsale* to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Castle-Haven*, and should depart with life and goods, and Colours displayed. The English, at a reasonable price, should furnish them with ships and provision into Spain; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of *England*, till they were arrived in Spain, &c.

And now the Spaniards being driven out of *Ireland*, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, sendeth out *St Richard Levison*, and *St William Monson*, with eight ships of her own, and some smaller ships of War, to attempt something upon the Coast of Spain. On the nineteenth of *March*, *Levison* hoisteth Sayl, and *Monson* afterward, having in vain tarried behind for some Dutch ships to joyn with them. *Levison* in the mean time lighted upon the Spanish Navy of eight and thirty ships, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When *Monson* was come with the rest of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty Indian Caraque of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*. There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it self appeared as big as a Castle; yet they resolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day, they thundred so violently against the Gallies, that within seven hours the Marques of *St Croffe*, together with the *Portugal* Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great store of powder, which was going for the Low-Countries. And now *Levison* signified to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refused mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much speech to and fro, it was at last agreed; That the Caraque, with the Ordinance and Merchandize should be yeelded up. Thus the English, having a fair winde returned home with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the *Portugal* account, and not past five of their men lost in the Voyage.

At this time there arose a Contestation amongst the Popish Clergy here in *England*; for the Jesuites and Secular Priests, made bitter Invektives in their writings, one against the other. The original of the Priests quarrel was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jesuites, was set over them as Arch-Presbyter, who first of all despoyled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, caused them to be declared Schismatics and Hereticks. They in sundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly alwayes with the Catholics, till such time as they set all in a combustion in *England*; and by their Treasons, caused most severe Laws to be enacted against the Catholics. Parsons they traduced as a Bastard, an Equivocator and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earnest, or in jest only, is hard to say; but the Bishop of *London* politickly nourished the contention; and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Council, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

In *France*, the Marshal *Biron*, for entering into dangerous attempts against the publick Peace, was arraigned, and lost his head. His confession brought some other into danger; and amongst them, the Duke of *Bulloign*, of the Protestant Religion, that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of *France* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes dispensation nothing worth, pronouncing his sons illegitimate; had defined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succession of the Crown, and conspired the Destruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her Legier Ambasadour, adviseth the King not too credulously to entertain those reports, as doubting these suggestions might proceed from some of the Spanish Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, saying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deserved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Essex* his Treason, and being questioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time also, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning sleights,

*Tir-Oen* joyneth his Forces with the Spaniards, which together make a great Army, but in a battail are defeated. *Alphonso O Campo* their chief leader is taken prisoner.

*D' Aquila* who commanded the Spaniards, requires a Composition, and departs.

*St Richard Levison* sets upon the Spanish Fleet of Treasure, but cannot prevail. But he takes a Caraque of 16 hundred Tun, worth a Million of Duckets.

The Jesuites and the secular Priests contend against one another.

Both of them are commanded to depart out of the Realm.

The King of *France* complains to the Queen against the Duke of *Bulloign*, and her Answer to it.

and open force, practised against the State of Geneva; and the Queen relieved them with a great sum of money, gathered amongst the Clergy and Laity all over England.

*Tir-Oen* yields himself to the Deputy absolutely without any condition.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen*, perceiving himself in a desperate estate, resolved to sue for mercy, and promised at last to submit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleasure, absolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then passing on a few steps, prostrated himself again, saying, I confesse and crave pardon for my great fault, against God, and a most bountifull Princely dread Sovereign; I fly to the Queens mercy, as a sacred Anchor, permitting her to dispose of my life and fortunes at her pleasure. Upon this his submission, the Deputy commanded him to go aside, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into England that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleasure: But before he could come in to England, the Queen dyed.

### Her Taxations.

She refuseth to burden her Subjects with Subsidies.

IN a Parliament holden the first year of her Reign, a Subsidy was granted, of two shillings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four Shillings of Lands, to be paid at two severall Payments, of every person Spiritual and Temporall. In her sixth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, one Subsidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenth and Tenth. In her eighth year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subsidies, upon condition she would declare a Successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subsidy, which they had granted, saying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth year, in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repressing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound, and by the Temporality, two Fifteenth, with a Subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. In her six and thirtieth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subsidies, and by the Laity three, besides six Fifteenth and Tenth; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, should not be drawn into example. In her fortieth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subsidies; and by the Laity, as many, with six Fifteenth and Tenth. In her two and fortieth year, to furnish her self with money towards the *Irish* War, she delegated certain Commissioners, to confirm the Crown Lands to the possessors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very busie.

Controverted titles of Crown Lands confirmed by her.

### Of her Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in her first year, an Act was made, That every person should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy days, or else pay twelve pence to the poor. Also it was enacted, That Bishops should not let the Lands of the Church, longer than for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Successors. In her third year, a Proclamation was made, That the Tallow, coyned for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embased to six pence, should not be current but for four pence; the Groat, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the said base moneys were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them, after the Rate. For *Ireland* also, she coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the first that brought certain Counties to deliver Provision at a certain rate, that so they might be freed from the Parveyors: Also the first that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her sixth year, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treason to refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the blood should not be dishonoured, nor goods confiscated; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Also this year, by a Common Council in *London*, it was enacted, That all such Citizens as from thenceforth should be constrained to sell their household-stuff, Leases of houses, or such like; should first cause the same to be cryed through the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be sold by the common Outcrier appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his pain. In her three and twentieth year, she represseth by Proclamation excess in apparel, Gold Chains, and Cloaks which men wore down to their heels. The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, besides the hilts. Buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrained, in-mates forbidden, and expresse charge set forth, That no dwelling house should be new built within three miles of any of the City Gates, under pain of imprisonment, and losse of the materials. In her time was set on foot by *St Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the serving of Colleged with provision, to the great benefit of those Scholastical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, the setteth forth Proclamations against the Transportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that case provided. This year, also she founded the Company of the *East-India* Merchants, and allowed them ample Pri-

Bishops limit d for letting their lands.

All base moneys called in. Provision for the Queens house first ordained. Allowance to Judges for their Circuit first ordained. Outcrier for sale of Goods first ordained.

Buildings in *London* restrained. Colleged Rents to be paid part in provision, first ordained. The Company of *East-India* Merchants first set up.

Privileges. In her three and fortieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, severe Laws are made against Papists, some inflicting death, some fine and imprisonment. In her eight and twentieth year, a Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting to fow Wood within eight miles of any of the Queens Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns Corporate. In her five and twentieth year, was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Surgery: to begin to be read in the College of Physicians in *London*, and the Reader to have a Stipend no lesse than those of the Universities erected by King *Henry* the eighth.

All Monopolies called in by Proclamation. Wood not to be fowed near the Queens houses.

### Affairs of the Church in her time.

ON Sunday the first of *January* next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by vertue of her Proclamation, the *English* Letany was read accordingly as was used in her Graces Chappel, in all Churches through the City of *London*, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Masse-time in the *English* Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in her first year, the first Fruits and Tenth were restored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the State Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the *English* Tongue was restored, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was established. The Bishops that refused the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy dayes, and a Fine of twelve pence impose upon every one that should be absent, and the same to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope *Pius*, to send her Oratours to the Council of *Trent*, which she refused, as not acknowledging it a lawfull Council. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted and by a general consent declared, That the Election of the Archbishops and Bishops in *England*, together with their Consecration, Confirmation, and Investiture (which some persons slanderously called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chosen and consecrated. In her eleventh year, there arose in *England* two contrary factions in Religion: on the one side, *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other Divines that had fled out of *England*, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queens Subjects which they had derived from the See of *Rome*: On the other side, *Coleman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and other, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of *England*, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as favouring too much of the *Romish* Religion, protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of *Rome*, and used all diligence to have the Church of *England*, reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of *Geneva*. These, although the Queen commanded to be committed to Prison, yet it is incredible how upon a sudden their followers increased, known by the envious name of Puritans. This sect so mightily increased, that in her sixteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with *Roman* dregs) and setting forth Books likewise, intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defense of the Admonition*; they refused to resort to the Divine Service publicly in use, and framed to themselves other Rites. Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common Prayer, to be put in execution, and those Books, upon pain of Imprisonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queens Council. And this year were taken at Masse in their several houses, the Lord *Mortley's* Lady and her children, the Lady *Guilford*, and the Lady *Brown*, who being thereof indicted and convicted, suffered the penalty of the Law in that case provided. Until the twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Papists in *England* were mercifully connived at, while they solemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that also were against the Laws) but when as that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens subjects to the See of *Rome*; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till *Cuthbert Mayn*, a Priest, and an obdurate maintainer of the Popes authority against the Queen, was executed at *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, and the Gentlemans goods that harboured him confiscated, and himself adjudged to perpetual Imprisonment. In her three and twentieth year, divers Priests and Jesuites came into *England*, amongst whom, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, *English* men and Jesuites, being now bound for *England*, to promote the Catholick Cause, at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also, there arose up in *Holland* a certain Sect, naming themselves, *The Family of Love*, who perswaded their followers, that those only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawfull for them to deny upon oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate or whomsoever that were not of their Family. Many of their books were printed, under these titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Prophecie of the Spirit of Love*, *The publication of Peace upon earth*, by the

The Protestant Religion is by degrees established.

Puritans how increased.

Severe laws against Papists when and why enacted.

*Parsons* and *Campian* come into *England*.

The Family of Love where and when it began.

thor H. N. but who this Author was they would by no means reveal : at last he was found to be a *Henry Nichols of Leyden*, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature : all which books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eight and twentieth year of her Reign, some out of a desire of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to passe Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and the Oath *Ex Officio*. They complained likewise of the non-residency of Ministers, and the like. But the Queen, who always hated Innovation (which for the most part changeth for the worse) would give no ear unto them ; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament in Ecclesiastical Affairs, derogated from her Prerogative. In her six and twentieth year, the Queen gave a special charge to *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Laws, which through the connivence of Bishops, and perverseness of the Puritans, lay now almost gaiping : Whereupon, he provided three Articles, to which every Minister should subscribe.

Parliaments not to meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Three Articles to which every Minister must subscribe.

The first, That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Dominions, of what condition soever they were ; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civill or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms and Dominions.

The second, That the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used, and that they will use that and no other.

The third, That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at London, in the year 1562, and published by the Queens Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the Word of God.

It is incredible what reproaches the Archbishop incurred by setting forth these Articles, both from factious Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility ; yet by his patience and constancy, he brought at last peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Neither did these at home only disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridge* ; from whom came the Sectaries called Brownists ; and *Richard Harrison*, a petty Schoolmaster. These presuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private spirit, by Books set forth in *Zealand*, and dispersed at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and enured many in the nets of their new Schism. Neither could they be restrained, though their Books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and soundly confuted by sundry learned men ; and one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at *St Edmunds Berry*. In her one and thirtieth year, these Puritans flames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and *A Demonstration of the Discipline*, by *Penry* and *Udal* against the Government of Bishops, and nothing would please them, but the Discipline of *Geneva* : Many Abettors they had, *Knights* and *Wigstone*, *Knights*, besides *Carterwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pradlow*, *Payne*, and others, who though called in question, fined and imprisoned, could never be reclaimed. In her six and thirtieth year, the Queen caused the severity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church, and the publick Peace, by scattering of their monstrous Opinions, condemning the Church of *England* as no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical.

The Brownists Author who.

Martin Mar-Prelate : writeth against Bishops.

### Works of Piety in her time.

His Queen converted *Westminster Abbey* into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Master, Usher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men, and twelve Almshouses. In her third year, the Merchant-Tailors founded a notable Grammar School, in the Parish of *St Lawrence Pountney* in *London*. Also this year, *William Harpur*, Maior of *London*, founded a Free School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her seventh year, on the seventh of June, *St Thomas Gresham* laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill*, which in November the year after, at his own charges was finished, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, near to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*. Also this year, *St Thomas Roe* Maior of *London*, caused to be enclosed within a wall of Brick, one Acre of ground, near unto *Bedlam*, without *Bishops Gate*, to be a place of Burial for the dead of such Parishes in *London* as lacked convenient ground, within their Parishes : He also builded a convenient room in *Pauls Church-yard*, on the South side of the Crosse, to receive a certain number of Hearers at Sermon time. *St William Peter*, having himself been born at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, he gave to *Exeter College* in *Oxford*, a hundred pounds Lands a year : He also builded at *Ingershoe* in *Essex*, Almshouses for twenty poor people, and giving them some competent maintenance. *St Thomas Gresham* had his dwelling house in *Broadstreet* *London*, which he dedicated to the profession of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Physick, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick, and Rhetorick, allotting to the Professors very competent allowance. In her seventeenth year dyed *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop

The Royal Exchange when and by whom built.

Gresham College in Broadstreet given to Professors of the Sciences.

of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar School in *Rochdale* in the County of *Lancaster* : He also procured to *Corpus Christi College* in *Cambridge*, thirteen Scholarships, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the same College, and procured to it the patronage of *St Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other works of like kinde. *St Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper gave for six Scholars to be found in *Benet College* in *Cambridge*, three pounds, six shillings and eight pence for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-School in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and gave many Penfions to both Universities. *Frances*, Countesse of *Suffex*, sister to *St Henry Sidney*, founded *Suffex Sidney College* in *Cambridge* : As likewise *St Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emmanuel College* in the same University. *St Thomas Bodley* erected and furnished the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, endowed *Brazen-nose College* in *Oxford*, where he was brought up with two hundred pound per annum, and dyed in the year 1602. *St Roger Manhood*, chief Baron of the Exchequer, built seven Almshouses in *Canterbury*, giving to every Almshouse four pounds yearly : and our worthy Countryman *William Lambard* built an Almshouse at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The College for the poor of Queen Elizabeth*. Also in her time, namely in the year 1595. *Bevis Bulmar* Gentleman, builded a large house of great height, called an Engine, at the Bridge foot, for the conveying and forcing of *Thames* water to serve in the middle and west parts of the City. Also in her time, namely in the year 1596. *Ralph Rokeby* one of her Masters of Requests, then dying, gave by his Will, to *Christs Hospital* in *London*, 100 l. to the College of the poor of *Queen Elizabeth* in *East Greenwich*, 100 l. to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge*, 100 l. to the poor Scholars in *Oxford*, 100 l. to the prisoners in the two Compters in *London* 100 l. to the prisoners in the Fleet 100 l. to the prisoners in *Ludgate* 100 l. to the prisoners in *Newgate* 100 l. to the prisoners in the *Kings Bench* 100 l. to the prisoners in the *Marshalsey* 100 l. to the prisoners in the *White Lyon* 20 l. a liberal and pious Legacie ; and worthy not to be forgotten.

Suffex-Sidney College in Cambridge Founded. Emmanuel College in Cambridge Founded. The publick Library in Oxford erected.

### Casualties in her time.

In the first year of her Reign, dyed *St Thomas Chyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulse did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as strongly as if he had been still alive. In her third year there was found near *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, a most rich Vein of pure and native Brasse, which had lain neglected a long time : Also the stone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great use in Brasse Works, was first brought into *England* at this time, and that in most plentiful manner. Likewise this Queen was the first that caused Gun-powder to be made in *England*, which before was had from forain parts, and at dear rates. In her third year, the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and sixty from the square Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the space of five hours ; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thousand Marks in money, and a thousand load of Timber ; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteens ; and the Clergy also contributed towards it. Also this year there were many monstrous Births : A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one head. A man-child was born at *Chichester* in *Suffex*, having arms and legs like to an Anatomy, the Brest and Belly monstrous big, about the neck a great collar of flesh and skin, growing like the ruff of a shirt. In her sixth year, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Pestilence was brought into *England*, but especially into *London* ; where in one year there dyed one hundred and twenty thousand and five hundred. This year also, in the Moneth of December, was driven on the shore at *Grimseby* in *Lincolnshire* a monstrous Fish, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and six yards between the eyes. Twelve men stood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her seventh year on the one and twentieth of December began a Frost, so extreme, that on *New-years* Even people passed over the *Thames* on foot ; some played at Foot-ball, some shot at pricks, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Frost, the third of January at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day, there was no Ice at all to be seen ; which sudden thaw caused great Inundations. In her eighth year, within the space of ten Moneths, there dyed in *London* seven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, *St Martin Bowes*, *St Richard Mallory*, *St William Hewet*, *St Thomas White*, and *Richard Lamberti*, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The same year also, in the Town of *Ossifrey* in *Wales*, two hundred houses, in the space of two hours, were consumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham Bridge* near to *Ipswich*, seventeen monstrous Fishes ; some of them being seven and twenty Foot in length : And in the same year, many Dutch flying into *England*, to avoid the persecution of the Duke of *Alva*, were the first that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and such woven stuffs both Woollen and Linnen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found in the Earl of *Northumberland's* Grounds, which she by her Prerogative seized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earth-quake happened in the

The pulse to beat of one that was dead. A vein of Brats found, also the stone called Lapis calaminaris.

Gun-powder first made in England. The Spire of Pauls Church burnt down with lightning.

Many monstrous Births.

A monstrous Fish taken in Lincolnshire.

An extreme Frost.

The art of making Bayes, and Serges, when and by whom brought first into England :

A prodigious Earthquake.

East parts of *Hertfordshire*, at a little Town called *Kinnaston*. On the seventeenth of February, at six of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at first a great bellowing noise, which was heard a great way off) lifted it self up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheep-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the same time. In the place from whence it was first moved, it left a gaping distance forty foot broad, and fourscore Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Passing along, it overthrew a Chappell standing in the way, removed an Ewe Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the West into the East; with the like force it thrust before it High-ways, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled ground Pasture, and again turned Pasture into Tillage. Having walked in this sort from Saturday in the evening, till Monday noon, it then stood still. In her fifteenth year, in the month of November, a new Star, or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was seen in *Cathedra Cassiopea*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightness, and in that place was carried with the Diurnal motion of the Heavens sixteen months together, though after eight months it was perceived to grow lesse and lesse. In her sixteenth year, was a great Dearth, so as Wheat was sold at five and six shillings the Bushell, and other things in proportion. In her seventeenth year, a vast mighty Whale was cast upon the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes. One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than a Cart with six Horses could draw; the Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parmacitte*. This year also, the River *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the month of November, the Heaven seemed to be all on fire. Also on the four and twentieth of February, being a great Frost, after a Flood which was not great, there came down the River of *Severn* such a swarm of Flies and Beetles that they were judged to be above a hundred Quarters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the space of four days, and then were cleansed by digging them out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth year, a strange apparition happened in *Somersetshire*, three score personages all clothed in black, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing and a little while tarrying, they vanished away, but immediately another strange company, in like manner, colour and number appeared in the same place: and they encountered one another, and so vanished away. And the third time appeared that number again, all in bright armour, and encountered one another, and so vanished away. This was examined before *St George Norton*, and sworn by four honest men that saw it, to be true. In her three and twentieth year, in the beginning of April, about six a clock after noon, happened an Earthquake not far from *Tork*, which in some places strook the very stones out of Buildings, and made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the first day of May. In this year also, in the Town of *Waltham* in *Staffes*, a child of eleven years old, named *William Withers*, lay in a trance for the space of ten days without any sustenance, and at the last coming to himself, he uttered to the standers by, many strange speeches; inveighing against Pride, Covetousnesse, coldnesse of Charity, and other enormous sins. In her six and twentieth year, being the year 1588, the like Prodigie happened in *Dorsetshire*; as in the year 1571 had happened in *Hertfordshire*; A field of three acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and passed over another field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there stayd. In her eight and twentieth year, Tobacco was first brought out of the *West-Indies* into England by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth year, there was so great a drought, that not only the fields, but the Springs themselves were dried up, and many Cattel every where died for want of water. The River of *Thames* likewise did so fail, that a Horseman might ride over at *London-bridge*. In her six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as there dyed this year, in *London* and the Suburbs, seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety, besides the Lord Maior, and three Aldermen; and *Michalmas Term* was holden at *St Albons*. For the prices of victuals in her time, we may take a pattern of the rest by one kinde: for *John Stow* reporteth, that in his youth he fetched many a half pennisworth of Milk from a Farm by the *Minories*, and never had lesse than three Ale Pintes for a half penny in the Summer, nor lesse than two Ale pintes for a half penny in the Winter. Also in the year 1533, a fat Ox was sold at *London*, for twenty six shillings at the most; a fat Weather for three shillings four pence; a fat Calf the like price: a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three pound of Beef for a penny.

A mighty Whale taken in *Thanet* in *Kent*.

Another prodigious Earthquake.

Tobacco first brought into England, and by whom.

#### Of her Personage and Conditions.

She was of stature indifferent tall, slender and straight, fair of Complexion, her hair inclining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and sweet, but short sighted, her nose somewhat rising in the midt; the whole compasse of her countenance somewhat long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her minde was far more admirable: She had been a subject, which taught her to rule; she had been in misery, which taught her to be mercifull; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more justice, and with her justice mingled more mercy: She had more Valour in her than was fit for a woman, but that she was a Ruler over men; and more Humility in her than was fit for a Prince, but that she meant to be a President to women. She delighted in nothing so much, as in the joye of her people, which she procured by ordaining good

A good Magistrates, and forbearing Impositions. Her way not to need them, was frugality; and her way to have them when she needed them, was liberality. She made honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and indeed, knowing it to be an influence from her self, she kept it, as her self, a Virgin, and would not prostitute it to unworthy persons. She declined being a mother of children, to the end she might be a mother of her Country; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, than she did her people; and therefore never children loved a mother more, than her people did her. She coveted not so much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects; for she thought money did as well in their Coffers, as in her own: and indeed, she never wanted it, when they had it; and they alwayes had it, when she needed it. Never Prince had a wiser Council than she, yet never Prince needed it lesse; for she was her self a Counsellor to her Council. In sum, whatsoever may in flattery be said of a wife, just, mercifull, religious, and learned Prince, may truly be said of her: in all which, if ever she had an equall, yet she never certainly had a superiour. In playing her game of Fortune, she loved not an after-game, for she liked preventions better than Remedies. She was admirable in expressing her minde, both by speech and writing: and if collection could be made of her Apophthegms, and extemporall Orations, it would certainly excell any thing extant in that kinde: And for her writing, *St Henry Savile* affirms, That he had seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals. Never Prince kept greater State with lesse flatinesse: Her Pensioners and Guard were always the tallest and goodliest Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: her maids of Honour and other women about her, the fairest and most beautifull Ladies of the Realm; and yet her self a Diana amongst her Nymphs; insomuch that a great Lord of *France* being entertained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made answer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in presence of the Sun.

#### Of her Death and Buriall.

It was now the year 1602, when she feeling some Infirmities of Old age and sicknesse, retired her self at the end of January, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a sad Omen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her finger, wherewith she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her sicknesse, the Almonds of her Jaws began to swell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withall she gave her self wholly to sadnesse and heavinesse, which some imputed to her care for the losse of the Earl of *Essex*; others, because she heard, That divers of the Nobility sought the favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun rising, and neglecting her: but howsoever, in March kinde of benumbednesse seized upon her, with a deep melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any conference, but with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her speech failed her, which failed her a day before she dyed. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her minde concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this answer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean person should succeed me. The Secretary requesting her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me; and what King, but the King of *Scots*, my nearest kinsman? After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of God, That do I (said she) nor do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes; that her thoughts were fixed upon him. And so on the four and twentieth day of March, being the last day of the year 1602, she yielded up her soul to God, when she had lived threescore and nine years, six months, and seven dayes; Reigned four and forty years, four months, and seven dayes. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *White-hall*, from whence on the eight and twentieth of April following, in great solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peters* at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grand-father, King *Henry* the seventh, in his magnificent Chappell, where our renowned Sovereign King *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternall glory. At her Funerall were said to be Mourners in black, to the number of one thousand and six hundred persons.

#### Men of note in her time.

THE Ocean is not more boundlesse, than the number of men of note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with states-men: An exquisite States-man for his own ends, was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; and for his Countries good, *St William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*; as also *St Francis Walsingham*, that great underminer of Conspirators. Famous Sea-men, were the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*; and of meaner Rank, *St John Hawkins*, *St Martin Forbysher*, *St Walter Rawleigh*, *Cavendish*, *Preston*, *Ryman*; and, to name the worthiest last,

Roger Askam  
his delight in  
Gaming and  
Cockfighting.

Famous Play-  
ers, and Play-  
makers.

last, *St Francis Drake*, who though he were but a short square bodied man, yet his great Acts have made the *Spaniards* believe that he was some goodly personage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert Earl of Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, *St Francis Vere*, *St Roger Williams*, *Buckerville*, *Savage*, and the Honour of his Family, and our English Nation, *St John Norris*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were *St Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen Elizabeth as her Lager in Spain, who wrote five books of the *restoring of the English Common-wealth*, in Elegant Verses, while (as he said) he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Bath in Summer: *Roger Askam*, born in *Torke-shire*, notably skillfull in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, who had sometime been schoolmaster to Queen Elizabeth, and her Secretary for the *Latine* Tongue, but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cockfighting, he both lived and dyed in mean estate, yet left behinde him sundry Monuments of Wit and Industry. *St Thomas Smith*, borne at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, sometime Secretary to King Edward the Sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the *English Common-wealth*, a singular Book of the Orthography of the *English* tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*, the first man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colledges with Provision. *St Henry Savill*, Provost of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen Elizabeth, who set forth all *St Chrysostom*'s works in *Greek*, and by translating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deserved as much of the *English* Tongue, as he of the *Latine*: But above all, the admirable *St Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, shewed how excellently, and beyond all comparison he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewell*, born in *Devonshire*, a Student in *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford*, in Queen Mary's time an Exile, by Queen Elizabeth made Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and dyed at scarce fifty years of age, in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth. *John Whitaker* Masters of *St Johns* College in *Cambridge* who learnedly answered all the Books of *Beelarmino*. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, sometimes Fellow of new College in *Oxford*, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christs descent into hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the Temple, who with too much meeknesse smothered his great Learning, yet hath something discovered it in his five Books of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and dyed in the year 1599. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper Works, set forth a Catechism, according to the Doctrine of the *English* Church, and dyed in the year 1620. After such men, it might be thought ridiculous to speak of Stage-players; but seeing excellency in the meanest things deserve remembering, and *Rejcius* the Comedian is recorded in History with such commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with some of our Nation. *Richard Bourbidge* and *Edward Allen*, two such Actors as no age must ever look to see the like and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the Part called the Clowns Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Plays, and such as had been Players themselves, *William Shakespeare* and *Benjamin Jonson*, have specially left their Names recommended to posterity.

### Maiors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first year,  
*St William Hewet* was Maior.  
*Thomas Lodge*, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her second year,  
*St William Chester* was Maior.  
*Christopher Draper*, *Thomas Rowe*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,  
*St William Harper* was Maior.  
*Alexander Avenon*, *Humphrey Baskerville*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,  
*St Thomas Lodge* was Maior.  
*William Allen*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,  
*St John White* was Maior.  
*Edward Bankes*, *Rowland Heyward*, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,  
*St Richard Mallory* was Maior.  
*Edward Jackman*, *Lionel Duckert*, Sheriffs.

In her seventh year,  
*St Richard Champion* was Maior.  
*John Rivers*, *James Hawes*, Sheriffs.

In her eighth year,  
*St Christopher Draper* was Maior.  
*Rich. Lambert*, *Amb. Nicholas*, *Joh. Langley*, Sher.

In her ninth year,  
*St Roger Martin* was Maior.  
*Thomas Rampey*, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her tenth year,  
*St Thomas Rowe* was Maior.  
*John Oliph*, *Rob. Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh year,  
*St Alexander Avenon* was Maior.  
*Henry Beecher*, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth year,  
*St Rowland Heyward* was Maior.  
*Francis Barnham*, *William Bone*, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,  
*St William Allen* was Maior.  
*Henry Milles*, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her fourteenth year,  
*St Lionell Duckert* was Maior.  
*Richard Pipe*, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her fifteenth year,  
*St John Rivers* was Maior.  
*James Harvey*, *Thomas Pullocell* or *Pullison*, Sheri.

In her sixteenth year,  
*St James Hawes* was Maior.  
*Thomas Blancke*, *Anthony Gamage*, Sheriffs.

In her seventeenth year,  
*St Ambrose Nicholas* was Maior.  
*Edward Osborne*, *Wolstane Dixie*, Sheriffs.

In her eighteenth year,  
*St John Langley* was Maior.  
*William Kempton*, *George Barne*, Sheriffs.

In her nineteenth year,  
*St Thomas Ramfey* was Maior.  
*Nicholas Backhouse*, *Francis Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In her twentieth year,  
*St Richard Pipe* was Maior.  
*George Bond*, *Thomas Starkie*, Sheriffs.

In her one and twentieth year,  
*St Nicholas Woodroffe* was Maior.  
*Martin Calthrop*, *John Hart*, Sheriffs.

In her two and twentieth year,  
*St John Branche* was Maior.  
*Ralph Woodcocke*, *John Allot*, Sheriffs.

In her three and twentieth year,  
*St James Harvey* was Maior.  
*Richard Martin*, *William Webbs*, Sheriffs.

In her four and twentieth year,  
*St Thomas Blancke* was Maior.  
*William Rowe*, *John Haydon*, deceased, *Cuthbert Buckle* succeeded, Sheriffs.

In her five and twentieth year,  
*St Edward Osborne* was Maior.  
*William Ashbam*, *John Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In her six and twentieth year,  
*St Thomas Pullocell* was Maior.  
*Stephen Slany*, *Henry Billingley*, Sheriffs.

In her seven and twentieth year,  
*St Wolstane Dixie* was Maior.  
*Anthony Ratcliffe*, *Henry Prannell*, Sheriffs.

In her eight and twentieth year,  
*St George Barne* was Maior.  
*Robert House*, *William Elkin*, Sheriffs.

In her nine and twentieth year,  
*St George Bond* was Maior.  
*Thomas Skinner*, *John Cascher*, Sheriffs.

In her thirtieth year,  
*St Martin Calthrop* served one part,  
*St Richard Martin* the other.  
*Hugh Offley*, *Richard Halsonball*, Sheriffs.

In her one and thirtieth year,  
*St John Hart* was Maior.  
*Richard Gurney*, *Stephen Some*, Sheriffs.

In her two and thirtieth year,  
*St John Allot* served one part,  
*St Rowland Heyward* the other.  
*Nicholas Mosley*, *Roberts Brook*, Sheriffs.

In her three and thirtieth year,  
*St William Webbe* was Maior.  
*Will. Rider*, *Benet*, or *Benedict Barnham*, Sheriffs.

In her four and thirtieth year,  
*St William Rowe* was Maior.  
*John Garret*, or *Gerrard*, *Robert Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In her five and thirtieth year,  
*St Cuthbert Buckle* served one part,  
*St Richard Martin* the other.  
*Paul Banning*, *Peter Houghton*, Sheriffs.

In her six and thirtieth year,  
*St John Spencer* was Maior.  
*Robert Lee*, *Thomas Bennet*, Sheriffs.

In her seven and thirtieth year,  
*St Stephen Slany* was Maior.  
*Thomas Lowe*, *Leonard Hallyday*, Sheriffs.

In her eight and thirtieth year,  
*St Thomas Skinner* served one part,  
*St Henry Billingley* the other.  
*John Wats*, *Richard Godard*, Sheriffs.

In her nine and thirtieth year,  
*St Richard Saltonstall* was Maior.  
*Henry Row*, *John More*, Sheriffs.

In her fortieth year,  
*St Stephen Some* was Maior.  
*Edward Holmedon*, *Robert Hampson*, Sheriffs.

In her one and fortieth year,  
*St Nicholas Mosley* was Maior.  
*Humphrey Walde*, *Roger Clerke*, Sheriffs.

In her two and fortieth year,  
*St William Rider* was Maior.  
*Thomas Smith*, *Tho. Cambell*, *Will. Craven*, Sheriffs.

In her three and fortieth year,  
*St John Garret*, or *Garrard* was Maior.  
*Henry Anderson*, *William Glover*, Sheriffs.

In her four and fortieth year,  
*St Robert Lee* was Maior.  
*James Pemberton*, *John Swinnerton*, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

Anno Dom.  
1603.



King James is  
proclaimed  
King of Eng-  
land, Scotland,  
and Ireland.

**J**AMES the fourth King of Scotland, married *Margaret* eldest Daughter of *Henry* the seventh King of England, by whom he had *James* the fifth, who had one only child *Mary* Queen of Scots, who had one only Son *James* the sixth, who from *James* the fourth had undoubted right to the Kingdom of Scotland, and from *Margaret*, King *Henry* the seventh's eldest Daughter (the male line being clean extinct) unquestionable title to the Crown of England: whereupon *Queen Elizabeth* being dead about ten a clock in the morning the 24<sup>th</sup> of *March*, King *James* the sixth King of Scotland was the very same day (Mr Secretary *Cecil* himself reading his title, and *Queen Elizabeth's* Will) proclaimed King of England, Scotland and Ireland, by sound of Trumpet, first at *White-hall*, and then in *Cheapside*, in presence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a generall acclamation of all sorts of people, that we may truly say, sorrow was never more received than at this time; for where upon the death of *Queen Elizabeth*, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but sorrowing and lamenting; now that very sorrow was swallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of sex, in all other points in a manner the same, the like wisdom, the like learning, the like justice, the like religiousness in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

Sr Robert Cary  
acquaints  
him with the  
Queens death.

*Queen Elizabeth* was no sooner dead, but *Sr Robert Cary* a younger son of the late Lord *Howdon*, posted away unfettered, to King *James* in Scotland, informing him of the accident, for bringing which news, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of *Leppington*. But though it were sufficient for the Kings information that he heard the news by *Sr Robert Cary*; yet it was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council in discharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them, and therefore within a very few days, as soon as they could provide fit men, they sent first *Sr Charles Percy*, and Mr *Thomas Somerjet*, and after them *Sr Thomas Lake*, Clerk of the Signer, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the generall applause of all the Realm, to receive him for their Sovereign, and also inform him in what terms the State of the Kingdom stood, that so he might not come altogether a stranger when he came into it.

*Queen Elizabeth* indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incombrance, no wars abroad, no sedition at home; and not only so, but a Kingdom furnished with all the fruits of Peace, plenty of all things necessary, and of all necessary things; the chiefest a Privy Council, for she left *Sr Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellour, *Thomas Lord Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, *Charles Earl of Nottingham* Lord Admiral, and *Sr Robert Cecil* principall Secretary: Four such men that the meanest of them were sufficient to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to these and divers others besides (all whom the King now by his letters authorized to execute their severall places, as formerly they had done) he added certain new ones of his own choosing, as namely the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and then after

The King  
adds new  
Counsellors.

the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one the brother, the other the son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had suffered so much, that at last he suffered for the Queen his mother. But although the calling of these two last to such place, was done (no doubt) out of favour to that house; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papist, it was presently apprehended, as a favour to that side; and the Catholics were not a little confident of his good inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but necessary they should at this time have such a conceit, for in the late *Queens* sickness, a little before her death, *Pope Clement* the eighth, had written two Brevies to the Catholics in England, to admit of none to succeed in the Kingdom, when that miserable woman should happen to die (so he pleased to style the most glorious Queen that ever lived) but such a one, of whose good inclination to the See of *Rome*, they had not at least be well persuaded. And now King *James* having sealed the Government of his Kingdom of Scotland, & made convenient preparation for his journey: on the fifth of *April* 1603, he set forward and rode that day from *Edinburgh* to *Dunglassie*, and from thence the next day to *Bermick*, where having stayed two days, the eighth of *April* he rode to *Witherington* a house of *Sr Robert Curies*, from thence the ninth to *Newcastle*, where he stayed Sunday and heard the Bishop of *Durham* preach, and so joyful were the Townsmen of his being there, that all the time of his stay they bore the charge of his household. The thirteenth of *April* he set forward to *Durham*, and from thence the fourteenth to *Walsworth*, the fifteenth towards *Tork*, where his train increased to such a multitude, that he was fain to publish an inhibition of the peoples resorts, and flocking to him. At *Tork* it was a question to whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King in that place, for both the Earl of *Cumberland* claimed it, as hereditary to his House, and the President of the North claimed it as belonging to his place, but it was adjudged to *George Earl of Cumberland*, who accordingly did it, from *Tork* the eighteenth day the King rode to *Grimston*, to a house of *Sr Edward Stanbops*, the nineteenth to *Pomfret*, and so to *Dunelm*, where he lodged at the sign of the Bear and Sun: The twentieth of *April* he rode towards *Worshippe*, a house of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; from thence the twenty one to *Newmark* upon *Trent*, where a Carpentier being taken in the fact, was by the Kings warrant hanged; a most unreasonable delinquent, who would force the King to a work of Justice at a time when he intended nothing but mercy: the 22, to *Beaver Castle*, a house of the Earl of *Rutlands*, hunting all the way as he rode: From *Beaver* the 23 to *Burleigh*, where having stayed two or three days, the 27 he removed to *Hinchinbrook*, a house of *Sr Oliver Cromwells*, where the heads of the University of *Cambridge* met him: From thence he rode towards *Royson*, and as he passed through *Godmanchester*, a Town close by *Huntington*, the Bailiffs of the Town presented him with 70 Teem of Horses all traced to fair new Ploughs, at which the King wondring, they said, it was their ancient custom so to do when any King of England passed through their Town, and by which as being the Kings tenants, they held their land. At *Royson*, he lodged that night at Mr *Chesters* house, at his own charge, which he had not done before, since his coming into England. The 30 of *April* he rode to *Standon*, a house of *Sr Thomas Sadlers*, where he stayed Sunday and heard the Bishop of *London* preach. The second of *May* he removed to *Broxbourn* a house of *Sr Henry Cocks*, cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and divers other Lords: The third of *May* he came to *Theobalds*, a house of *Sr Robert Cecils*; where all the Lords of the late *Queens* most honourable Privy Council presented themselves, and there the Lord Keeper made a grave Oration. At this house, the fourth of *May*, the King made divers Noblemen of Scotland, of his Privy Council here in England; namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and *Sr George Hume* Treasurer of Scotland, *Sr James Elphinston* his Secretary, and the Lord of *Kinlosse*, made afterward master of the Rolles. Saturday the seventh of *May*, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriff *Swinnerton*, and the Aldermen met him; and by their Oratour Mr *Richard Martin*, made him an Eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the Charter-house near *Smithfield*, a house belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he stayed four days: and at his departing from thence made the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and the Lord *Burgley*, of his Privy Council. But wee must not here omit, that from the Kings first setting forth of Scotland; as he was in all places received with Royall entertainment and rich presents; so he again carried himself most affable and distributed his favours in most plenteous manner: in some places discharging all prisoners, but such as lay for Treason or murder: but especially in conferring the order of Knighthood, of which sort the first he made, was Mr *John Peyton*, son to *Sr John Peyton*, Lieutenant of the Tower. After him divers Scots in sundry places; at *Theobalds*, eight and twenty; (of which number the compiler of this work, though the unworthiest, was one;) at *Charter-house* above fourscore: and not many days after, no fewer than at least a hundred; and before the year went about, God knows how many hundreds, that one would wonder what the King would do with so many *Millins*, having now war toward: But it was indeed fit to give a vent to the passage of Honour, which during *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign had been so stopped, that scarce any County of England had Knights enow to make a Jury.

Before we go further, it will not be amiss, to shew what great men attended King *James* out of Scotland; as namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume* and many other great Lords; and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his special favour, first *Sr George Hume*, made afterward Earl of *Dunbarre*; then *Sr Thomas Erskin*, made Earl of *Kelly*; then *Sr John Ramsey* made Earl of *Holderness*; (which two last had the fortune

The King then  
forward into  
England.

To whom it  
belonged to  
bear the sword  
before the  
King at *Tork*.

At *Godmanchester*,  
for the King  
is provided  
with 70 Teem  
of horses, and  
why.

Divers Noblemen  
of Scotland  
made of  
his privy  
Council.

What number  
of Knights the  
King made.

With what  
great Lords  
the King came  
attend out of  
Scotland.

S<sup>r</sup> Richard Preston Earl of Kildare unfortunately drowned.

What Lords and Ladies were lent to attend the Queen at her coming.

Lords made by the King.

Embassadors from all Princes of Christendom come to congratulate the Kings happy coming to the Crown. The office of Master of the Ceremonies erected.

Fourteen Serjeants of Law made.

Valentine Thomas for offences against Queen Elizabeth is hanged and quartered

The Lord Montjoy brings Tir-Oen into England, who is fully pardoned. The Earl of Rutland sent with the Garter to the King of Denmark.

The Lord Spencer to the Duke of Wintenberg. A Treason of a strange composition.

fortune to come first in to his rescue against the Gowries ) then S<sup>r</sup> James Hay, made afterward Earl of Carlisle, and then S<sup>r</sup> Richard Preston made Earl of Kildare in Ireland; but whose great fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom, was afterward the occasion of his great misfortune; for coming out of Ireland, he was unfortunately cast away and drowned.

But though King James was now safely come himself to London; yet he accounted himself but half come, until his Queen and children were come to him; and therefore there are now appointed to go to conduct them, of Lords, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, and S<sup>r</sup> George Carew Knight, Lord President of Munster: of Ladies, the Countesse of Worcester, the Countesse of Kildare, the Lady Anne Herbert Daughter to Henry Earl of Pembroke; the Lord Scroopes Lady, the Lady Rich wife to the Lord Rich, and the Lady Walsingham, one of the late Queens Bedchamber: But although these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend her Majesty, as the Countesse of Bedford, the Lady Hastings, the Lady Cecil, the Lady Hatton, the Lady Harrington, and divers others; and with this Princely attendance, the Queen with two of her children, namely Prince Henry of the age of nine years, and the Lady Elizabeth on the eleventh of June came to York: where telling themselves some few days, on the seven and twentieth of June they came to Euston in Northamptonshire, a house of S<sup>r</sup> George Fermors, where the King met them at dinner: and afterward they rode together to a house of S<sup>r</sup> John Fortescue, and so to London. The Kings younger son, Charles Duke of Albany, came not at this time, as being not three years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a journey, but the year following falling sick of a Fever, Doctor Atkins one of the Kings Physicians was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his fever; and the first week of October brought him safe to Windsor, where the King then lay; for which service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gains of his usual practise, he grew to a greater wealth than was usual for Physicians.

King James had distributed the meaner Order of Knighthood, very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his distributions to a higher degree, and thereupon the twentieth of May, he made S<sup>r</sup> Robert Cecil Baron of Eslington, S<sup>r</sup> Robert Sidney Baron of Penhurst, S<sup>r</sup> William Knowles Baron of Gryes; and S<sup>r</sup> Edward Wootton Baron of Morley; and not long after he made the Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton; and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, he made Earl of Dorset.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspense, when now to take away that doubt came first in the beginning of June, an Embassador from the Palgrave of Rhine, presently after another from the States of Holland and Zealand; another from the Archduke of Austria; another from the King of Spain; from the Seignior of Venice another; another from the Duke of Florence; and lastly on the eighth of June Monsieur de Rosny from the King of France: all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of England; for entertainment of which Embassadors, and all other that should come after; the King had erected an Office by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fee, and the first that had the place was S<sup>r</sup> Lewis Lenkenor: a Gentleman, who besides other good parts, was very skillfull in the neighbouring languages.

Upon the seventeenth of May this year, were made fourteen Serjeants at Law: whereof eleven had received Writs the last year of Queen Elizabeth: namely Thomas Coventry, Robert Houghton, Lawrence Tansfield, John Crook, Thomas Foster, Edward Philips, Thomas Harris, James Altham, Henry Hubbard, Augustine Nicolls, and Robert Parker; to whom the King added three new; John Sherly, George Snygge, and Richard Hutton, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple Hall.

One would think that this time all Offences against Queen Elizabeth had been forgotten; but King James more tender of wrongs done to her than to himself, would not suffer Valentine Thomas to escape; who after he had lyen many years prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of June arraigned at the Kings Bench-Barre; and for conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the seventh of June after six a clock at night, drawn to S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Waterings, and there hanged and quartered.

About this time the Honourable Charles Lord Montjoy, returned out of Ireland; bringing along with him Hugh O Neale, Earl of Tir-Oen; at whose coming to the King, the Lord Montjoy was sworn of the Kings Privy Council; and the Earl of Tir-Oen, who had been the cause of so much English blood shed, was yet pardoned, and Proclamation made, that by all men he should be used with respect and honour.

All this while the King had moved within his own Sphear, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Employment abroad was now in June, to his brother the King of Denmark, to whom he sent in Embassy the Earl of Rutland upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named Christianus, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter; upon the like employment, soon after, he sent the Lord Spencer to Frederick Duke of Wirtenberg; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

It was now a time that every man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the happiness of a peaceable Government: when suddenly like a storm in a fair Summers day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one

Faction,

A Faction, in this, there were people of all sorts; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen; that one would think it should be a well managed Treason, and yet was the shallowest that was ever set on foot; so shallow, that it could scarce be observed, either what the Authors of it aimed, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King James at his first coming to the Crown, shewed to the Earl of Southampton, was like to breed no good blood in those that were his opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of Southampton, and appointed him to meet him upon the way: so when he heard of an intention that the Lord Cobham and S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh had to meet him; he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of discontentment, and discontentment will never want Complices; and by this means was the composition of this Treason made up, and thereupon were apprehended Henry Lord Cobham, and George Brook his brother, Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh, S<sup>r</sup> Griffith Markham, (and S<sup>r</sup> Edward Parham Knights, Bartholomew Brookesby and Anthony Copley Gentlemen, William Watson and William Clerk Priests: But though they were apprehended in July, yet they came not to their arraignment till November following; for by reason of the sickness, which was then hot in London, the Term was put off till Crispino Martini, and then to be kept at Winchester in Hampshire, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards, Liveries and the Dutchy of Lancaster were kept in the Kings Manor at Richmond in the County of Surrey; and so in the fourth of November following, all the foresaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of London and other Prisons, by strong Guards to Winchester, and there arraigned; whose Indictment was for Conspiring

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved that the Lord Grey intended to obtain the levying of two thousand men, for defence of the Low-Countries, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their chambers. For the other Points, it was proved, that the Lord Cobham and S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh, met at S<sup>r</sup> Martins in the Fields, and there consulted about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady Arbella. And particularly for the Point of subverting the State; it was proved, that Watson was designed to be Lord Chancellor, George Brook Lord Treasurer, S<sup>r</sup> Griffith Markham Secretary, and the Lord Grey to be Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of England. And for effecting of these Treasons, it was proved that Watson the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last point, it was proved, that S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh was appointed to treat with Count Aramberg for six hundred thousand Crowns, and the Lord Cobham to go to the Archduke and to the King of Spain, to persuade them to assist the Lady Arbella. These things being proved against them, on the days in which they were severally indicted, the most which was replied in mitigation of their fault, was first by Watson, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord Grey, that it was but a verbal matter and never took effect, and therefore could be no Treason: but these assertions being both refused, they were all (except S<sup>r</sup> Edward Parham, who only was acquitted) on their several days of indictment, found guilty of Treason, and had Judgement accordingly. The Priests Watson and Clerk were executed at Winchester, the nine and twentieth of November: George Brook was beheaded the fifth of December, but then the hand of Justice stayed; and this was the course which the King held in shewing mercy. After the death of the three before named he signed three other Warrants for the execution of the late Lord Cobham, the Lord Grey, and S<sup>r</sup> Griffith Markham, on a certain day then following; but before that day came he privately framed another Warrant written with his own hand to the Sheriffe, (who was then S<sup>r</sup> Benjamin Tirchburn) by which he countermanded the former Warrants: and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by M<sup>r</sup> John Gybbe, a Scotch man, and one utterly unknown of all the company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, till after their severall confessions, and at the very point of their Execution, which was accordingly performed: At which time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling on their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unspeakable mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the Tower, where the Lord Grey not long after dyed, and in him was extinct that Barony, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy men. S<sup>r</sup> Griffin Markham after some time was set at liberty and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in mean account. The Lord Cobham likewise was afterward discharged of imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived divers years in great penury; and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourished in great honour many Ages. S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh was kept in the Tower, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy man if he had never been released, but such is our fate that no mans fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad until it be discovered by the Event.

But in this mean time many things had passed, for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of S<sup>r</sup> George until his being at some of his own houses, held now the said Feast at Windsor, the second of July; where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of

The L. Cobham, S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh and others arraigned at Winchester and why.

And all condemned but only S<sup>r</sup> Edward Parham. Watson and Clerk executed.

George Brook beheaded. The rest spared and the course the King held in it.

The Lord Grey dies in the Tower, in whom that Barony was extinct.

The Lord Cobham discharged of imprisonment, but lived in great penury, and in him that Barony also was extinct.

S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawleigh is kept in the Tower: where, how he spent his time.

The Prince and others made Knights of the Garter.

Southampton,

Southampton, the Earl of Marre, and the Earl of Pembroke; and at the same time were elected the King of Denmark, and the Duke of Wirtemberg: though their inyelling have been spoken of before.

Divers Lords made. And now was preparation made for the Kings Coronation, and for a preparative unto it, he first reitord the Earl of Southampton, and then raised in honour these following: *S<sup>t</sup> Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of *Elsemere*; *S<sup>t</sup> William Russell*, Baron of *Thornough*; *S<sup>t</sup> Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; *S<sup>t</sup> John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; *S<sup>t</sup> John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; *S<sup>t</sup> Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; *S<sup>t</sup> Thomas Gerard*, Baron of *Gerards Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*; and *S<sup>t</sup> Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormelcyton*. After this he conferred inferior Orders; and made Knights, all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other: and lastly made Knights of the *Bath* three score and two, most of them Noblemens sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special worth. These things done, on the five and twentieth of *July*, being *S<sup>t</sup> James* day, the King and Queen were together crowned, and anointed at *Westminster*, by the hands of *John Whitegift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and other, namely *S<sup>t</sup> Robert Lee* Lord Mayor of *London*, in a Gown of Crimion Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 principal Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither either by water or by land, by reason of the sicknesse; and the first of *August* following, all suiters were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following.

The fifth of August kept holy day, for the Kings deliverance from the Gowries. At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had, which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the Gowries on the fifth day of *August* three years before; and thereupon Friday being the fifth of *August* was by commandment appointed to be holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons, and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonfires at night; which was then, and after during his life solemnly observed.

King James had in him as it were two persons; one as he was the King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spain*, another as he was King of *England*, and in this he had some difference with *Spain*; but he, as *Rex pacificus*, took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch, and thereupon when at his coming into *England*, he found letters of Marc granted against *Spaniards*, he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconciliation: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18<sup>th</sup> of *August*, 1604, the Commissioners for the King of *England* were *Tho. Earl of Dorset*, *Charles Earl of Nottingham*, *Charles Earl of Devonshire*, *Henry Earl of Northampton*, and *Robert Viscount Cranburn*: For the King of *Spain*, *John de Velasco* Countable of *Castile*, *John de Tassis* Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidino* Professor of the Law in the College of *Millain*: For the Archdukes, *Charles Count of Aramberg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Council, and *Lodowick Verrikin* principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and contained in many Articles; the Summer following, the King of *Spain* sent Don *John de Velasco* Countable of *Castile* and Duke of *Fryas*, also *Pedrade de Sierra*, his great Chamberlain accompanied with divers Marquesses, Earls and Barons, who coming into *England*, were by the Earl of *Devonshire* on the nineteenth of *August* brought to the Court, where the King in his Chappel in the presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, (the Duke of *Fryas* holding the Kings hands between his) took his Oath upon the holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon; and in *March* following, being now the third year of King James, *Charles Earl of Nottingham*, Lord high Admiral of *England* was sent into *Spain* to take in like manner the King of *Spain's* Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen and other, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of *April* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valledolid*, three hundred miles off, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, entertained in 'all' places as he passed, at the King of *Spain's* charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladnesse, that it plainly shewed the *Spaniards* were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Embassadour being come to the Court, he caused *Thomas Knoll* Esquire, to deliver the presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with saddles and saddle clothes very richly embroidered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen: two Crosse-bows with sheafs of arrows: four fowling pieces inlaid with plates of gold: and a couple of *Lyme-hounds* of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kinde manner accepted; and then on the thirteenth of *May*, the Lord Embassadour being feasted, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix: the Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof, the Lord Embassadour held the Kings hands between his, and the King kneeling down, laid his hands upon the Book, and after his Oath, subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilst the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus employed in *Spain*, the right honourable *Edward Earl of Hartford*, was likewise sent Embassadour to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Bruxels* the first of *May* with great state and solemnity: After which, as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes servants, to the full sum of three thousand pounds; So the Archduke at his departy, bestowed upon the Earl, a Jewel worth nine hundred pounds, and a suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King James truly *Rex pacificus*, in peace and amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

▲ little

A little before this, in the Moneth of *August*, in the year 1604, the strong Town of *Offend in Flanders*, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of above a hundred and twenty thousand men of both sides, and in defence whereof, *S<sup>t</sup> Francis Vere* General, and his brother *S<sup>t</sup> Horatio Vere* had shewed great Valour, was by the Marquess *Spinola* taken; for which service, the King of *Spain* made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the *Low-Countries*.

It was now the third year of King James his Reign, when he kept *Saint Georges* Feast at *Greenwich*, and there made two new Knights of the Garter; namely the High and Mighty Prince Duke *Ulrich*, heir of *Norway*, and brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*; and the right Noble Lord *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Northampton*. And upon the Saturday following, in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being richly hangd with Arras, he created three Earls; one Viscount and four Barons: namely *S<sup>t</sup> Robert Cecil* Viscount *Cranburn*, he created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burley* his eldest brother, he created Earl of *Exeter*, and *S<sup>t</sup> Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, he created Earl of *Montgomery*: then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount *Lisle*: *S<sup>t</sup> John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord *Stanhope* of *Harington*: *S<sup>t</sup> George Carew* Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*: *M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, he made Lord *Arundell* of *Wardez*; and *M<sup>r</sup> William Cavendish*, he made Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*.

About this time a strange fancy possessed the brains of a professed Physician, one *Richard Haddock* of new College in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his sleep, in such sort, that though he were called aloud or stirred and pull'd by the hands or feet, yet would make no shew of either hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable persons, that came to hear him, so as within a short time, his fame was spread through the land, by the name of the sleeping Preacher. At length the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majesty late up the most part of a night to attend the event: when at last *Haddock* making a shew to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division; applying it to his purpose, for in his Preaching his use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the Crosse in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of *England*; and having ended his Sermon seemed to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage, after a few days, called the said *Haddock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable facility in discovering of Fictions) made him confesse, that all he did was but imposture; and thereupon to fall upon his knees, and ask forgiveness: which the King granted, upon condition, that in all places he should openly acknowledge his offence; because many were brought into belief, that his nightly preaching was either by inspiration or by vision.

We may not here think it unworthy, the relating, seeing King James thought it not unworthy the seeing, thereby to observe the nature of the *Lyon*, and make a solemn matter of it; for on Monday the 3<sup>d</sup> of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lenox*, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the *Lyons* Tower, and caused two *Lyons*, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live Cock to be beat before them; which they (as being their natural enemy) presently killed and sucked his blood. Then a live Lamb to be put down to them, which the generous *Lyons* (as having respect to its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them. Then the King caused those *Lyons* to be taken away and another *Lyon* to be put forth, and two Mastiffs to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the *Lyon* and turned him upon his back, and though the *Lyon* were superior to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so much superior as they were the first assailants, with whom otherwise, perhaps the *Lyon* would not have offered to meddle.

On Fryday the 4<sup>th</sup> of *January* in the Kings second year, *Charles Duke of Albany* the Kings second Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of *York*; which because it was done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it, here related. First were appointed Knights of the Bath, the Duke of *Albany* himself, then the Lord *Willowby*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *William Cecil*, son and heir to the Viscount *Cranburn*, *Alan Percy*, brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerset*, second son to the Earl of *Worcester*, *Francis Manners* brother to the Earl of *Rutland*; *Thomas Howard* second son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and *John Harrington* son and heir to the Lord *Harrington*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* were Equires to the Duke of *Albany*; all the Knights took their lodging that night in the first Gate-house going to *Kings* street; where they supped, and had Bathes provided for them. The next morning being Saturday, they went out into the Park in their Hermits weeds, the Minstrels playing and the Heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chappel, where every Knight with his Equires went to the Altar, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chappel, in a rich Cope, holding the Bafon.) After this they went up into their lodgings, and there new attired themselves in robes of Crimion Taffaty, with hats and white feathers, and so went back to the great Chamber: where by the King they were girded with the sword, and had guilt spurs put upon them. This done, they were solemnly served at dinner, and after went again to the Chappel, and there offered their swords. The next day being Sunday and *Twelfth* day, in robes of purple Satin, with Doctors hoods on their shoulders, and hats with white feathers, they issued out of the Reveltry with the Duke of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King fate under the cloth of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the Bath followed, and then the Earl of *Suffolk* Lord Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Charles Blunt* Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*, after whom *Wriothesley*

P p

Often taken by the Marquess Spinola.

An. Reg. 3.  
1605

Earls and Barons created.

Richard Haddock his pretending to preach in his sleep.

Discovered by the King.

The King tries the nature of the *Lyon*, with a Cock and a Lamb.

Charles the Kings younger son is created Duke of *York*, and the solemn manner of it.

Earl of Southampton carried the Coronet, George Clifford Earl of Cumberland, the Golden Rod, the Earl of Worcester the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of Northampton bore the Duke of Albany in his Arms, supported by the Earls of Dorset and Northumberland, who all coming in this order before the King, the Duke of Albany was after the Patent read created Duke of York with the Robes and Coronet put on him; and the Golden Rod delivered into his hand: all which performed, they went to dinner, and the solemnity ended.

Thomas Douglas a Scotch-man hanged in Smithfield, and why.

About this time on the fifteenth of June, Thomas Douglas a Scotch-man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent thither, but three days before from the Count Palatine of Rhine. His offence was, that he had counterfeited the Kings Privy Seal to divers Princes of Germany; One to the Archbishop of Cullen, another to the Archbishop of Trer, another to the Duke of Cleve, another to the Archbishop of Mogunna, and a fifth to the Count Palatine of the Rhine; whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on an hurdle into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at Westminster, on the nineteenth of March following, when four days before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen and Prince rode solemnly in great state through the City of London, where in divers places were erected Pageants, Presents given, Orations made, and all demonstrations of love and observance; and then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving speech to the House, wherein he signified the causes of his calling it; but in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot of Treason (so damnable and foul, that posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear it) the Plot was to blow up with Gun-powder, both Houses of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the lower.

The Gun-powder Treason. By whom first plotted.

And with what Assistants.

The principal contriver of this Plot was Robert Catesbie, a Gentleman of great account in Northamptonshire, defended from that Catesbie who had been a special Counsellor of King Richard the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous period. This Catesbie not able to perform the work himself alone, draws in many to assist him, as namely, Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John Wright, Francis Tresham, Guido Fawkes, and at last Sir Everard Digby, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret; For effecting of this plot, they hired a house close adjoining to the Upper House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About Candlemasse they had wrought the Wall half through: when suddenly they heard a noise in the next room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending Guy Fawkes (who went now under the name of John Johnson, as Master Percies man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coles had been laid, and were now a selling and the room offered to be let for a yearly rent. This room therefore as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament House, Master Percy presently went and hired, laying into it twenty barrels of powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the plot was put in good readiness. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of York and the Lady Elizabeth should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the Duke of York, Percy undertook, and for surprizing the Lady Elizabeth, they agreed upon a match of hunting near to Dunchurch, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord Harringtons house in Warwickshire, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done, as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody Plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody; but now a tenderness of heart took some of them, lest their friends should perish together with the rest, and this tenderness overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to Lord Montague, son and heir to the Lord Morley, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown man in the Street: The Letter was this: *My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: And think not slightly of this Advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter, and I hope you will make good use of it.*

By what means first discovered.

My Lord having read the Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at White-hall, (the King being then a hunting at Royston) and delivered it to the Earl of Salisbury, principall Secretary of State, and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Worcester and Northampton, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it: the Earl of Salisbury telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a fool, or by a mad man, because of those words, *(For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter)* for if the danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with powder, and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament House, and

A and all other rooms and lodgings near adjoining: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Montague, who entering the Cellar under the upper Houle, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr Percies own provision: but then (it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr Percie, who used to make but little stay in Town) and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of powder; and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other instruments fit for their purpose, and then spying the said Fawkes to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a piece of Touch-wood, a Tynder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr Percie had bought the day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of powder. The plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at Dunchurch, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State: signifying withall, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick cause; hoping thereby to have drawn many to joyn with them in their Rebellion: but this availed them nothing: for first Sir Richard Verney high Sheriffe of Warwickshire chased them from thence; and then Sir Richard Welb, Sheriff of Worcestershire, knowing them to be entered into Master Littletons house at Wallbach, betel them round, where Catesbie and Percie issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the Wrights, John and Christopher, were likewise slain outright; Thomas Winter was taken alive: all which time, Francis Tresham remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few days after dyed of the Strangurie. On the seven and twentieth of January following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest of the Confederates: namely, of Thomas Winter, Guido Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Winter, late of Hoodington in Warwickshire Esquire, John Graunt, late of Northbrook, in the County of Warwick Esquire, Ambrose Rookwood, late of Stanningfield in Suffolk Esquire, Sir Everard Digby, late of Gotherst in Buckinghamshire, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgement to dye, and on the Thursday following Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant and Bates, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered at the West end of Pauls Church in London, and on the Friday, the other four; namely, Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes were executed in the Parliament yard at Westminster. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir Everard Digby, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly personage, and of excellent parts, and had it seems been cunningly drawn in, and bound to secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason. The seventh of November the Earl of Northumberland, upon suspicion of being acquainted with the plots, was first commanded to his house, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great plot discovered, and the plotters punished: to the great rejoicing of all people: inasmuch, that even the King of Spains and Arch-dukes Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw money among the people in token of joy. And at this time, on the fourth of January, the Spanish Embassadour delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master: namely six Jennets of Andalusia, with saddles very richly embroydered, and fiddle-clothes of cloth of Tissue: One of which Jennets was snow white, and had a main which reached to the ground. But this was a present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder Treason: but as soon as that was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England, of purpose to congratulate the Kings happy deliverance from the intended Powder Treason; and the Present was brought by Don John de Mendoza, which was a Rob of Murrie Sarrain, embroydered all over with Amber leather; and upon the leather, in every seam and skirt twice embroydered about with gold; the fore-part whereof were set with eight and forty tagges three inches long of beaten gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-greece, also two large Chains of Amber-greece; Two Carkanets of Amber-greece, a Velvet Cap with gold Buttons, curiously enameled, and a girdle futable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a large vessel of gold, in form of a Basin; so as it seems there was none rejoiced more for the overthrow of this plot for the Catholick cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King James, not to be unmindefull to the Lord Montague, for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee Farm of Crown land 200 l. to him and his heirs, and 500 l. a year besides, during his life: and not to be unthankfull to God for the deliverance, he caused the fifth of November, being the day of the discovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, which was then solemnly performed, and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

Fawkes first apprehended.

Catesbie and Percie slain.

The rest of the Confederates arraigned, condemned and executed.

The Earl of Northumberland committed to the Tower, and why.

A Present from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England.

Another from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England.

The Lord Montague rewarded for being a means of discovering the Treason.

The fifth of November kept holy in thankfulness for this deliverance.

A rumour spread that the King was slain at Oking, but false: and the joy upon hearing the truth.

But in the midst of this great joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of greater sorrow, for on Saturday the two and twentieth of March, news was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was slain at Oking, twenty miles from London, stabbed with an invenomed knife; whereupon the Court gates were presently shut, and double guard set in all places about London, and all mens mindes were infinitely distracted; but within two houres all these clouds were slain and dispersed, and the Sun began to shine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signifie it to the people; and that afternoon the King came himself to White-hall, where thousands of people, ravished with joy, came flocking to see him; and so generally was the rejoicing, that the Spanish Embassadour gave Sir Lewis Lewknor, Master of the Ceremonies, a chain of gold of good value for bringing him the news: Though afterward it was thought by some, that this rumour was

but politickly devised to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings safety, and by A making them more sensible what a treasure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treasure for his living, asindeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies than are usual.

Henry Garnet  
a Jesuite exe-  
cuted, and  
why.

The eight and twentieth of March following, Henry Garnet Provincial of the English Jesuites, was arraigned in Guild hall, for concealing the forelaide treason, where he had Judgement to be hang'd, drawn, and quartered, and accordingly on the third of May, was drawn from the Tower to the West end of Pauls Church, and there executed. At his death, he confessed his fault, asked forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any treason against the King or State, as a course which God would never prosper.

On Tuesday the twentieth of May were enstalled at Windsor Knights of the Garter, Robert Cecil, B Earl of Salisbury, and Thomas Howard Viscount Byndon; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of Salisbury beyond ordinary proportion.

Henry L. Mor-  
dant, and Edw.  
Lord Sturton  
fined, and why

There was yet a Flag end of the late Powder treason behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realm, namely, Henry Lord Mor-dant, and Edward Lord Sturton, were brought from the Tower, to the Star-chamber: and there, not charged indeed with any point of the treason, but only reflectingly, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to their summons, for which neglect only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King, the Lord Mor-dant ten thousand Marks, and the Lord Sturton six thousand, and to be prisoners during the Kings pleasure. But on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, Henry Earl of Northumberland was likewise brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber, and more directly charged with circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of Thomas Percy, whom he had admitted to be one of the Kings Gentleman Pensioners, without ministring unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept prisoner during the Kings pleasure, as indee he continued many years, and at last released, was yet confined.

I 6 0 6.

Christianus  
K. of Denmark  
the Queens  
Brother comes  
into England,  
and of his en-  
tertainment.

It was now the fourth year of King James his Reign, and was a time of Princely visitation; for this Summer, the 17<sup>th</sup> of July, Christianus King of Denmark, brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight ships came into the River of Thames, and anchored before Graves-end; to whom the next day, King James, with Prince Henry, and divers of his Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to London, where he stayed till the twelfth of August following: in D which time, he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great state through the City; where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had been shewed the chief places about London: as namely the old Exchange, the Tower, the Mo-numents at Westminster, and had gone up to the top of Pauls, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of Salisbury four days together at Theobalds, had seen Tiltiing, Fencing, Wrestling, and many other pastimes, on the twelfth of August, conducted by the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his ships, and in eight days arrived at home: A happy thing when Princes can converse together like private persons, and are not kept asunder with jealously of State.

Francis Prince  
of Vandemount  
comes into  
England, with  
what great  
train, and of  
his entertain-  
ment.

After the King of Denmark's departure, on the 23<sup>d</sup> of September, arrived at London Francis Prince of Vandemount, third Son to the Duke of Lorraine, accompanied with seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of quality, and sixscore common persons; who all the five and twentieth of September went by Coach to the King at Hampton Court, where fourteen days together they were feasted and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Insurrec-  
tion in North-  
amptonshire  
and Warwick-  
shire about In-  
closures by Cap-  
tain Pouch, and  
how suppress-  
ed.

But these Festivals were followed with a little disturbance; for in May, the year after, great Assemblies were gathered together in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire, throwing down Inclosures, at first, without any particular head: but at last rose up a base fellow, called John Reynolds, whom they named Captain Pouch, because he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his side, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all comers: but when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their disorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the King sent Henry Earl of Huntingdon, Thomas Earl of Essex, Edward Lord Zouch, and Sir Edw. Cook Lord Chief Justice of England, to suppress them by force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their offences; some by death, as for Treason, some by Fines, as for Routs: but Captain Pouch was made exemplar.

The King is  
made free of  
the Cloth-  
workers.

On Fryday the twelfth of June, his Majesty attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord Maior, Sir John Watts, who after dinner presented him with a purse full of Gold, and humbly be-sought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to be free of his Company the Cloth-workers: To which, the King graciously condescended; and thereupon called to Sir William Stone, Master of the Company, and said, Stone give me thy hand; and now I am a Cloth-worker: And in token of my special favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearly for ever, against the time of the Election of the Master and Wardens: at which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the Cloth-workers.

The Prince is  
made Free of  
the Merchant-  
Tailors, and a  
list of great  
personages  
that had been  
of that Com-  
pany.

On Thursday the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, the King and Prince with many Lords, dined at Merchant-Tailors Hall, where the Master and Warden of that Society, presented the King with a purse of gold, giving him humble thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Presence, and therewithall shewed him a Roll, wherein were registred the names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dukes

chess,

A chesney, one Archbishop, one and thirty Earls, threecore and six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Priors, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which His Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himself was already Free of another Company: but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only himself would be free of the Merchant-Tailors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like, all which was performed with great solemnity.

The fourth of July this year, Sir Thomas Knevet was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of Efrick, the next day Sir Julius Caesar, Chancellor of the Exchequer was sworn a Privy Counsellor; and the sixteenth of November following Sir Jervis Clifton Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name and title of Baron of Layton Bramcwell, whose only Daughter and Heir, was soon after married to Eysme Steward, Baron of Aubigny in France, sole Brother of the Duke of Lenox; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

About this time, Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen, most ungrateful and utterly forgetfull of the Kings great clemency to him, together with Terconell, Hugh Baron of Dungannon, and divers other Irish Lords, fled into the parts beyond Sea, with a purpose to solicit forain Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of Ireland to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

On the eleventh of April this year, George Jervis, a Seminary Priest, and the three and twentieth of June following, Thomas Garnet a Jesuit, were both executed at Tyburn; Thomas Garnet having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

The nineteenth of April at Whitehall, dyed Thomas Earl of Dorset Lord Treasurer, (whose death because he dyed suddenly as he sat at the Councel Table) was by some untowardly interpreted; but being dead, and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which whether by the straining of his study the night before, in which he sat up till eleven a clock, or otherwise by their own maturity, suddenly breaking and falling upon his brain, caused his sudden death. So certain it is that death comes not always by determinate steps, but sometimes per saltum, and we all carry about us the causes of sudden death, though unlesensible of them till we be unlesensible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding industrious, and I have heard many Checker men say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the Kings profit and the good of the subject.

The twentieth of May at Windsor, were made two Knights of the Garter, George Earl of Dunbar, and Philip Earl of Montgomery; but the Earl of Dunbar, within a year or two after left both his honour and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithfull servant, and a wife Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interred in the Church at Westminster.

About this time were many famous English Pirates that stuck not some of them to turn Turks, and lived in great state at Tunis, of whom the chief were Ward, Bishop, Sir Francis Verney, and Glanville, whom after many depredations and outrageous acts at Sea, partly the King of Spain suppressed, and partly the K. of England, and 19 of their associates being taken, were hanged at Wapping.

Also at this time, in the Strand on the North side of Durham house, where stood an old long flachle: Robert Earl of Salisbury now Lord Treasurer of England, caused to be erected a stately building, which upon Tuesday the tenth of April, in the year 1609, was begun to be richly furnished with wares; and the next day after, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to see it: and then the King gave it the name of Britains Bursse.

On the eighth of May this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all forein Nations, that after August they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland, nor the Isles adjacent, without the special licence from the Commissioners in that behalf ordained.

At this time the making of Allum, which heretofore with great charges had been fetched from forein parts, was by divers that laboured in it, and now lastly by Sir John Bourchier, brought to perfection in England, and thereupon the King prohibited upon pain of confiscation, any Allum to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffique thereof to himself.

And now the King according to an ancient custom, had aid of his Subjects through England, for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight, which yet was levied with great moderation, and the Prince to shew himself worthy of it, performed his first Feats of Arms at Barriers, with wonderful skill and courage: being not yett full sixteen years of age.

It was now the eighth year of King James his Reign, being the year 1610, when Prince Henry being come to the age of seventeen years, it was thought fit he should be Initiated into Royalty: and thereupon the thirtieth of May this year, he was Created Prince of Wales in most solemn manner; which was thus, Garret King at Arms, bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of Suffex the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of Huntingdon the Train, the Earl of Cumberland the Sword, the Earl of Rutland the Ring, the Earl of Darby the Rod, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Cape and Coroner, the Earl of Nottingham and Northampton supported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only and bare-headed and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the Bath, five and twenty in number, all great men, and great mens sons, the Earl of Salisbury principall Secretary, read the Letters Patents: the Prince kneeling all the while before the King, and at the words accustomed, the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cape and the Coroner, the Rod and the Ring, and then kissed him on the cheek, and so the solemnity ended.

Sr Tho. Knevet  
and Sr Jervis  
Clifton made  
Barons by cal-  
ling them to the  
Parlia-  
ment.

The Earl of  
Tir-Oen flies  
beyond Sea, to  
solicit Princes  
against the  
King.

George Jervis a  
Seminary  
Priest, and Tho.  
Garnet a Jesuit  
executed, and  
why.

The Earl of  
Dorset Lord  
Treasurer of  
England dies  
suddenly.

Divers English  
Pirates turn  
Turkes.

The new Ex-  
change in the  
Strand builded

Fishing upon  
the English  
Coast for-  
bidden to  
strangers.

Allum first  
made in Eng-  
land, and by  
whom.

The King hath  
aid of his  
Subjects for  
making Prince  
Henry Knight.

I 6 1 0.

An. Reg. 8.  
The Prince is  
created Prince  
of Wales, and  
the solemn  
manner of his  
creating.

He keeps Court by himself and who were his great Officers.

After this, it was thought fit, he should keep his Court by himself: and thereupon *St Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord Chamberlain, *St Edward Philips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers assigned him, belonging to a Princes Court: wherein he shewed himself so early ripe for Majesty that he seemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: and all mens eyes began to fix upon him.

Seminaries and Jesuits commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

King James had long since shut up the Gates of *Jamaica*, and was in Peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was how to keep Peace at home; and to this end, the three first days of *June*, in his own Person he heard the differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges, argued, touching Profections out of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas; to this end, the eighth, ninth, and tenth of *June*, he heard the manifold complaints of the abuses of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy Royal; to this end, the fourth of *June*, 1610, he once again by Proclamation, commanded all *Roman Priests*, Seminaries and Jesuits, as being the chief incendiaries of troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the fifth of *July* next, and not to return upon pain of severity of the Law: also all Recusants, to return home to their dwellings, and not to remain in *London*, nor to come within ten miles of the Court, without special License. After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegiance was presently minitred to all sorts of people, and their names certified to the Lords of the Council, that refused to take it; and this he the rather did out of consideration of the bloody fact, committed lately by one *Ravillack*, upon the person of the renowned King of *France*, *Henry* the fourth: and whereas *Queen Elizabeth* in her 43 years, had granted her Letters Patents to continue for 15 years to the *East-India Merchants*, now upon their humble Petition, the King was pleased to enlarge their Patents, giving them a charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a body Corporate and Politick, which so encouraged the Merchants, that they built a ship of twelve hundred tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honoured with going to *Debsford* to see it; and then named it, *The Trades increase*: and at this time gave to *St Thomas Smith*, (Governor of that Company) a fair chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the Red Sea, and returning to *Banham*, was there lost and most of her men cast away. But then the King himself builded the goodliest ship of War, that was ever built in *England*, being of the burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying three score and four pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, who named it after his own dignity, *The Prince*.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this year, and was prorogued to a certain day, the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his designs, or for some other cause known to himself on the last day of *December*, under the great Seal of *England* dissolved it.

Before this time one *St Robert Carre*, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, or of the Borders, at a time of Tilting before the King, chanced with a fall off his Horse to break his leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some days to keep his bed, in which time the King was sometime pleased to come and visit him: and then it was first perceived that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman and very wife) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on *Easter Munday*, in the year 1611, he was Created Viscount *Rochester*. On the two and twentieth of *April*, 1612, was sworn a privy Counsellor. On the fourth of *November* 1613, was created Earl of *Somerset*, and the tenth of *July* following, made Lord Chamberlain.

But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earls own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable *Robert Earl of Essex*, had before this time married the beautiful Lady *Francis Howard*, Daughter of *Thomas Earl of Suffolk*, who upon causes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great favourite (the Earl of *Somerset*) takes her for wife; the King gracing their marriage with all demonstrations of love and favour; and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that night, and a few days after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Feasted at Merchant-Taylors Hall, by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. But see how soon this fair weather was overcast: For it happened, that one *St Thomas Overbery*, a very ingenious Gentleman, and the Earls special friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a Wife: and it seems not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest dissuader of the Match, and to strengthen his dissuasion, laid perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladies fame, which so incensed them both against him, that a little revenge could not give them satisfaction, than to take away his life: So true is that saying:

*Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?*

Upon this, they finde pretences to have the said *St Thomas* committed to the Tower, and there by their Instruments effect their revenge: some say by a poisoned Tansey sent him to eat, some by a poisoned Glyster ministred unto him, but howsoever effected it was, for which fact *St Jervis Yelvis* then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferior condition were put to death, the Lady and Earl themselves were arraigned and condemned: but through the Kings great clemency had their lives spared, but in such a sort spared, as was to them no less grievous than death, in self, being never after suffered to see the Kings face, nor to come near his Court.

*St Thomas Overbery* Poysoned.

*St Jervis Yelvis* Lieutenant of the Tower executed.

The Earl of *Somerset* and his Lady condemned, but their lives spared.

This Favourite being thus out of favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King James was of so sociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *Alter idem*; a bolome friend with whom to communicate his *Internos sensus*, and upon whose shoulders he might sometimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself; and this new friend was *Mr George Villers*, a Gentleman of a good House, but younger brother, but of so delicate a composure of body, and withall of so excellent parts of minde, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a Kings Favourite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royal influence like to him, made first a Knight and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horse; while after created Earl of *Buckingham*, then Marquess of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral: Lastly, made Duke of *Buckingham*, the greatest Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater than his Power: for all matters of Grace passed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death, had married a younger Son of the Lord *Comptons*) was created Countesse of *Buckingham*, his Sister who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her husband made Earl of *Denbigh*, his two Brothers were made, one of them Viscount *Purbach*, the other Earl of *Anglesey*; besides many other of his friends and kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that should be only personal, but rather be in common to all his Family, and was not of the disposition of some, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them underwood; though it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they would be lesse subject to the violence of winds, if more flood together. And though never any man had juster cause to be envied than he, yet never any man was lesse envied; because though his honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before.

But before all these favours were heaped upon him, many other great passages had intervened; for first, after the death of *Thomas Earl of Dorset*, *Robert Earl of Salisbury* had been Lord Treasurer, and after him *Thomas Earl of Suffolk*. But this Lord, though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up another way, seemed lesse ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence, the staffe was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in, such a sequence of Treasurers as no Age before had ever seen; all wise and able men indeed; but yet in whom the Office seemed an imployment, rather to ennoble the Officer than to enrich the King. For first *St Henry Montague* was taken from the Kings Bench: and on the fourth of *December*, 1620, made Lord Treasurer, and presently upon it Earl of *Manchester*, and before the year went about put off. After whom *St Lionel Cranfield*, from Master of the Wards was made Lord Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of *Middlesex*: and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thousand pounds: After him, *St James Lee* from chief Justice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of *Marlborough*; and then having made a good return of his Place, put it off himself. After him *St Richard Weston*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of *Portland*: so as within the compass of little more than four years, four Treasurers in a row were made four Earls; enough to make a prescription for all Treasurers hereafter, to claim a right of being made Earls, which yet I speak not as derogating from those worthy men, whose memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fataque fortunaque Virum*, so rare as that there was never any Precedent of the like.

Also the five and twentieth of *June*, 1612, the Lord *Sanguer*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private revenge suborned *Robert Carlile*, to murder *John Turner* a Master of Fence, thought by his greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villany, but according to the Law, on the nine and twentieth of *June*, the said Lord *Sanguer* having been arraigned and condemned by the name of *Robert Creighton*, Esquire; was before *Westminster Hall* gate executed, where he dyed very penitent.

About this time, the King in special favour for the present Plantation of *English Colonies* in *Virginia* granted a Lottery to be held at the West end of *Pauls*, whereof one *Thomas Sharplys* a Taylor of *London* had the chief Prize, which was four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

At this time also the Corps of *Mary late Queen of Scotland*, the Kings Mother, was translated from *Peterborough*, to *St Peters Church* in *Westminster*, and from thence was carried to the Chappel Royal there; where it was interred in a Royal Tombe, which the King had erected for her.

About this time also *St Robert Sherley*, third son of *St Thomas Sherley of Suffex Knight*, who sixteen years past had betaken himself to travell, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five years; but chiefly *Rodolphus the Roman Emperour*; who for his service, made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterward went into *Perfia*, and served the *Perfian* ten years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great account, that he gave him the Lady *Terefa* in marriage; whose sister was one of the Queens of *Perfia*, after which the *Perfian* employed him to sundry Princes of *Europe*; and sent him in special Embassage into *England* to King James, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signified the *Perfians* great love and affection to his Majesty: with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Highnesses Subjects through all the *Perfians* Dominions: After a years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a son, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and Prince *Henry God-father*; he left the child here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Perfia*.

*Mr George Villers* comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

*Thomas Earl of Suffolk*, Lord Treasurer hath the Staffe taken from him.

Four Lord Treasurers made in four years.

1612.

The Lord *Sanguer* of *Scotland* hanged, and why.

A Lottery granted for the Plantation of *Virginia*.

*St Robert Sherley* comes into *England* Ambassador from the King of *Perfia*.

As. Reg. 10.  
Frederick  
Prince Pala-  
tine of the  
Rhine comes  
into England.

Prince Henry  
falls sick and  
dies.

The Count  
Palatine is be-  
trothed to the  
Lady Eliza-  
beth.

Is married to  
her: and the  
solemnity of  
the marriage.

They take  
their leave and  
depart.

The extent  
and largeness  
of the Pal-  
grave's Country

The order of  
Baronets ere-  
cted: and why.

It was now the year 1612, and the tenth of King James his Reign, when the Illustrious Prince Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine, which whom a Treaty of marriage had been before, with the Lady Elizabeth: on the sixteenth of October arrived at Gravesend, to whom the Duke of Lenox and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to White-hall, and from thence into the great Banqueting house, where the King, the Queen, Prince Henry, and the Lady Elizabeth entertained him in all kinde manner, and after by Barge conducted him to Essex House, appointed for his lodging. It was many years since any Kings Daughter had been married in England; which now happening, and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of Triumph and rejoicing; but see the misery of Humane Affairs; joy can no sooner be setting forth, but sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now indeed it happened: for on the nine and twentieth of October, the Prince Palatine, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial manner dining at Guild hall: Prince Henry who was also invited and expected, could not come being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant Fever, which reigned that year in most parts of this Land: where of on the sixth of November, between seven and eight a Clock at night, at his Court of St James he dyed: But he being infinitely beloved of the people, and one that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caused suspicion in many mens heads, that his death was not without violence offered to Nature; some said, by bunches of Grapes given him to eat: some by Gloves of a poysoned perfume, given him for a present: but these were but idle rumours and conceits: It seems the Divine Providence had ordained it should be said of him; *Hunc tantum terris ostendunt Fata, nec ultra esse sinunt*: whose death would have given a great blow to the happineffe of this Kingdom, if there had not been another Prince left, of a mil-der Spirit perhaps, but so accomplished with all excellent endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince Henry, as long as there was left Prince Charles. The Corps of Prince Henry, who dyed at the age of eighteen years, eight months, and seventeen days, was drawn in a Chariot to the Abbey Church at Westminster, and there interred in the Chappel Royal, on the seventh of December following.

This Accident something appalled the generall joy, but yet triumphs went on. Upon Saint Thomas day, the Palgrave and Grave Maurice were Elected Knights of the Garter: and the seven and twentieth of December, the Palgrave was betrothed to the Lady Elizabeth. On Sunday, the seventh of February, the Palgrave in person was enstalled Knight of the Garter at Windsor, and at the same time was Grave Maurice enstalled by his Deputy, Count Lodowick of Nassau. On the fourteenth of February, being Shrove-Sunday, and Saint Valentines day, this happy marriage of the Palgrave with the Lady Elizabeth was solemnized in the Chappel at White-hall: The Bride was led to Church by two Batchellors, her Brother Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, Lord Privie Seal: she was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her head, her hair hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones, her Train supported by twelve young Ladies in white garments: The King gave her in marriage, the Archbishop of Canterbury married them, the Bishop of Bath and Wells preached the Bridal Sermon: which ended, the Bride was led home by two married men, the Duke of Lenox, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral. This marriage was solemnized the first night with a stately Masque of Lords and Ladies: the second night with a magnificent Masque of the Gentlemen of the Middle Temple, and Lincolns-Inne: The third night with a sumptuous Masque of the Gentlemen of the Inner-Temple, and Grays-Inne, provided indeed then, but was not performed till Saturday night following, by reason the concourse of people was so great, it would have hindered the Show. After this the Lord Maior and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valued at two thousand pounds: and now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which either love and observance could devise, or art and magnificence could perform, on the tenth of April, the Bridegroom with his Bride took leave of the King and the Queen at Rochester, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking ship on the nine and twentieth of April they arrived at Flushing; from whence the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Arundel, the Viscount Lisle, and the Lord Harrington waited upon them to their chief City of Heydelburgh, in all places as they passed, being received with all state and magnificence: but them on the fourteenth of June, the English Lords returning home, the Lord Harrington dyed by the way at Worms, whose Corps was brought over, and buried in England. And here it will not be amiss, to shew of what extent and largeness the Palgrave's Country is, because of the iniquity of some that seek to disgrace it. It is in length about two hundred English miles, taking the lower and upper Country. In the lower he hath six and twenty walled Towns, besides an infinite number of fair Villages, and two and twenty houses of residence. In the upper, not so many walled Towns, and houses, but those that are generally fairer than in the lower, especially Amberg, and New-market.

But it is now time to look home; in the year 1609, the King having care for the quietness of Ireland, had granted to the City of London the present possession and Plantation in the Province of Ulster: whereupon afterward in the year 1612, they sent thither about three hundred persons, of all sorts of handy-crafts men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of London-Derry and Coleraine: where they ordained Alderman Cockain for the first Governour. And for their advancing of this, or the like Plantation in Ireland, King James about this time began a new Order of Knights which are called Baronets, because they take place next to Barons younger sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that should be admitted.

First

A First that they should maintain the number of thirty foot Souldiers in Ireland, for three years, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole year, upon the passing of their Patent: Then that they should be Gentlemen of Bloud of three Descents; and lastly, should have land of Inheritance, in possession or immediate Reversion, to the value of a thousand pounds per annum: And to keep the Order from swarming, he stinted it within the number of only 200, and as the issue should fail the Order to cease. But he that will look, how well the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St Michael in France, into which at first, there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent persons: but afterward, all sorts of men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almost to be doubted, whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace to the persons, or the meanness of the persons disgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a kinde of nullity in the collation.

About this time, on Sunday the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, an exemplar penance was imposed upon St Peckhall Brackas Knight, which was to stand at Pauls Crosse in a white sheet, holding a stick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commissioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers women.

This year 1614 in the moneth of July, Christianus King of Denmark, (out of his love to his Sister, and King James) came the second time into England; but as being now secure of himself, privately, and with a small company, so as he came to the Queen at Somerset house unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his coming; but King James being then in progresse in Bedfordshire, and hearing of it, came presently back, and after he had entertained him here, with Hunting, Hawking, running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the first of August Prince Charles brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

In October this year was a call of Serjeants at Law, being 11 in number, namely, George Wilde, William Toves, Richard Bawtrie, Henry Finch, Thomas Chamberland, Francis Moore, Thomas Armin, John Moore, Francis Harvey, Charles Chibbourn, and Thomas Richardson; and in Trinity Term before there had two other been called, namely, St Randal Crew of Lincolns Inne, and St Robert Hicham of Grays Inne, Knights.

About this time an Embassador came from the young Emperor of Russia to King James, desiring his continual love and amity, and to be a means of making atonement, between him and the King of Swethland, and withall presented him with a rich present of Furs: which was no small honour to the King of great Britain to have so great a Potentate as the Emperor of Russia sollicite him to be his mediator.

Though King James out of a naturall goodness was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for war, and thereupon in the year 1610, had granted priviledges to a society called of the Military Garden; and this year 1614, caused a Muster of men to be presented before him; which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by Mr Hugh Middleton, Citizen and Goldsmith of London, and born in Denbighshire, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought water to the City of London, from the two great Springs of Chadwell and Amwell in Hartfordshire, having cut a Channel from thence to a place near Islington, whither he conveyed it, to a large Pond, and from thence in pipes of young Elms to all places of the City, for as the Poet saith:

"Aequor ubi ducor.

Nothing is so commodious for the life of man, as Water.

Another memorable act was about this time done on the North side of London, called Moorfields, which being before invironed with deep stinking ditches and noysome common shoars, was now, not only made fair and sweet, but so levelled into walks and set with trees, that it is the pleasantest place of all the City.

The next year being 1615, another memorable act, for the benefit and beauty of the City of London, was performed; for Smithfield, which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and strong rails sequestering the middle part of it, were set up, to make it a fair walking place, and fit for Market or any other use.

The Lady Arbella a near kinswoman of the Kings, had sometime before, without the Kings privacy, secretly married Master William Seymour, younger Son of the Earl of Hartford, now Earl of Hartford himself; for which they were both committed to the Tower: and now this year on the seven and twentieth day of September she ended her life there, and was buried in the Chappel Royal at Westminster.

This year also in July were enstalled Knights of the Garter, Francis Earl of Rutland, St George Killers Master of the Horse, and St Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle, and in another kinde of Honour, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Carews, and Doctor Andrews Bishop of Ely, were sworn Privy Counsellors.

St Peckhall Brackas stands in a white sheet at Pauls, and why.

Christianus King of Denmark comes the second time into England: and how entertained.

A call of Serjeants at Law.

The Military Garden first erected.

Water brought to London from Chadwell in Hartfordshire, by St Hugh Middleton.

Moore-Fields made into walks.

1615.  
Smith-field first paved all over.

The Lady Arbella secretly marries Mr William Seymour. She dyes in the Tower.

Prince Charles is created Prince of Wales.

St Edw. Coke, the L. Egerton and St Henry Yelverton, put from their places.

St John Bennet Judge of the Prerogative Court put from his place, and why.

The King makes a journey into Scotland: where he stays six months.

1617.

St Walter Rawleigh is set at liberty to fetch gold from Guyana.

He sacks and pillageth the Town of Saint Thome. This fact Gundamora aggravatech against him.

Wales by the death of Prince Henry, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to supply that place, Prince Charles is created Prince of Wales: In joy whereof, the Town of Ludlow in Shropshire, and the City of London, performed great Triumphs: and the more to honour his Creation, there were made five and twenty Knights of the Bath; all of them Lords or Barons sons: and yet more to honour it, there were forty selected Gentlemen of the *Innes of Court*, that performed solemn Jests at Banquets, with great magnificence.

This year was a Censure of divers great Delinquents, for first St Edward Coke, was upon displeasure discharged from being Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; and two days after his discharge, St Henry Montague the Kings Sergeant at Law, was placed in his room: Next to him the Lord Egerton, whether disabled by sickness or age, to exercise the place, or upon displeasure also, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to St Francis Bacon the Kings Attorney; he made first Lord Keeper, and the Lord Egerton dying soon after, Lord Chancellor. Not long after him St Henry Yelverton the Kings Attorney, for adding new privileges to the *Londoners Charter*, without the Kings pivity, was in displeasure put from his place; and in his room was placed St Thomas Coventry, the Kings Solicitor. But a while after, St Henry Yelverton, was made a puny Judge of the Common Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Censuring layed not here, for much about this time, Thomas Earl of Suffolk Lord Treasurer of England, had the Staff of his Office taken from him; which was soon after delivered to St Henry Montague Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. If St John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short three or four years, and then being charged by his own servant with bribery, he was put from his place and censured in the Star-chamber to pay twenty thousand pounds: and in his room was placed St William Byrde a man of more integrity.

Though King James upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, came to reside in England, yet he forgot not that Scotland was his native Country; and therefore after he had spent some years in England, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in March this year one thousand six hundred and sixteenth, he made a Journey into Scotland: for though he had left very able men to sit at the Helm therein in his absence, yet he knew, that as it is the Masters Eye, that makes the Horse fat: so it is the Princes presence sometimes that keeps out many distempers in a State, that would otherwise creep in; and now, when in his staying six Months there, he had seen all things well settled, both in the Ecclesiastical State and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he resided not in England out of any neglect of Scotland; but to the end, he might be in the place of most convenience to both Kingdoms: on the fifteenth of September, he returned to London, not more to the grief of the Scots to leave him, than to the joy of the English to receive him, so much was King James as a just and wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

The 15th of February 1617 in the fifteenth year of this King, Francis Ashley of the middle Temple London Esquire, where he had been Reader the year before, was by a writ called to be Sergeant at Law, *selus Serviens ad legem electus*, and the fifth of July following was Knighted, and about that time was Steward of the Marshallcy of the Kings house, and by King Charles, the fifth of May, in the first year of his Reign was by Letters Patents made one of the Kings Sergeants at Law, and so continued unto his death; which happened by the will of God the 28th of November, 1635, at Sergeants Inn in Fleetstreet: and was Recorder of Doncaster in Dorsetshire, where together with his Lady in the great Church he lies Involved: leaving Dorothy his only Daughter and heir (by the Lady Anne his wife, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of Bernard Samraves of Dorsetshire Esquire) married unto the Honourable Denzell Holles Esquire, whose only issue is Francis Holles of Wintborne St Martin in the County of Dorset Esquire.

Now comes to be related a matter of speciall observation; St Walter Rawleigh had lived a condemned man many years in the Tower, and now his Destiny brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment; for out of a longing for liberty, he propounded a project to the King, upon which (as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such colours of probability; especially guiding it over, with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in Guyana; and that without any wrong at all to the King of Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journey) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should undertake it: and thereupon with divers ships accompanied with many Knights & Gentlemen of quality, he set forward on the Voyage; but when after long search or shew of search, no such place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be found, whether it were, that he thought it a shame, to return home with doing nothing: or that his *malus Genius* thrust him upon the Design: he fell upon Saint Thome, a Town belonging to the King of Spain: sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the first part of his Tragical Voyage acted, in the death of his eldest son: the last part was acted in his own death at his return: For Gundamora the Spanish Leger, did so aggravate this fact of his to the King, against him; that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but Rawleighs head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. Rawleigh excused it, by saying that he was urged to it by the Spaniards first assaulting of him; and besides, that he could not come at the Myne, without winning this Town: but Gundamora was too strong an adversary for him; and the King preferring the publique Peace, before the life of one man, already condemned, gave way

A way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon brought to the Kings Bench Bar, he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only hath the former Sentence averred against him, and so carryed to the Gatehouse, and from thence the next morning to the Parliament Yard: a Scaffold was there erected, upon which after fourteen years reprivall, his head was cut off: at which time, such abundance of blood issued from his veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continued him many years in life, though now above threecore years old, if it had not been taken away by the hand of Violence.

And this was the end of the great St Walter Rawleigh: great sometimes in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, and next to Drake the great scourge and hate of the Spaniards, who had many things to be commended in his life; but none more, than his constancy at his death, which he took with so undaunted a resolution, that one might perceive, he had a certain expectation of a better life after it: so far he was from holding those Atheistical opinions; an aspersions whereof some traducing persons had cast upon him.

About this time King James made a progresse to the University of Cambridge, where delighted with the Disputations and other Scholastical exercises, he stayed three whole days, and could have been content to have stayed as many years: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

In the year 1619, being the seventeenth year of King James his reign, that knot of love which above twenty years had been tyed, between him and his Queen, was by death dissolved; for on Tuesday this year the second of March, Queen Anne dyed at Hampton Court, whose Corps was brought to Denmark house, and from thence conveyed to Westminster: where in the Royal Chapel with great solemnity it was interred: a Princess very memorable for her vertue, and not a little for her Fortune, who besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admired children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this knot cast the King into an extreme sickness, and after some recovery, into a Relapse: from which notwithstanding, it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great work to do.

This year on Monday the 3d of May, one Mr Williams a Barrister of the Middle Temple, was arraigned at the Kings Bench, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King: and upon Wednesday following was hanged and quartered at Charing Crosse.

But an action of another nature was performed this year, the seventeenth of July, not unworthy the relating, which was this, that one Bernard Calvert of Andover, rode from St Georges Church in Southwark to Dover, from thence passed by Barge to Calice in France, and from thence returned back to Saint Georges Church the same day, setting out about three a clock in the morning, and returned about eight a clock in the Evening, fresh and lusty.

In the year 1621, a Parliament was holden at Westminster; wherein two great examples of Justice were shewed; which for future terror are not unfit to be here related: One upon St Giles Montpeyson, a Gentleman otherwise of good parts; but for practising sundry abuses in creding and letting up new Innes and Alehouses, and exacting great sums of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpose, was sentenced to be degraded, and disabled to bear any office in the Common-wealth, though he avoided the execution by flying the land; but upon St Francis Michell, a Justice of Peace of Middlesex, and one of his chief Agents, the sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his face to the Horse-lail through the City of London. The other example was of St Francis Bacon, Viscount St Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, who for bribery was put from his place, and committed to the Tower: but after some few days enlarged: in whose place Doctor Williams Dean of Westminster was made Lord Keeper.

The Count Palatine being now strengthened with the alliance of the King of Great Britain, was thought a fit man to be King of Bohemia, and accordingly was elected, by the States of that Kingdom, but he was no sooner invested in the Crown; but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in Prague, and not only drove him with his wife and children from thence; but took from him also his own Patrimony the Palatinate: so as though now a King, he was fain to fly to the States of the Low-Countries for a place of residence. King James though he had never given his consent to the Palgrave taking upon him that Kingdom, as fore-seeing in his great judgement what the event would be: yet in this distresse, he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter, and thereupon sent St Richard Weston, the same that was after Lord Treasurer, in Embassy to the Emperor, to sollicite the restoring of the Palatinate to the Palgrave; but he returning without success, the King had then conference with Count Gundomar the King of Spains Legier in England, what course might be taken to procure the restoring it: who made him answer, there could be no better course than to make a marriage between his Son the Prince of Wales, and the Infant of Spain, which he said would easily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into Spain. King James though he considered the inveterate grudges between Spain and England, and how dangerous it might be to put the heir of the Kingdom into the Spaniards hands, yet grounding himself upon the saying, *Fidelem si putaveris, facies*: and drawn on by the insinuating speeches of Count Gundomar, not perhaps without some inclination in the Marquesse of Buckingham, was contented at last the Prince should go. And so Prince Charles sending his ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquesse of Buckingham (who in the time of his being in Spain was created Duke of Buckingham) Endymion

For which he is headed.

The King makes a progresse to Cambridge; where he stays three days.

1619.

An. Reg. 17. Queen Anne dies.

Bernard Calvert his speedy journey from Southwark to Calice and back again in one day.

St Giles Montpeyson is sentenced to be degraded, and why.

1621.

St Francis Michell is degraded, and in what manner. St Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor put from his place by bribery.

The Palgrave is chosen King of Bohemia, but is soon driven out, and his Palatinate seized on.

The King hath conference with Gundomar how the Palatinate might be restored.

Gundomar adviceth by making a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infant of Spain. Hereupon the Prince is sent into Spain, and how accompanied.

Forster,

Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington: (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of Spain) he took his journey by the way of France, went to Paris, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the sight of that Lady, that might well have stayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

Gundomar gets much money of Ladies by perfwading them of the certainty of the match.

In the mean time Gundomar a cunning man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no leffe for his own profit than his Masters Honour, as he had perfwaded the King of the facility of the Match with Spain, so he perfwaded a certainty of it, especially amongst the Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no small store of Grift to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to be made Groom of the Stool, when the Spanish Princeſſe ſhould come; of another a good round ſum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

The Princes entertainment in Spain.

But the prince being arrived in Spain, was received indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindeſſe that could be deviſed, ſo as the charge of his entertainment was ſaid to ſtand the King of Spain in nine and forty thouſand Duckats; but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much reſtrained, for in all the time of his ſtaying in Spain (which was no leſſe than eight months, being from February to October) he ſaw her but very ſeldom, and that at good diſtances, never ſpoke with her but twice, and that before company, beſides that his ſpeeches were limited, how much and what he ſhould ſay, far from any means of tying the Knot between them which was pretended. What the cauſe ſhould be was much in obſcurity; ſome thought that a difference between the Duke of Buckingham and the Count Olivares, the King of Spain's great Favorite, was a great hindrance of the proceeding, but other, and more likely, that the Spaniards indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into Spain for other ends; but what thoſe ends were, was no leſſe uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a Treaty of marriage with a Daughter of Spain, till the Daughters of France ſhould be beſet, thereby to keep him from that alliance; but others and more likely, that the King of Spain entertained this Treaty with the King of great Britain, meaning to ſpin it out till he had compaſſed ſome deſignes in the Low-Countries, and the Palatinate, at leaſt to make King James leſſe vigilant for thoſe parts.

The King ſends for the Prince to return home.

But when much time had been ſpent in protracting, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes diſpenſation, King James partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with deſuſion, ſent to the Prince, with all ſpeed to return into England; which the Prince preſently ſignified to the King of Spain, and had his leave to depart; but upon promiſe to continue the Treaty of the marriage ſtill. Though it was ſaid, the Prince was gone but a few days on his journey, when a Poſt was ſent to have ſtayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was ſo or no, it was Gods Providence that he came ſafely to his ſhips, with no leſſe gladneſſe, than the Sun after a long Eclipse; and now his ſafe returning did both juſtify King James his judgment in ſuffering him to go, and the King of Spains juſtice, in ſuffering him to come back: and was cauſe, that the people began to have a better opinion of the Spaniſh faith, than they had before. But now it preſently breaks out, that this match with Spain could never take effect: for King James having received Declarations of the Articles touching the marriage, found many very ſtrict and large for the exerciſe of the Catholick Religion: but none at all for reſtitution of the Palatinate; which made him ſo much diſcontented, that he preſently brake off all Treaty of the marriage, and ſignified as much, not only to the King of Spain, but to divers other Princes of Chriſtendom: Upon which breach two great Points were preſently had in conſultation: One for preparing Forces, for recovering the Palatinate by way of Arms, which could not be done by a way of friendſhip: and for this purpoſe, a Council of war was called, and a propoſition reſolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterpriſe: as alſo a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this work, gave himſelf fifty pounds: as many other far greater ſums, though the collection went not through the whole Land; by reaſon there was hope given of a peaceable reconciliation: ſo as many that were not over-haſty in their payments eſcaped without contributing at all. The other point was for providing a ſit Wife for the Prince, in ſome other place. It was ſaid the States of Holland offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would match with ſome Lady of that Country, but matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of France deſtined to his bed: and for this purpoſe, the Earl of Carliſle, and the Earl of Holland were ſent into France, to treat of a marriage with the younger Daughter of the great Henry the fourth, King of France deceased, and Siſter to the preſent King Lewis; which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accompliſhed in King James his dayes, who died ſoon after the agreement.

A Treaty of Marriage with a younger Daughter of the King of France which afterwards took effect.

I 623. A Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law.

It was now the year 1623, in which in Michaelmas Term, there was a Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt in the Middle Temple Hall. Two things in this Kings dayes grew to loſe their Luſtre. One the exerciſe of Tiltiſg, which in Queen Elizabeths time, was ſo much uſed, that no year paſſed without a ſpecial ſolemnity in that kinde. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners and Yeomen of the Guard: which in her time conſiſted of the choyceſt perſons both for ſtature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was ſo great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Chriſtendom could ſhew the like: but King James was ſo intentive to Realities, that he little regarded ſhews: and thereby both theſe in his time came utterly to be neglected: No ſolemnity

A ſolemnity of Arms but very rare, no regard had what perſons were admitted into the other places.

We may here obſerve, how the Surname of the Kings of England, hath at ſundry times been changed. From William the Conqueror, to King Henry the ſecond, what ſurname they had or whether they had any or no, is moſt uncertain: but then King Henry the ſecond brought in the French ſurname of Plantagenet: which continued in all the ſucceeding Kings, till King Henry the ſeventh; and he brought in the Welch ſurname of Tudor; which continued the ſurname of all the ſucceeding Princes; till King James the ſixth of Scotland: and he brought in the Scottiſh ſurname of Stewart: in which it is likely to continue, (and God grant it may do ſo) to the worlds end.

Some paſſages of ſmall moment I conſiſſe are omitted by me, in this Reign of King James; as whereof ſome I want of knowing the particulars; I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if ſome men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles ſhould not have been mingled with ſo many falſities.

### Of his Taxations.

In his ſecond year, in the month of September, he ſent Privy Seals to the wealthieſt Citizens of London, for monies to be borrowed of them; and in October following, the Cuſtoms of Merchandizes, both outward and inward, were raiſed, and then were letten out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at Weſtmiſter, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subſidies, and fix Fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subſidies. This year alſo Henry Lord Mordant, convicted in the Star-chamber, for divers miſprifions, was fined to pay ten thouſand Marks, and Edward Lord Sturton for the like offence to pay thirty thouſand Pounds, and ſome years after Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court was fined to pay twenty thouſand Pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threeſcore thouſand pounds to the Citizens of London, which the Londoners lent to Queen Elizabeth, three years before her death; an act by which he got more love, than he payed money. In his ſeventh year he had paid throughout England, for making his eldeſt Son Prince Henry Knight: which though levied with great moderation, brought him in great ſums of money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at Weſtmiſter, the Temporality gave him two Subſidies, and the Clergy three: and in another Parliament, in the year 1623, the Temporality gave him three Subſidies, and three Fifteens; the Clergy four Subſidies. Beſides theſe Subſidies he ſent abroad many Great Privy Seals, and had alſo a Benevolence throughout the Realm: not without ſome grudging, but without any juſt cauſe; for it ſhould have been remembered, that he took it not out of covetouſneſſe to gather wealth, but out of very neceſſity to ſupply plants: For by his employing many Embaſſadors in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his neceſſary bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping ſeverall Courts; none of all which he could avoid: his expences were far greater than any of his Predeceſſors had ever been.

The Cuſtoms of Merchandize raiſed.

Privy Seals ſent out, and alſo a Benevolence.

The cauſe of the Kings great expences.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from Charter houſe, at his firſt coming into England, he cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that all Monopolies and Protections ſhould ceaſe; as likewiſe all oppreſſions done by Salt-Peter men, by Purveyers, and Carters. On the 26th of May following he ſet forth a Proclamation, reſtraining all perſons under great penalties from killing of Deer, or any kind of Fowl uſed for Hawking. The ſeventh of May, Proclamation was made againſt Robberies on the borders: and on the nineteenth of May, another for uniting the people inhabiting about the borders of England and Scotland, to live in love and quietneſſe. In this firſt year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that neither Archbiſhop, nor Biſhop ſhould Alienate, Grant, or Demiſe, or in any ſort convey, no not to the King himſelf, any of the Honours, Lands, Teneſments, or Hereditaments, being parcell of the poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhop, or Biſhoprick: and if any were, it ſhould be utterly void, and of no effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then alſo cauſed himſelf by Proclamation to be enſtyled King of Great Britain, that the diſtinction of England and Scotland might be no more remembered. In his ſecond year, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of London, by the name of the Felt-makers Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Myſterie of the Felt-makers, granting them divers priviledges and liberties, for their good government of their Corporation. In November, of his ſecond year, were Proclaimed in London certain new pieces of Coyn, both of gold and ſilver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, Engliſh and Scottiſh. In a Parliament holden the third year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was deviſed and ordained, and ſoon after miniſtered to all ſorts of people.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl reſtrained.

No Biſhop to alienate any Lands, nor to the King himſelf.

He is enſtyled King of Great Britain.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance firſt deviſed.

Flags how to be born in Ships.

This year alſo he made Proclamation to redreſſe the miſemployment of Lands, or goods given to charitable uſes. Alſo this year, he ſet forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of great Britain ſhould bear in their

Inmates forbidden, and new buildings restrained.

The Forefronts to be made of brick.

An order for planting of Mulberry Trees for encrease of Silkworms.

Coyns of gold raised.

The Apothecaries made a Corporation.

Duels and single Combats restrained.

A conference in matters of Religion is held before the King at Hampton Court, and how the matter proceeded.

main top, the *Red Crosse* commonly called *Saint Georges Crosse*, and the *White Crosse*, commonly called *St. Andrews Crosse* joyned together, and the Subjects of *South Britain* should carry in their Foretop only the *Red Crosse* as they were wont; and the Subjects of *North Britain* only the *White Crosse*. In this fourth year on the tenth of June he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Fryers to depart the Realm before the first of August following: and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his second year he had set forth a Proclamation against Inmates and encrease of new buildings, which being little regarded, now in his fourth year he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withall the Forefronts and windows of all new buildings should be either of Brick or Stone, for disobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-chamber, and there fined. In his fifth year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry Trees, and breeding of Silk-worms, that *England* might be a Country as well of Silk as Cloth. In his eleventh year, he instituted the Order of the *Barronets*, which hath much degenerated since his Institution, and thereby having been devised for the benefit of *Ireland*, hath caused but little contentment unto *England*. This year also the King himself in person came to the Star-chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coyns of Gold within the Realm, he raised the prizes of them; ordaining the price called the *Unity*, which went before but for twenty shillings, to be current now for two and twenty, the double Crown and all other pieces to encrease in the like proportion. In his fifteenth year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London* to be a Corporation for themselves, and their successors for ever; and by Letters Patents made them a Body Politick, and Corporate. In his time by his appointment a strict decree passed in the Star-chamber against Duels and single Combats, and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a dagger or knife, making it to be a wilful Murder.

### Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE King as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some dissensions of his Divines in point of Religion, in the very first year of his Reign, appointed a Conference to be holden before himself at *Hampton Court*, to which were called divers Bishops, Deans, and Doctors of one side, and of the other four eminent Divines, namely *Doctor Reynolds*, *Doctor Sparks*, *Mr. Knewstubs*, and *Mr. Chadderton*: who all meeting before the King, the 14th day of January: the King first signified the cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear, what they could object or say against the present Government of the Church; whereupon *Dr. Reynolds* being their Foreman, reduced all matters disliked, or questioned into these four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods Word.
2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.
3. That the Church Government might be sincerely administered, according to the Word of God.
4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more encrease of Piety.

Out of these Heads, he drew and moved divers Points: One that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might Confirm: but this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdiction of Bishops, and to be a Rep to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much disliked; and the Bishop of *Winchester* challenged *Dr. Reynolds* with all his learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times, by any other than by Bishops. Another motion of *Dr. Reynolds* was, that there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Original, whereof he alleged divers examples; particularly that in the *105. Psalm. 28.v.* where it is said, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is, *They were not Disobedient*: To this it was agreed, that a new Translation should be made: and accordingly soon after was performed by the most learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that, which is now used. After many other Points moved by *Dr. Reynolds*, he came at last to subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refused for these reasons. First, because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common Prayer Book appointed to be read; albeit in some of them there are manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himself answered, That as he would not wish all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unless there were one to Interpret; so he would wish no Apocryphal to be read wherein was any error: but for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read, seeing there was good use of them, to make up the story of the Persecution of the Jews; but withall he would have the people be taught, they were not to teach a man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next scruple against subscription was, That in the Common Prayer Book, it is twice set down *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Original Text it is plain *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it was answered, that for any thing could be gathered by the place, he might speak as well to the one as to the other: But the King for more plainness sake, willed, that the word *Disciples*, should be omitted, and only the words, *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Another

A Another scruple was, concerning the Crosse in Baptism, which *Doctor Reynolds* confessed to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism: to which the Bishop of *Winchester* answered, that in *Constantine's* time it was used in Baptism; and the Dean of *Windsor* shewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen* and others, that in their time it was used in *Immortali Lavacro*: which could be nothing but Baptism: and this the King judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Master *Knewstubs* moved how far an Ordinance of the Church was to binde them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty? At which the King seemed much moved, and told him he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament *Le Roy s'aviserá*; and therefore, I charge you (said he) never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. *Doctor Reynolds* added, that the Crosse should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery it had been superstitiously abused. To which his Majesty answered, that his very reason was an inducement to him to have it retained still: For in as much as it was abused (so you say) so superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice: to which the King answered, that seeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the celebration of Divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Ministry, and principally of the white Linnen; he saw no reason, but that in this Church, as it had been for comeliness and order sake, it might be still continued.

Last of all, Master *Chadderton*, and Master *Knewstubs* requested, that in regard of some tender Consciences, the Surplice and Crosse in Baptism, might not be urged: To which the King himself answered, If after the Gospels preaching five and forty years amongst you, there be any yet in these points unsatisfied, I doubt it it proceeds rather out of stubbornness of opinion, than out of tenderness of conscience; and therefore let them conform themselves, or else they shall hear further of it.

It was now observed, that in all their Objections, there was not a word spoken against Bishops, nor against the Ring in Marriage; for *Dr. Reynolds* himself confessed that the Ring was a very meek ceremony; and the King affirmed he should not think himself rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring: And as for Bishops, he declared himself to be verily persuaded, they were Divine Ordinations, and most necessary to Monarchy; and would often say, *No Bishop, no King*. Many other points were handled, as about Predestination, Absolution, and Remission of sins, Baptizing by women, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee worship*, the Oath of Office, the high Commission and some other; in all which the King gave so good satisfaction, that they all joyntly promised to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind to have it so: and the King was so admired for his excellent Resolutions and Answers, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of Gods Spirit. After this Conference, the King in his second year set forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Ecclesiastical Government, and the Book of Common Prayer, in the form and estate as *Queen Elizabeth* left them.

After this he sent divers learned Divines into *Scotland*, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdoms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an union of Possession. And now entering into consideration of this Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*: he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to Neighbouring Countries: if not in Authority, at least in care: and hereupon bearing that the States of the *Low-Countries* were determined to entertain one *Vorstius* to be publick Professor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwise a learned man, yet tainted with many erroneous opinions, concerning the Essence and Substance of God, making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Eternity; teaching Eternity to consist of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Per se a se*, but to have in some sort *aliquid Diverfitatis, & Multiplicitatis in seipso*, and by his Lieger, *St. Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the said *Vorstius* into that place; lest his doctrine having once infected their Country, might soon after spread it self into his Dominions. Which request of his, after much soliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorstius* from amongst them.

At this time a Synod was assembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, consisting of learned Divines, sent from the Count Palatin of the *Rhine*, from *Hassia*, from *Zwitserland* from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Bern*, *Emden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland* and other Provinces: Some also sent from *England*, as namely, *George Bishop of Landaff*, *John Davison* and other Professors of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Ward*, Master of *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*, *Thos. Good* Dr of Divinity, and *Walter Belcangull*, a Scottish man Bachelor of Divinity: Which Synod was Assembled to examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*, first concerning Gods Predestination, Election, and Reprobation; then concerning Christs death and Mans redemption by it; then concerning Mans corruption and conversion to God; then concerning the perseverance of the Saints: In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*, and the true Doctrine by a general consent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States, which yet the Papists made so little reckoning of; that one of them in scorn, made Echo to censure it in this Distich:

*Dodraci Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? ager.*  
*Conventus? Venus. Sessio Stramen? Armin.*

Q. 9. 2

Concerning the Crosse in Baptism.

Concerning the wearing of the Surplice.

Concerning the Ring in marriage, and Bishops.

The Book of Common Prayer confirmed by the King.

The King solicits the States of the Low-Countries not to admit *Vorstius*; and why.

A Synod held at *Dort* to examine the errors of *Arminius*, to which Synod many English Divines went.

But

But who knows not, that ill will never spake well, and that nothing is so obvious in the mouth of an adversary, as scandals and inventions?

Antonius de Dominis Archbishop of Spalato comes into England, and sets forth Books for the Protestant Religion.

After five years stay here he retracted all, and went to Rome, but dyed there in prison.

John Trask for holding diverse Judicial opinions is censured and after three years recants.

George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, by misfortune killing a man is Censured.

In the year 1616, *May Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of Spalato, in the Territory of Venice, came into England, leaving his Country (as he affirmed) for Religion; whereof he set forth in writing many reasons, and being thereupon entertained by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was afterward made Dean of Windsor, and Master of the Survey, in which time he published publicly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, printed in London the first four of his ten Books, Intituled *Of the Common-wealth of the Church*: wherein with great earnestness he maintained the Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissimbling from the beginning, or whether out of remorse of conscience, he repented him of that he had done: after five years staying here, he retracted all he had said or written before, which so incensed King James, that he commanded him (within three days at his perill) to depart the Realm: who thereupon went to Rome, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as he had done in England against the Papists, hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Pardonment: but notwithstanding his Recantation, according to the Law of the Inquisition, having once Revolved, (though now Returned) he suffered the death of an Heretick, though not the shame, had the punishment of a Martyr, but not the honour; and was publicly burnt at Rome, yet not burnt alive, but dying in prison and then buried, it is said, his body was afterwards taken up and burned.

In the Kings tenth year, two obstinate Arian Hereticks, *Bartholomew Legat* and *Edw. Wighman*, were burnt for Heresie, Legat in Smithfield, and Wighman at Lichfield.

In his sixteenth year, one *John Trask* a pretended Minister, was Censured in the Star-chamber, for depraving the Ecclesiastical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions; as, that it was not lawful to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath, for which he was lat on the Pillory at Westminster, and from thence whipt to the Fleet, and there to remain prisoner: but three years after he writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies and Schismatical Opinions.

In this Kings fifth, *George Abbot* Archbishop of Canterbury, being a hunting in a Park, and shooting a Deer, his arrow by mischance glanced and kill'd a man: upon which fact it was much debated, Whether by it he were not become irregular, and ought to be deprived of his Archiepiscopall Jurisdiction, as having his hands imbrued (though against his will) in blood: but *Andrews Bishop of Down* standing much in his defence, as likewise *St. Henry Martin*, the Kings advocate, gave such reasons in mitigation of the fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in state to continue his Archiepiscopall charge: yet himself (out of a religious tenderness of conscience) kept the day of the year, in which the mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast, all his life after.

### Works of Piety done by this King, or by other in his time.

Structures of Piety King James made none at all, nor many of magnificence, only the great Banqueting House at White-hall; a wall of Brick about his Park at Greenwich, another at Theobalds, and some little buildings at Royston, and such like. His greatest charity was expressed by largesses and Pensions: as first where the Gentlemen of his Chappel, being 33 in number, had by largesse then but 30 pounds a year fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Pensions of his Alms Knights of Windsor, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two shillings. Then as he increased his number of the Yeomen of the Guard, from seven score to two hundred, so he increased their Pensions, from two shillings a day, for three months in the Summer, to seven groats a day for six months in the Summer. Then, where at his coming, he found but only four Judges in the Courts of Law at Westminster, he added a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many: whereof we may justly set in the first place, the repairing of Pauls Church, begun in his time, though not finished till many years after; a work of as great cost and labour, as the first founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof though many well devoted persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious, than the learned Doctor *Laud*, first Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, who also was a bountifull Benefactor to the Colledge of Saint Johns in Oxford, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a fair Almshouse at Guilford in Surrey where he was born, as likewise *Robert* the second Earl of Darley, founded another in Sussex; to the maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a year. But of all the Almshouses that were ever founded in Christendom, there is none I think can parallel that of *Thomas Sutton* Esquire. This man born at Snayth in Lincolnshire, having always lived a Bachelor, and by sundry employments, and parcimony, being grown to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable, *Thomas Earl of Suffolk*, his Mansion-house, called the *Charter-house*, near to Smithfield in London, and out of a pious mind converted it into an Almshouse, by the name of *Suttons Hospital*, endowing the same with above three thousand pounds of yearly rent; wherein are maintained fourscore poor men, with convenient lodging, diet, and allowance of money for apparel: also forty poor children with the like provision,

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard increased, and also their pay. Five Judges in every Court. The repairing of Pauls Church begun.

Suttons Hospital founded.

provision, and a Grammar School, with a Master and Usher to teach them: over all whom, he ordained a learned man to be Master of the household, and to be chosen by the Governours, whom he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patents, to be *George Archbishop of Canterbury*, *Thomas Lord Elmore* Lord Chancellor, *Robert Earl of Salisbury*, Lord Treasurer, *John Bishop of London*, *Lancelot Bishop of Ely*, *St. Edward Cook*, chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *St. Thomas Foster*, Judge of the Common Pleas, *St. Henry Hubbard*, the Kings Attorney General, Doctor *Overall* Dean of Pauls, Doctor *Mountain* Dean of Westminster, *Henry Thurstle* Esquire, Master of the Chancery, *Richard Sutton* Esquire, Auditor of the Imprests, *Jessy Nightingall* Esquire, *John Low* Gentleman, *Thomas Brown* Gentleman, and Master of the Household for the time being, to be always one: and as any of these sixteen Governours should die, the Survivers to make present addition of others. Next to this was a fair College in Oxford founded by *Nicholas Wilbe* Esquire, and called after his name. About this time also *Edward Allen* of Dulwich in Surrey founded a fair Hospital at Dulwich for six poor men, and six poor women, and for twelve poor children, from the age of four or six years, to be there maintained and taught till the age of fourteen or sixteen, and to have a Schoolmaster with dyer, and a convenient stipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his wealth by Stage-playing converted it to this pious use, not without a kind of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time also *William Camden*, King at Arms, founded an History professor in Oxford, to which he gave the Manor of *Bexley* in Kent, which some years expired, will be worth four hundred pounds a year. In his tenth year *St. Baptist Hick*, one of the Justices of Peace in *Middlesex*, who was afterward made Viscount *Camden*, built a fair Sessions house of Brick and Stone in *St. Johns* street, which by the Justices was called after his name *Hicks Hall*, a great convenience for the Justices; who late before in a common Inne called the *Castle*. He also founded a fair Hospital of free stone, at *Camden* in Gloucestershire, for six men and six women, allowing each of them a yearly Gown, and two shillings six pence a week, with two rooms and a Garden. In this Kings time, *George Patyn* Citizen and Grocer of London, gave to good uses, three thousand and six hundred pounds, whereof twelve hundred pounds to the two Universities, nine hundred pounds for an Almshouse, and a certain sum of money to buy two Bells, and make a Chime in *Bow Church*. Also *Thomas Tesdale* of Glympton in the County of Oxford Gentleman, gave five thousand pounds to purchase lands, for perpetual maintenance of seven Fellows, and six Schollars, to be placed at *Baylyoll* in Oxford, and to be chosen thither from time to time, out of the Free School of *Abington* in Berkshire: to which School he also gave lands for the maintenance of an Usher. In this Kings time also, *St. Marmaduke Darrell*, being Lord of *Fulmer*, being a Town in Buckinghamshire, where was an old ruinous Church, standing a mile distant from the Town, pulled down that old Church, and at his own charge builded a fair new one in the Town, and furnished it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments necessary. Also *Thomas Watson* of *Halfstead*, in the County of Kent, Esquire, new builded a fair Chappel on the North side of the Parish Church of *Halfstead*, of Freestone from the ground, and gave to the Church four new Bells, and two Pulpits. In his time also Doctor *Alymer* Bishop of London, and *Elizabeth Countesse Dowager of Shrewsbury*, gave certain sums of money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at *Pauls Cross*: As likewise *Thomas Russell* Draper gave ten pounds a year for ever, to be given to unbenefficed Ministers, that should preach there: and to the same use, *George Bishop* Stationer of London, gave ten pounds a year more. In this Kings time also, the Citizens of London new builded *Algate*, where pulling down the old Gate, they found many ancient Roman Coyns.

*John Whiggis* Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a fair Almshouse in *Croydon*. On the thirtieth of June, 1614, dyed *Henry Earl of Northampton*, who built from the ground a house near *Charing Cross*; and dying, was buried in the ancient Chappel of *Dover Castle*, who in his life time founded three fair Hospitals, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at *Ryding* in Norfolk for twelve poor women and a Governesse, a second at *Clun* in Shropshire, for twelve poor men and a Governor: The third at *Greenwich* in Kent, for a Governor and twenty poor Almshouses. In this Kings time also, Master *Robert Dows* of London Merchant, gave a competent maintenance for ever, unto *Sepulchers* Parish, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding some Divine to come to the prison of *Newgate*, the midnight before Execution, and there to ring a hand Bell, and to put the prisoners in mind of their approaching death, with a Christian remembrance and exhortation; and the next morning to toll the great Bell, from six a clock till ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution should be past. He also established a free singing School, in *Christs Hospital*: for the better education of the poor children there: besides many other good deeds of Alms. About the same time *Robert Peake* of London Goldsmith, gave to *Sepulchers* Church a Communion Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a half broad, richly guilded over, and at every corner inboist with plates of silver. In this Kings fourteenth year, *William Jones* of London Merchant, gave about eight thousand pounds to found a Free School in *Wales*, where he was born, with Almshouses and Pensioners in London; and a hundred pound a year for ever to a learned Preacher in London, ordaining all things to be ordered by the Company of Haberdashers, whereof himself was free. This year also the old ruinous gate called *Aldersgate* was taken quite down, and new builded from the foundation, towards the building whereof, *William Parker*, Merchant-Taylor of London, gave a thousand pounds. In this Kings time also, was erected a building near to *Chelsey*, with a purpose to be a College for Divines to study the controversies of Religion, but upon second thoughts, the

An Hospital founded at Dulwich by Edward Allen sometimes a Player.

A History Professor in Oxford erected, and by whom. Hicks had in St. Johns street built, and by whom.

Algate in London new builded.

Henry Earl of Northampton dies, who founded three Hospitals, and where.

Aldersgate in London new builded, and by whom.



## Of his Death and Buriall.

OF his death, there were many scandalous rumors spread, and some were so impudent, as to write that he was poysoned, as the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquess Hamilton had been before: but King James being dead, and his body opened, there was found no sign at all of poyson, his inward parts being all sound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague: the ordinary high way, especially in old bodies, to a naturall death: of this Ague after a moneths languishing, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applied, he departed this life at Theobalds, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March, in the year 1625, in the 59<sup>th</sup> of his age, when he had Reigned two and twenty years compleat; His body for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch light, from Theobalds to Denmark house, who having rested from the 23<sup>d</sup> of April, to the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, it was carried to Westminster, and there interred in the Chappel Royal with great solemnity, but with greater lamentation: there being scarce any of the infinite multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said,

*Multa gemens, lugeoque humclat flumine vultum.*

## Of Men of note in his time.

Military Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King James was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look amongst the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the Low-Countries; we shall finde a pair of brothers, that may stand in comparison with the greatest souldiers in the most Martial times, St Francis Vere, who as another Hannibal, with his one eye, could see more in the Martial Discipline, than common men can do with two, and St Horatio Vere, who as another Philopamen, contained in a very little body, a very great both skill and courage. But for men of Note in Learning, as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater store; of whom these for example. In curiousness of Preaching, there was Doctor Andrews Bishop of Winchester; who hath left to posterity, a Century of such golden Sermons, that shews, he as well deserved the name of Chrysostom, as he that had it. In multiplicity of Reading, there was Doctor Reynolds of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, who seemed as it were, a living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect Index of all the Books had ever been written. In knowledge of Law there was St Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; who hath written such excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he seems as another Bartholus or Baldus amongst us. In Elegancy of writing, there was St Francis Bacon Viscount Saint Albans, who besides his profound Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in so sweet a style, that like *Manna*, it pleaseth the tast of all palats. In the skill of Antiquities, there was William Camden, King at Arms; who hath set forth the Description of Britain, and the life of Queen Elizabeth in so lively colours, that he seems to have brought Britain out of darkness into light, and to keep Queen Elizabeth alive after death. And to speak it in a word, the Trojan Horse was not fuller of Heroick Grecians, than King James his Reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of Learning. And here I desire the Reader leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the one was Mr John Dunne, who leaving Oxford, lived at the *Innes of Court*, nor dissolute, but very neat; a great Visiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great writer of conceited Verses; untill such time as King James taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was means that he betook him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of Pauls; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wootton, (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow pupils, and chamber fellows in Oxford divers years together.) This Gentleman was employed by King James in Embassage to Venice; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man, for matching the Capriciousness of the Italian Wits: a man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behinde him.

## Of the English Plantations in the Indies, that were in King JAMES his time.

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near say as much of King James, as was said of Augustus Caesar: *Super & Garamanis & Indos proficere Imperium*. In this better, that where Augustus did it by the violent way of Arm, King James did it by the civil way of Plantations: for in his days began the great plantation of the English in the Indies; and must be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The first Plantation

Two eminent Souldiers, St Francis Vere, and St Horatio Vere.

Two eminent Scholars Dr Andrews, and Dr Reynolds.

Two eminent Lawyers, St Edward Coke, and St Francis Bacon.

Two eminent Wits, Dr Dunne, and St Henry Wootton.

A of the English in the Indies, was that which is now called Virginia, in memory of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth: but called before *Wingandacon*. It was first discovered by St Walter Rawleigh, in the year 1584; to whom the first Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was sent thither, till the year 1606. It is a Country in America, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the English, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Island, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoining to Florida. The first and chief Town made here by the English, is called James Town, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majesty. It is a Country abounding with all sorts of Fish and Fowl; so fruitful, that it yeelds thirty and sometimes forty Bushels of Corn upon an Acre; and that, (which is to us more strange) hath three harvests in a year, the Corn being sowed, ripe and reaped, in little more then two moneths. Many plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing: the first to any purpose was in the year 1607, under the conduct of Captain Gosnold, John Smith, and Mr. Edward Maria Winkfield, who carried a Colony thither of a hundred persons; but of these, many dying of sickness or slain by the Savages, a new supply came in the year 1608 of a hundred and twenty persons, under the conduct of Captain Nilson. After which, was sent another supply of three score and ten persons; and in the year 1609, a third supply came of five hundred persons, under a Patent granted to St Thomas West, Lord de la Ware, but conducted thither by St Thomas Gates, St George Summers, and others. In the year 1611, was a fourth supply of three hundred men under the conduct of St Thomas Gates. In the year 1612, two other supplies were sent of forty men in each, and now was the Lottery spoken of before granted by the King, for further supplies of this Plantation. After this, Master Samuel Argall being appointed Governour in the year 1618, the Lord de la Ware came thither with a supply of two hundred people; but in his stay there dyed: After this in the year 1620, were sent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and sixteen persons, and now they founded themselves into Corporations: in the year 1621, St Francis West was sent thither Governour, with thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Justice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both sides. But now when the English were secure, and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came suddenly upon them, and slew of them three hundred and seven and forty men, women, and children. For repairing of which losse, the City of London sent presently over a supply of a hundred men. This massacre happened, by reason they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty severall places, which made them now upon consultation, to reduce them all to five or six places, whereby they may better assist each other: since which time they have always lived in good security. And thus much for Virginia.

Next was the Plantation of the Island called Bermudas, so called of a Spanish Ship, called *Bermudas* which was there cast away, carrying Hogs to the West-Indies, that swam a shoar, and there increased. The first English man that entered this Isle, was one Henry May in the year 1591, but in the year 1610, St George Somers was sent thither, who dying there, in memory of his name, the Isles have ever since been called *Somers Isles*. In the year 1612, one Mr Moor landed there with 50 persons, and then builded the chief Town there called St Georges, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The same year a supply of 30 more persons was sent thither, and the year after 60 more, under one Mr Bartley, with a shew to survey the land; but with a purpose indeed to get from thence a great lump of Amber-greece, and no lesse than 80 pound weight, that had been found and taken up in the Island some few years before, and was there still retained. A while after this came a Ship called the *Blessing*, with a 100 passengers; and two days after came the *Star*, with 180 more; and within 14 days after that again came thither the *Margaret* and two Frigates, with 130 passengers: so as now they began to divide the Countrey into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. In the year 1616, Captain Daniel Tucker was sent from Virginia to be Governour there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them houses: and now was sent from thence into England, a Ship freighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 25 6d the Pound, though sold here oftentimes for *Verino's* at great rates. In the year 1619, Captain Nathaniel Butler was sent Governour with new supplies, in whose time they builded them a Church; held Assizes for Criminal causes, twice a year, and began to have Parliaments as in England: and now in the Ship called the *Mazarin*, came divers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their wives and families: so as now their number was no fewer than fifteen hundred people, dispersed twenty miles in length. In the year 1622, came Governour Mr John Bernard, bringing with him a supply of 140 persons; but he and his wife dying presently upon their coming, Mr John Harrison in the year 1623, was chosen Governour. These Isles of Bermudas are in 32 degrees of Northern latitude: so as they are distant from Virginia, at least 500 leagues, and from England above three thousand three hundred. This Countrey is of a most healthfull air, abounding with all sorts of Fowls, Birds and Fish; and where great pieces of Amber-greece are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no lesse than three pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the state of Bermudas, till the year 1624.

Next comes the Plantation of New-England, concerning which, we must first know, that King James in the year 1606, granted two Letters Patents for Plantations in Virginia, one to the City of London; another to the City of Bristol, Exeter and Plimmouth, with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least a 100 miles distance between the two Colonies. So as the first Colony was from the City of London,

The first Plantation of Virginia: and what Country it is, and abounding with what commodities.

Upon their security, 200 of them slain by the Savages.

The Plantation of the Bermudas: why called Somers Isles.

Amber-greece in great quantity found in the Island.

The Plantation of New-England: and the commodities of the Countrey.

London, and is that which is called *Virginia*. The second Colony was from *Bristow* and the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is situate between the degrees of 41 and 45: the very mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to speak a little of the Countrey, there are on the Sea coast, 25 excellent good Harbours, in some whereof there is Anchorage for 500 sail of Ships of any burthen. The Earth is fruitful, and the Air as healthfull, as any part of the World: abounding with all sorts of Grain, Fowls and Fish: Many of such kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect discovery of the Countrey: Many attempts for settling a Plantation there: Many Misadventures and Disasters in making the attempts: but all at last came to this, that in the year 1624 (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation settled, though but a small one: but a few years after (by the sending forth of new supplies) encreased to so many thousands, that if God continue to prosper it, as he hath begun, the *New-England* in a few ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies* than he had in his Realms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. But seeing of these and all other *English* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many; large discourses are written by divers Auliers, it should be more than superfluous to speak more of them in this place: It is sufficient to have shewed that King *James* had the honour, to have them settled in his time, and under the influence of his peaceable Government.

### Of the Earls and Barons made by King JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly set down, at the severall times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were so many made, that it may not be unfit, to set them down in a Catalogue together.

In his first year were made four Earls and nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard*, younger brother of the last Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst*, was made Earl of *Dorset*; and shortly after *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mounjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey of Groby*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stanford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Danby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Danby*) *St John Peter* of *Essex*, was made Baron of *Writtle*: *St William Russel* was made Baron of *Thornhaugh*: *St Thomas Grad* was made Baron of *Gerards Bromley* in *Staffordshire*: *St Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Wormelayton* in the County of *Warwick*: *St Thomas Egerton* was made Baron of *Elsmere*: and *St Robert Cecil* was created Baron of *Henden* in *Rutlandshire*; and *St John Harington* was made Baron of *Exton*.

In his second year on the 20<sup>th</sup> of *May* were made four Barons and one Viscount: *St Robert Skirry* was made Baron of *Penhurst*: *St William Knowles*, Baron of *Grays*: *St Edward Wootton* Baron of *Marley*, and *Mildmay Fane*, Lord of *Spencer*; and in *August* the same year, *St Robert Cecil* Baron of *Essenden*, was created Viscount *Cranburn*.

In his third year on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *May*, were created three Earls, and one Viscount, and four Barons; namely, *St Robert Cecil* Viscount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Salisbury*: *St Thomas Cecil* his elder brother Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Exeter*; and *St Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penbroke*, was created Viscount of *Liste*: *St John Stanhope*, was made Baron of *Harington*: *St George Carew*, Baron of *Clopton*: *Mr Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, Baron of *Wardour*; and *Mr William Cavendish*, Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his fourth year, on the fourth of *July*, *St Thomas Knevet*, was called by writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Esfrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the seventh of *September*, *St Jervis Clifton* was likewise called by writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Layton Bromsfeld*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth year, upon *Easter munday*, *St Robert Carre* was created Viscount *Rochester*: and

In his tenth year, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerset*.

In his eleventh year, *Lewis Steward* Duke of *Lenox*, was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after, Duke of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *June*, *St James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three years after, was made Viscount *Doncaster*, and *St Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterward by King *Charles* was made Earl of *Carnarvan*.)

In his fourteenth year, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *July*, *St John Hollis* Knight, was created *Haughton* of *Haughton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and *St John Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: and on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *August*, *St George Villiers* was created Baron of *Wbadden*, and Viscount *Villiers*, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *November*, *Thomas Egerton* Lord *Elsmere*, was created Viscount *Brackley*, and he dying soon after, his Son *John* was created Earl of *Bridgewater*; *William Lord Knowles* was created Viscount *Wallingford*; and *St Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5<sup>th</sup> of *Jan*, the Viscount *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the third of *March*, *St Edw. Noell* of *Rutlandshire*, was made Baron of *Ryddlington*.

In his fifteenth year, on *New years day*, *St George Villiers* Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marquess

of *Buckingham*, and on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *July*, *St Francis Bacon* Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after Viscount *Saint Albans*. Also in the Summer of this year, the King created four Earls and one Countesse: namely the Viscount *Liste* was made Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cavendish* was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lady *Compton* wife to *St Thomas Compton*, and mother of the Marquess of *Buckingham* was created Countesse of *Buckingham*.

In his sixteenth year, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *November*, *St John Digby* Vicechamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherburn*, by Patent to him and his heirs Males.

In his seventeenth year, in the month of *June*, *Esme Steward* Lord of *Aubigny*, younger brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earl of *March*; *James Marquess Hamillon* was created Earl of *Cambridge*, and *St John Villiers* brother to the Marquess of *Buckingham* was created Baron of *Stock* and Viscount *Pinbeck*.

In his eighteenth year, *William Cavendish* was created Viscount *Mansfield*. (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Newcastle*) and on *Munday* the fourth of *December*, *St Henry Montague*, being first made Lord *Treasurer*, was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viscount *Mandeville*, and not long after, Earl of *Manchester*, and *St John Ramsey* Viscount *Haddington* of *Scotland* was created Earl of *Holmerrasse*, and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newham*, and Viscount *Fidling*.

In his nineteenth year, *Henry Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*) *St Edward Montague* elder brother to the Viscount *Mandeville* was made Baron of *Boulton*, the Lord *Darce* of *Essex*, was created Viscount *Cotchester*. (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl *Ryvers*) the Lord *Humdon* was created Viscount *Rochford*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Dover*) *St Lyonell Cranfield*, Master of the Wards, was created Baron *Cranfield* in *Bedfordshire*, and *St Thomas Howard*, second son to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton*, and Viscount *Andover*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Barkshire*.)

In his twentieth year, in the month of *September*, the Viscount *Doncaster*, was created Earl of *Carle*, the Viscount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Digby* was made Earl of *Bristol*, the Lord *Cranfield* was created Earl of *Middlesex*, and *St Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kynghston*.

In his one and twentieth year, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charls*, had his Patent sent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *William Grey* was created Baron of *Wark*, *Elizabeth* the widow of *St Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was created Viscountesse *Maidstone*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Countesse of *Winchelsey*.)

In his two and twentieth year, the Earl of *Clanriccard* of *Ireland*, was created Viscount *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Saint Albans*.) *St John Hollis* Knight, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* was created Earl of *Clare*, *St Henry Rich* Baron of *Kensington* was created Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Fines*, Baron of *Say* and *Seale*, was made Viscount *Say* and *Seale*: *St Francis Fane* was created Earl of *Westmerland*, *Oliver* Lord *St John of Blisbo*, was made Earl of *Bullinbrook*, *St Christopher Villiers* brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Anglesey*, and *St James Ley* was made Lord *Lee* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough*.) Also this year, *St Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and *St Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this was the number of all the Earls and Barons made by King *James*; but in his time also began another sort of Nobility to be made in *England*, which had none of the privileges of *English* Barons, but had only Title to be called Lords, of some place either in *England* or *Ireland*, although they possessed not a foot of Land in either: Of which sort, the number being great, I forbear to rehearse them, lest I should be tedious, or otherwise be thought to encroach too much upon the *Heralds* office. It is sufficege to have shewed, that King *James* advanced so many in honour, that in a kinde it might be said of him, as was said of *Augustus Caesar*, That he left *Rome* of *Marble*, which he found but of *Brick*.

### Maiors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

In his first year,  
*St Thomas Bener* was Maior.

*St William Rumney*, *St Tho. Middleton*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*St Thomas Low* was Maior.  
*St Thomas Hayes*, *St Reger Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
*St Leonard Hollyday* was Maior.  
*St Clement Schudamor*, *St Jolles* Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
*St John Wats* was Maior.  
*William Walshall*, *John Lemon*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
*St Henry Row* was Maior.  
*Geoffrey Elwes*, *Nicholas Style*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*St Humphry Weld* was Maior.  
*George Rolles*, *Richard Farrington*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
**St. Thomas Campbell** was Mayor,  
**Sebastian Harvey, William Cockaine**, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
**St. William Craven** was Mayor,  
**Richard Pye, Francis Jones**, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
**St. James Pemberton** was Mayor,  
**Edward Barkham, John Smith**, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
**St. John Swinerton** was Mayor,  
**Edward Rotherham, Alexander Prescot**, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
**St. Thomas Middleton** was Mayor,  
**Thomas Bunn, Henry Jaze**, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
**St. Thomas Hays** was Mayor,  
**Peter Proby, Martin Lumley**, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
**St. John Folles** was Mayor,  
**William Goare, John Goare**, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
**St. John Lemay** was Mayor,  
**Allen Cotten, Cuthbert Hacker**, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
**St. George Bolles** was Mayor,  
**William Hollyday, Robert Johnson**, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
**St. Sebastian Harvey** was Mayor,  
**Richard Hearne, Hugh Hamerley**, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
**St. William Cockaine** was Mayor,  
**Richard Dedus, James Campbell**, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
**St. Francis Jones** was Mayor,  
**Edward Allen, Robert Ducey**, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
**St. Edward Barkham** was Mayor,  
**George Whitmore, Nicholas Rainton**, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
**St. Peter Proby** was Mayor,  
**John Hodges, St. Humphry Harford**, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,  
**St. Martin Lumley** was Mayor,  
**Ralph Freeman, Thomas Monifon**, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,  
**St. John Goare** was Mayor,  
**Rowland Heilin, Robert Parkhurst**, Sheriffs.

THE



# THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES.



ING James being deceased on the 27 day of March in the Forenoon, the same day in the Afternoon, **Charles**, Prince of Wales, his only Son then living, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of People, as being a Prince of admirable Endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the Age of 25 years, whereof, the most part of one he had spent in Spain; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travell and Experience, more worth perhaps, than the end he went for: For by this means he attained to a greater degree of that, which

The Death of  
 King James.  
 His Son Prince  
 Charles pro-  
 claimed King.

made *Ulysses* so famous.

*Quod mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.*

The first thing he did after his Coronation, and the Ceremonies of his Fathers Funerall (in which he himself in person followed as chief Mourner, immediately after the Hearse, having his Train of black Velvet, borne up by twelve Peers of the Realm; and at his right hand the Earl of *Arundel*, at his left the Earl of *Pembroke*.) Was to proceed in the Marriage agreed upon in his Fathers time, with the beautiful and virtuous Lady *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter of the Great *Henry* the Fourth, King of France: After which Marriage, we have only to say, that he was happy in the Wife of his Bosome, happy in his hopefull Issue, happy in the Love of his People, happy in the Peace and Tranquillity of his Kingdoms, and happy in the continuance of all these Happineffes, for fifteen years together, and might have so continued still, if it had not been for

His marriage  
 with the  
 Daughter of  
 the French  
 King.

*Discordia demens,*

*Viperum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.*

But of that which happened afterward, I dare not take upon me to be a Register; Neither is it indeed safe to begin a Narration, which I must be fain to break off in amazement, as having nothing left me to say, but, *Omnia in malum ruere*: and so far from any appearance of humane remedy, that our only Anchor must be this; *In se Domine speramus, non confundamur in aeternum*: *Quid enim nisi vota supersunt?* Yet our hope is, It will be but a fit, and the storm once past, fair Weather again, and fairer perhaps then it was before, and then with Joy we shall resume our Stile,

*Latumque choro Panna canemus.*

In the mean time, comforting our selves with the words of the Prophet *David*; *Many are the troubles of the Righteous, but the Lord delivers him out of them all.*

*Carolus in Rex magnus in armis, major inermis.*  
*Quid mirum? Imperio magnus, amore magis.*

Thus far Sir *Richard Baker*, an elegant and acute Writer, hath deduc'd the History of England, from the very beginning of the Romans Government in this Nation; having brought us to the very Threshold or Entrance of King *Charles* his Reign, and there left us; though intending, as it seems, had the success of things been answerable to his expectation, and the storm blowing over, been followed, by a Calm and Halcyon Season, to have proceeded unto the end thereof: and it were to be wish'd, that he who wish to happy a Career had travel'd through a History so full of variety,

and

and fraught with so many great and memorable passages, had also brought it down to the very close, and finish the Catastrophe of this Tragedy: but if the lowering Menaces of the Storm he speaks of, induc'd him to break off in *amusement*, expecting the return of fair Weather, and better Days; no wonder if the sad and fatal Effects it afterwards produc'd, forc'd him to abandon all thoughts of *resuming his Style*. This task therefore I rather by others sollicitation, than my own choice, have undertaken, though not without some reluctance, as both distrustful my Ability to keep up the Reputation of the History, coming after so judicious and well receiv'd an Author, and toucht with the same sense of the deplorable and unhappy passages I shall come at last to deliver, *Infandum adigor renovare dolorem*: but since it is necessary, that all Occurrences should be equally known and transmitted to Posterity, as well those which have the smiling Aspect of Prosperity, as those which founding nought but misery and calamity, may be less graceful in the relation: I here recommend to the general View, a faithful account of what ever hapned observable in this Kings Reign, which I may safely say, affords no less variety and wonder, then the Reign of any former King, either of this, or of any other Nation: and what ever I may haply want of our Authors Style, and prudent Conduct; I hope I shall not be thought to come far short in Truth and Impartiality of the Relation, it having been my intention neither on the one hand, out of a fawning Assentation, to resolve the crying up of all things acted by the prevailing power; nor on the other, to be over frequent in censuring or casting satyrical Reflections upon the degraded Party, (though never could it have been done more excusably then now, considering the justice of his Majesty's Government, and the grand Enormities of the late Usurpation); since every Action, according to the nature thereof, whether good or bad, either commends it self, or proclaims its guilt without any Comment, which doth but forestall the Readers Judgment, which naturally inclines to censure the actions of great Men in Power, especially in matters so notorious as become liable to the censure of all men; as, when it shall be read by future Generations, that the most virtuous Prince of the World was brought to a violent and untimely end by his own Subjects. My business therefore shall be impartially, and as near to truth as my utmost search can discover, to lay down matter of Fact, and then let the World judge whether side were most to be charged with the Blood spilt in the late Wars, when, through the whole course of this present History, the Intercourse of Messages between the late King and his two Houses, shall be well mark'd and weigh'd; his Majesties Concessions on the one Hand, their Demands on the other: And how glorious a Reformation (the thing given out to be fought for) succeeded after His being remov'd out of the way, in so deplorable manner.

The Introduction to the History you have already had from Sir Richard Baker himself; of that which next immediately follows, you may now proceed to the perusal.

1625.

IN prosecution of the Marriage, the King having sent over an Emissary to Lewis the Thirteenth, then King of France (as he did to other Princes in Amity with him) to give notice of his Fathers decease; he order'd also Letters of Procuration or Proxy, to the Duke of Chevreux, of the House of Guise, his near Kinsman, as being lineally descended from *Clandins of Esraime*, Father-in-law to James the Fifth of Scotland.

The Duke of Chevreux therefore, as the Kings Proxy, Espoused her on Sunday, May the first, according to our stile; the Espousals were performed by Cardinal Richelieu, notwithstanding that the Office was desir'd and claim'd by the Arch-bishop of Paris, from whose Palace the young Queen was conducted in solemn Pomp, by the King, Queen, and Nobles of France (the Duke of Chevreux in a rich black Suit, lin'd with Cloath of Gold, and beset with Diamonds, being attended on each hand by the King of Englands Ambassadors, the Earls of Carlisle, and Holland, both attir'd in beaten Silver) to the Church of *Nostre Dame*, before the Front of which, was erected a Theater, where, under a Canopy of State, the Queen of England was deliver'd up to the Duke of Chevreux, in behalf of King Charles, by her two Brothers, the King of France, and the Monsieur Gaston, Duke of Orleans: thence they went to the Church, where their Service was performed; after which the English Ambassadors came to the Door of the Quire, and took their places: then the whole Company, in the same order they came, return'd back to the great Hall of the Archbishops Palace; where a splendid Entertainment was prepared for them at the middle of the Table; under a Canopy sat the King of France, at his left hand the Queen of Great Britain, at his right, the Queen-Mother, next the Queen of England, sat the Duke of Chevreux, and next him the Earls of Carlisle and Holland.

As soon the Nuptial Solemnities were past, her Majesty prepared for England; for whose more honourable conveyance, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Carlisle, Holland, and Montgomery, cross'd the Seas, and came to Paris: hence after a convenient stay for interchanging of reciprocal Adieus, the royal B. ide, accompanied with her Mother, younger Brother, Duke and Duchesse of Chevreux, and other Persons of eminent Quality, besides the fore-mentioned English Attendants, set forwards for Amiens, where for a Fortnight (space she received Princely Entertainment, and then took leave of her Mother, who was there attacked with a violent sickness, which stopp'd her further journeying. From Amiens the Queen with the rest of her Company pass'd on to Bologne (for Calais was then infected) at which place she found ready for her reception the Royall Fleet of 21 Ships sent from her Spouse, with a noble Convey of the Countess of Buckingham, and

The Duke of Chevreux as King Charles Proxy, Espouses the Queen in France.

She prepares for England.

An honourable Train of Ladies. It will be needless to relate what Garb'd the old Countess did there receive for her Sons sake; as A personal Visit from the Monsieur at her own Lodging, and the precedence given upon her by a too civil Complement of the great Dutchess of Chevreux. And now Monsieur takes leave of his Sister, who presently set sail for England, and arriv'd safe at Dover, notwithstanding the Tempestuous turbulence of the Sea, which then seem'd to portend her future felicity.

The King himself was come thither from Canterbury to greet his long desired Consort, at which meeting, both Parties were wondrously surpris'd: he to find his Queens Beauty and Stature (to his joy) incredibly amended since his first view of her at Paris; (she to see her self (hitherto free) now in the power and subjection of another. But these Relelements being over, their Majesties began to think of their Journey to Canterbury, where their Nuptials were in most stately manner accomplished: And the Duke of Chevreux, in his Sovereigns Name, surrendered up his Charge to the British Monarch. From Canterbury the Royal Pair pass'd in Coach to Gravesend, with the Acclamations of millions of People (who had plac'd themselves all along the way to behold them) and there took water in the Barge of State, for Somerset-House, being towed through the Navy-Royall, which was dispos'd on each side of the Shoars; and in order Volla'd the Princely Passengers till their Landing: three days after, the King and Queen shew'd themselves on magnificent Thrones to the Nobility, and had their Marriage solemnly proclaimed; which being perform'd, their Majesties removed to Hampton-Court, by reason that London was infected with the Plague, as it had also been in the first year of King James.

The King now taking Truce with his Affections, call'd a Parliament about the Business of the Palatinate, which Assembled on the Eighteenth of June; And Sir Thomas Crew was Speaker of the House of Commons: It was observ'd, that the precedent Kings (the last only excepted) usually transmitt'd their Minds to Parliaments by their Chancellors; but King Charles himself saluted these Senators with a short, yet pithy Speech.

The Kings Speech to the Parliament.

Wherein he represented unto them the urgent necessity of raising a Subsidy; seeing, That it would not agree with his Kingly Honour to shrink from a War which his Father, upon solid Considerations, had by consent of both Houses undertaken, although prevented by Death from putting it in Execution.

That Moneys, the Sinews of War, must be levied, without which neither Army, nor Fleet could move, former Contributions being already disburs'd to a Penny.

That he should seem ridiculous to all Europe, if he did not now at length proceed to Action.

That it was his first Enterprise, the Success whereof would be influential upon his following Reign.

That it concern'd their own Reputations, herein to assist him effectually, least the World should judge them to have betrayed their King.

That Celerity was requisite, because of Winter then approaching, a Season prejudicial to Martial Attempts; the Pestilence at that time Regnant in the City, which in all probability might cause a sudden dissolution of their Meeting.

All which Arguments, if duly consider'd, did evidently demonstrate, That it was most Honourable, Opportune, and Safe, to use Expedition in the Business.

As for his Religion, and manner of Government, he determin'd to tread in his Fathers Steps, hoping that his former Life had ministr'd no just Grounds of any contrary suspicion. It is reported of an Asian King, that he told his Son; If he knew the ponderous burthenfomness of a Crown, he would not take it up; though lying at his Feet: And certainly King Charles at this present found his Brows to be oppress'd with the weight of the massie Gold, and precious Stones of his Crown, that for the ease of them he was then forced to move it with his hand; and afterwards complain'd of the pain received by it: his ensuing Reign plainly proving it to grow like the Child upon St. Christophers Back, each hour more heavy and burthenfome than other; And even then some curious and critical Wits took occasion to make many ominous Prefages the upon. The motion of the Parliament was as heavy as the Crown; who acknowledged the fore-mentioned Incitements for a Subsidy to be very rational, yet would not suddenly resolve upon it, untill they had first presented their two Petitions concerning Reasons of Religion, and Complaints of their Sufferings; which Points had been offer'd to his Father in the close of his last Parliament, and by his death left hitherto unanswered.

In both which receiving competent satisfaction, as also an account of the disbursement of his Land, and Naval Forces, with an Audit of the future Charges and Expences of the Spanish War: He obtained of the Layity absolutely and freely two Subsidies from Protestants, four from Papists, and of the Clergy three. In this Parliament Doctor *M. magne*, the Kings Chaplain, was questioned for certain Tenets in his Answer to the *Romish Gagger*, and his Defence thereof, stiled, *Apello Casarum*; being brought to the Bar, the Speaker declared the pleasure of the House, That they would refer his Censure to the next Meeting; and in the mean time he should stand committed to the Serjeants Ward, untill two thousand pounds Bail could be procured for his appearance next Sessions; and although the King took him into his protection, as being his Servant, yet his Bail-Bond remained uncanceled. In this Parliament were Laws Enacted;

*Against Abuses committed on Sundays.*

*For the King to make Leases of Lands, parcel of his Highness Dutchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same.*

*For the ease of obtaining Licenses of Alienation, and in the pleading of Alienations with license, or of Pardon of Alienations without license in the Court of Exchequer, or elsewhere.*

*For the further restraint of Tipling, and such like misbehaviour, in Houses, Ale-houses and other Visiting Houses.*

*That this Session shall not determine by the Kings assent to these Acts.*

There passed also in the House of Commons, *A Bill of Tonnage and Poundage*: but this was founded in the House of Lords, because the House of Commons had limited it to a year, (whereas former Grants to the Kings Predecessor were for term of life) out of a design to reduce those Customes to the Rate settled in Queen *Maries* Reign. During this Session, the Lord *Mordant*, a Papist, and his Wife a Protestant, desirous of one anothers Conversion, put their Cause upon a Disputation between the Archbishop of *Armagh*, and one *Rockwood*, a Jesuit, calling himself *Beaumont*; wherein the Learned Primate so foiled his Adversary, at *Dratton* in *Northamptonshire*, about the points of Transubstantiation, Invocation to Saints, Images, and Visibility of the Church: That the Lord *Mordant* was convinced and converted, and his Lady confirmed.

On the Eleventh of July this year, the Parliament, by reason of the Sickness, Adjourned till the First of August; when they met in at *Oxford*, the Commons in the Divinity School, and the Lords in the Gallery above: shortly after which, the King calling them together at *Christ Church Hall*, urged to them (first by a Speech delivered to them himself; next by the two Secretaries, the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *John Cook*, who succeeded Sir *Albertus Morton*) His necessities of setting forth a Fleet, for the recovery of the Palatinate. Moreover, the Lord Treasurer instanc'd the several sums which King *James* died indebted to the City of *London*. These things produced high Debates among the Commons, who all edge;

*That evil Counsels guided the Kings Designs.*

*That the Treasury was mis-employed.*

*That our Necessities arose through Improvidence.*

*That it would be necessary to Petition the King for a freight Hand, and better Councell to manage his Affairs.*

*That though a former Parliament engaged the King in a war, yet, if things were managed by contrary Designs, and the Treasury mis-employed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs not guided by sound Councell.*

*That it was not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Parliament, and no Grievances redress'd.*

With several other passages of the like Nature: They had also many Reflections upon the Dukes *Mil-carri* ges; but in conclusion, they promis'd to take the Kings Desires into Consideration, and presented him a Petition against R. culants, Describing their Ends, ascribing their growth to certain Causes, and prescribing certain Remedies: Whereunto a satisfactory Answer (if ought would have satisfied) was returned. And the next day ensued a Debate in the House concerning Supplies; Some would Contribute presently, Others demurred, as disliking the Enterprize in hand, and inclining more to Sir *Robert Mansfield's* Project, hitherto concealed, which was also approved by the Lord *Chichester*, but rejected by the Council of War. Finally, The Major part agreed not to give, and growing incensed against the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord Admiral (as chief Opposer of *Mansfield's* Plot) began to think of revetting him of his Admiralty, and other Offices, and Revenues; and to demand an Account of those publike Moneys wherewith he had been intreated. All which they conclude, to couch into an humble Remonstrance: to prevent which, the King cetermined to dissolve the Parliament, and accordingly the Usher of the black Rod was sent from the House of Lords with that Message to the Commons, who were then resolved into a Grand Committee, and understanding the Kings Mind, caused the Speaker then in the Chair to keep his Seat, while they agreed upon a Message of Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Answer to their Petition for Religion,

Agion, and for his care of their Health, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous time of Sickness; And upon a dutiful Declaration of their Affection and Loyalty, and purpose to supply him in a Parliamentary way, in fitting and convenient time.

The Grounds of the Spanish War were these; 1. The recovery of the Palatinate. 2. A fear of the subversion of our civil Estate: Upon which Considerations, a Resolution pass'd the Council, for the Fleet to put speedily to Sea, and to conserve strict Amity, with *France*, *Denmark*, and the United Provinces: with these last the King had entered a League, Offensive and Defensive, against the House of *Austria*, and promised to assist them in soliciting other Princes to the like confederation; upon Condition, that they should bear a fourth part of the Charge of the Fleet. Now were the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* dispatched to the *Hague*; who, meeting with the Ambassadors of *France* and *Denmark*, concluded a League for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*; the two last being no further Impowred from their Superiors.

Since in this History we meet with frequent mention of the Palatinate, which had no small Influence upon the most weighty Transactions of this Nation, by reason of the great Zeal which the King of *England* had for the Restitution of Prince *Frederick*, ally'd to him by Marriage; it will very much conduce to the better understanding of several Passages which herein often occur, to know the Original Causes and Grounds of that War, which, to be brief, thus hapned.

The *Hussites* of *Bohemia* (for so those of the Reformation were call'd from *John Huss*, one of the first of those that preach among them a Defection from *Romish* Superstition) were desirous to build them a Church for the free exercise of their Religion, of which they layd the Foundation, at a Town call'd *Brunaw*, and began another at *Clistergrave*; hereat the Emperour *Matthias* taking distast, in regard these places were not under the Jurisdiction of any of the Reformed States, but belong'd, one of them to the Abbot of *Brunaw*, the other to the Archbishop of *Prague*; sent an Express to the Promoters of this Work to desist; which they refusing, and still going on in their intended Design, they were forcibly interrupted by the Emperours Order, their new-reared Walls raz'd to the ground, and divers of the Townsmen of *Brunaw* committed to Prison, for contempt of the Imperial Orders. This was haينously resented by the principal men, and gave occasion of great Upstarts; for the people, gathering together into a numerous Company, demanding their just Privileges, and the Liberty of their Imprison'd Citizens, made toward the Tower of *Prague*, where divers of the Emperours chief Ministers of State were sitting in Council; *Adam a Sternbergh*, D. Burgrave of the Kingdom, *William Slabata*, President of the *Bohemian* Chamber, *Jornslans Borzita*, Count *Martinitz*, *Baro Popelias*, great Prior of *St. Maries*, and *Philip Fabricius* the Secretary: to these the People made their Complaint, and urg'd the Concession of their Demands; but not satisfied with the Answers they receiv'd, and still continuing Importunate, the Matter at length came to that height of provocation, that they seiz'd upon three of the Councillors (those that were most violent in opposing their Demands), and threw them out of the highest Window of the Tower, banish'd and proscrib'd the Jesuits, set the Imprison'd *Brunawians* at liberty, and created thirty Directors, or Administrators of the Affairs of the Kingdom. The Emperour having sought in vain by fair means to allay these Commotions, dispatch'd Letters immediately to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, *John George*, Duke of *Saxony*, and the rest of the Electors; Also to the Free Cities, and to all his Friends and Allies, to stir them up against the *Bohemian* Confederates, and sent himself against them a considerable Army, under *Henry*, Count *Tampier*, and *Charles Longuevall*, Count *Buquoy*, with other Forces, from *Albert*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, under the Command of *Henry Julius* of *Lauenburg*, *Balthazar Marrada*, Commander of *Malta*, Count *Busheim*, *Colatzen*, and others.

In the midst of these Warlike Preparations, the Emperour *Matthias* dying without Issue, his Cousin *Ferdinand* the Second, who had before been Crown'd King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, was by common consent of the Electors chosen to the Empire; which he no sooner attained, but he prosecuted the War begun by his Predecessor; nor were the *Bohemians* backward in getting together of a powerful Army, whereof their principall Leaders were *Ernst*, Count *Mansfield*, and *Henry Matthien*, Count *de la Tour*; to whom were joyn'd the *Moravians*, and *Silesians*; *Pilsa* was taken by *Mansfield*, and the Count *de la Tour* having won *Lipnit*, *Olmutz*, and other Towns of *Moravia*, invaded lower *Austria*, and brought his Army to the very Walls of *Vienna*; but he was soon call'd away by the Directors to defend *Bohemia* from the Inroads of *Buquoy*, by whom *Mansfield*, as he was going to the Assistance of *de la Tour*, was met with, and absolutely Defeated, he himself having much ado to escape. In the mean time, the Reformed States and Directors at *Prague*, renouncing all Obedience to the Emperour *Ferdinand* their King, as not having allowed of his Election; consulted what Prince they should make choice of to offer the Kingdom of *Bohemia* unto, and at length they resolv'd upon Prince *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the *Rhene*, who Married *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of King *James* of Great Britain. *Frederick* was easily perswaded to accept of the Kingdom, and was created supreme Captain of the *Evangelick Union*; but long he enjoy'd not these new conferred Honours; for not only all *Bohemia* was suddenly reduc'd to the Emperours Obedience by that memorable Battell at *Prague*, in which the Princes of the Union were overthrown by *John Tserclaz*, Count of *Tilly*, but also his own Territory of the Palatinate was subdued by the Marquess of *Spinola*, sent for out of the *Low Countries*, and conferr'd upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, together with the Electoral Dignity. For the restitution of this Prince, not only the King of *England*, and the States of *Holland*, earnestly laboured by frequent Embassies to the Emperour, but *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, made it one of his chief

chief Pretences for the Invasion of *Germany*; of his success wherein, we shall hereafter have occasion to make mention in this History: and also *Christiern King of Denmark* took up Arms, though with less Fortune than was hoped for in the same Cause. This was that Grand Business which was made by King *James*, one of the main Conditions of the Match with *Spain*; and the not performance of which, was the cause of the breaking off that Match: and this was that in which his Son King *Charles* was so earnest and sollicitous, that his continual craving of Supplies from the Parliament very much laid open his Necessities, and the lowliness of his Exchequer, and was in all probability the very original Source of those Misfortunes and Calamities that afterwards befell him.

Soon after the dissolution of the Parliament, the King set forth a Proclamation, Commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of all Children of Noble-men, and others of his Subjects, as had been sent to be Educated in Seminaries and Schools where the Popish Religion was profest and taught: That none who had received Orders from the See of *Rome*, should presume to confer Orders, or exercise Ecclesiastical Functions, in any of his Dominions. Also, that the Statute should be put in execution for the departure of Priests and Jesuits out of his Dominions. Moreover his Majesty, by the advice of his Privy-Council, straightly commanded all those of his Subjects, that were under the pay of the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Dutchess, to return speedily to their Native Countries, to be employed as occasion should serve.

The Act of Subsidies being prevented by the dissolution of the Parliament; the King necessitated to take up Money upon Loan, of such persons as were of Ability to lend, directed his Letters to the Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties; To return the Names of those Men whom they thought most sufficient, the Uses of their Habitations, and what Sums each of them might be judged able to lend. And to those person, whose Names were returned by the Lord-Lieutenants, Letters were issued forth in the Kings Name, under the Privy-Seal, by the Lord Controller of his Majesties Household, in manner and form following.

*Trusty and Well-beloved, &c.*

HAVING observed in the Presidents and Customs of former times, that all the Kings and Queens of this Realm, upon extraordinary Occasions, have used either to resort to those Contributions which arise from the generality of Subjects, or to the private helps of some well affected in particular, by way of Loan. In the former of which Courses, as we have no doubt in the Love and Affection of our People, when they shall again assemble in Parliament; So for the present we are informed to proceed in the latter Course, for Supply of some Portions of Treasure, for divers publick Services, which without manifold Inconveniences to Us and our Kingdoms cannot be defer'd. And therefore, this being the first time that we have required any thing in this kind, we doubt not, but we shall receive such a Testimony of good Affection from you, amongst other of our Subjects, and that with such Alacrity and Readiness as may make the same so much the more acceptable, especially since we require but that Sum, which few Men would deny a Friend, and have a Mind Resolved to expose all our Earthly Fortune for preservation of the General. The Sum which we require of you by these Presents, is, — which we do promise in the Name of Us, our Heirs, and Successors, to repay to you, or your Assigns, within eighteen Months after the payment thereof unto the Collector: The Person whom we have appointed, is, — to whose hands we do require you to send it within twelve days after that you have received this Privy Seal; which, together with the Collectors Acquittance, shall be sufficient Warrant to the Officers of our Receipt, for the re-payment thereof at the time limited.

*Given at, &c.*

The Collectors of this Loan were ordered to pay the Sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the Sums required.

Upon

UPON the Eighth of October, the Fleet set to Sea (under the Command of *Edward Cecil*, Vicount *Wimbleton*, second Son to *Thomas Earl of Exeter*, General for Land-War, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral at Sea) and were encountered with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of the Navy, which in all made up eighty Ships (some Dutch) was dissipated and scattered for seven days together; and a gallant Ship, called the *Long Robert of Ipswich*, with one hundred and seventy persons in it, were utterly lost; the rest meeting again at the Southern Cape, where they consulted to long about the place of Landing, that the whole Coast Alarm'd by their discovery, had opportunity to prepare for Defence, and render their Shoaring much more difficult and dangerous. The Earl of *Essex*, as we have said, was Vice-Admiral; who out of a desire to equal his Fathers Glory gotten at *Cadix*, insisted earnestly upon the assailing of those Ships which lay in that Harbour: But *Portugal Castle* adjoining, must first be won, before any good could be done; wherefore twenty English Ships, and five Dutch, were ordered to advance against it, which with much ado they did, and came off again, after they had, to no purpose, spent two thousand great Shot upon it. This not succeeding, the General resolved to try what might be done by Land; to which Sir *John Burroughs*, a Veteran Commander, was sent with a select Regiment of Foot to force it: against him some Spanish Forces, which were come thither for the defence of that part of the Countrey, drew up; in which Engagement, they were so foyled by the English, that those within the Castle despairing of their own ability to hold out, hung out a white Flag, and after a short Parley resigned the Fort, with fifteen Barrels of Powder, and eight Pieces of Ordnance. And now the Earl of *Essex's* Design, of firing the Ships in the Harbour, began to appear more feasible; and Sir *Samuel Argall* was sent to manage that Business, and the Land-men were ordered to come a shoar to refresh themselves, and to take in fresh Water, and forage the Countreys, and to guard those who were otherwise employed. Here the Spaniards might have made good work with them; for they finding the Cellars well provided of that Wine, which was more rare with them in their own Countrey, congratulated their own Felicities with such large Carowtes of Sack, as if the least Intelligence had been stirring, they might have been easily surprized; which the General fearing, speedily re-embarked his drunken Souldiers, and put to Sea again in quest of the Plate-Fleet, then expected from the *West-Indies*. *Argall's* purpose of firing the Ships was also frustrated, by drawing up the best of them under the *Port-Royal*, and sinking others in the Channel for obstruction.

Twenty dayes they resolved to ply about the Southern Cape, in hopes of employting something upon the Plate-Fleet; but the Contagion encreasing, made such a Massacre among them, that they soon wanted Hail-men for the Sails. And whereas some Ships had a greater number of infected persons than others had: to remedy this, a most preposterous course was taken, that every Ship should entertain by lot two sick, in exchange for so many sound; which propagated the Pestilence, and enforced the General to an untimely return homewards but four dayes before the Plate-Fleet came. Vicount *Wimbleton* was presently examined about the whole, and prohibited the Kings presence for many Months after; whereof he complains to the Duke (lately returned from his Negotiation at the *Hague*) Apologizing for himself, and accusing the Stubbornness of others; particularly the Earl of *Essex*, who might (if he would) have destroyed the Spanish Ships.

Sir *Robert Mansel*, a stout and expert Sea-man, was the man generally lookt upon as fittest to have Commanded in this Expedition; in which, his being neglected, was a thing that gave much discontent to the Marriners: and both that and other miscarriages in this Design were imputed to the Dukes ill management of Affairs; of which, what the common Censure was, appears by this following Letter of the Lord *Cromwell* to the Duke himself.

THEY offer to lay Wagers the Fleet goes not this Year; And that of necessity a Parliament must be: which when it comes, sure it will much discontent you. It is wondered at, that since the King did give such great Gifts to the Dutchess of *Chevreux*, and those that then went, how now a small Sum in the Parliament should be called for at such an unreasonable time: and let the Parliament sit when it will, begin they will where they ended. They say, the Lords of the Council knew nothing of Count *Mansfields* Journey, or this Fleet, which discontents even the best sort, if not all. They say, it is a very great Burthen your Grace takes upon you, since none knows any thing but you: It is conceived, that not letting others bear part of the Burthen you now bear, it may ruine you (which Heaven forbid.) Much discourse there is of your Lordship here, and there, as I passed home, and back; and nothing is more wondered at, than that one grave man is not known to have your Ear, except my good and noble Lord *Conway*. All men say, if you go not with the Fleet, you will suffer in it; because if it prosper, it will be thought no Act of Yours; and if it succeed ill, they say, it might have been better, had not You guided the King. They say, Your Undertakings in the Kingdom will much prejudice Your Grace; And if God bless You not in goodness, so as to accept kindly what in Duty and Love I here offer, questionless my freedom in letting You know the Discourse of the World, may much prejudice me; but if I must lose Your Favour, I had rather lose it for striving to do You good, in letting You know the talk of the wicked world, than for any thing else: So much I heartily desire Your Prosperitie, and to see You trample the ignorant Multitude under foot.

All

*All I have said is the Discourse of the World; and when I am able to judge of Actions, I will freely tell your Lordship my mind: which when it shall not always incline to serve You may all noble I thought for sake me.*

THE Coronation now drew on, which was to be on the second of February: at what time the King, passed not in usual State through the Streets to the Tower, but went by Water from White-Hall to Westminster, for fear of the danger of popular Concourse, by reason that although the Plague was indeed decreased, yet some Dregs of it still remained. The Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean of Westminster, should have performed a main part of this Ceremony, but he being then under displeasure, Doctor Laud, Bishop of St. Davids, supplied his place; and the old Form of Prayer, heretofore laid aside, ever since the time of Henry the Sixth, was again resumed; *Viz.*

*Let him obtain Favour for this People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elizeus in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple, give him Peters Key, and Pauls Doctrine.*

The Ceremony of the Coronation was thus ordered; As the King went from Westminster-Hall toward the Abbey, there went first before, the Aldermen of the City of London, usher'd by a Herald; next the Knights of the Bath in their Robes, each of them attended by his Squire and Page: after them the Judges, the Serjeants at Law, the Kings Attorney-General, and the Masters of Request; then the Privy-Councillors, and the chief Officers of the Kings Household; next the Barons in their Parliament Robes, with Swords by their sides, and bare headed; after the Barons came the Bishops also bare headed, in their Scarlet Gowns and Lawn Sleeves; next them the Viscounts and Earles in their Coronation Robes, and Coronetted Caps; in the last place went the Officers of State for the day, *viz.* The Lord Privy Seal, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Dorset carrying the first Sword, the Earl of Essex the second Sword, the Earl of Kent the third; the Spurs were carried by the Earl of Montgomery; the Globe with the Cross on it, by the Earl of Sussex; the Golden Cup and Plate for the Communion, by the Bishops of London and Winchester: the Scepter was carried by the Earl of Rutland; the Sword of State naked by the Marquess of Hamilton; the Crown by the Earl of Pembroke: among the Serjeants at Arms, went the Lord Mayor in a Crimson Velvet Gown, each of them carrying a short Scepter: next, immediately before the King, went the Earl of Arundel, as Earl-Marshal of England, and the Duke of Buckingham as Lord High-Constable for that day. The King entered into the Abbey-Church, at the West-Gate, under a rich Canopy of State, carried by the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and was himself supported on the one hand by Doctor Neil, Bishop of Durham: on other hand by Doctor Lake Bishop of Bath and Wells: His Train, which contained six Yards of Purple-Velvet, was held up by the Lord Compton, Master of the Robes, and the Lord Viscount Doncaster, Master of the Wardrobe: He was met by Bishop Laud, (who supplied the Deans place) and the Prebends of Westminster, in their rich Copes; who delivered into his Hands the Staff of King Edward the Confessor, with which he walked up to the THRONE, which was framed from the Quire to the Altar. There were appointed for the King three Chairs: 1. *The Chair of Repose.* 2. *The ancient Chair of Coronation.* 3. *The Chair of State*, which was placed upon a square Ascent of six Steps. The King, after he had Reposed himself a while, was by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury presented bare headed to the Lords and Commons, East, West, North, South; of whom the Arch-Bishop demanded, If they consented to the Coronation of King Charles their lawful Sovereign? To which, after they had express their readiness, by an Acclamation made four several times, the King heretook himself again to his Chair of Repose, during the time of Sermon; which ended, the King, going to the Communion Table, and kneeling down, the Arch-Bishop askt his Majesty, If he was willing to take the Oath usually taken by his Predecessors? To which he made Answer, That he was willing; arose, and went to the Altar, where several Interrogations were tendered to him by the Arch-Bishop; to each of which distinctly, the King gave his Affirmative Answer.

**A**rchbishop; SIR, Will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of England, the Laws and Customs to them granted by the Kings of England, your lawful and Religious Predecessors; And namely, The Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King St. Edward your Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Customs of the Realm?

KING, I grant and promise to keep them.

Archbishop,

**A**rchbishop, SIR, Will you keep Peace and godly Agreement (according to your power) both to God, the holy Church, the Clergy, and the People?

KING, I will keep it.

**A**. SIR, Will you to your power, cause Law, Justice, and Discretion, to Mercy and Truth, to be executed to your Judgment?

K. I will.

**A**. SIR, Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightful Customes, which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have? And will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lyeth?

K. I grant and promise so to do.

**C** Then one of the Bishops, with a loud Voice before the People, read to the King this following Admonition.

**O**ur Lord and King, We beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and preserve unto us, and to the Churches committed to your Charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and to do Law and Justice; And that you would protect and defend us, as every good King to his Kingdoms ought to be PROTECTOR, and DEFENDER of the Bishops, and the Churches under their Government.

The King answereth with a willing and devout Heart.

*I promise and grant my Pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to You, and the Churches committed to your Charge, All Canonical Priviledges, and due Law and Justice: And that I will be your PROTECTOR and DEFENDER to my power, by the Assistance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in right ought to Protect and Defend the Bishops and Churches under their Government.*

Then the King arising was led to the Communion Table, where laying his Hand upon the BIBLE, &c, in the sight of all the People, made a Solemn Oath (to observe the Premises) which was as followeth;

**T**he Things which I have here promised, I shall perform and keep; So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Afterwards his Robes being taken off, and offered at the Altar, the King stood for a while stripped to his Doublet and Hose, of white Sattin; then led by the Arch-Bishop, and the Bishop of St. Davids, He was placed in the Chair of Coronation, having a close Canopy spread over him, and while the Arch-Bishop Anointed his Head, Shoulders, Arms, and Hands, with a costly Ointment, the Quire sung an Anthem of these words;

Zadock the Priest Anointed King Solomon. —

Thence in his Doublet and Hose, with a white Coif on his Head, he was led back again to the Communion-Table, where Doctor Laud, the Bishop of St. Davids, who supplied the Dean of Westminsters place, Vested him with the ancient Habillments

ments of King Edward the Confessor, and conducting him back to the Chair of Coronation, presented him with King Edward's Crown, which the Archbishop put upon his Head, and in the mean time the Quire sung this Anthem;

*Thou shalt put a Crown of pure Gold upon His Head.*

After which, the Earls and Viscounts put on their Coronetted Caps of Crimson Velvet; then every Bishop came severally to the King, and gave him their Benediction, and kneeling from his Chair, bowed to each of them apart. Next King Edward's Sword was put about him, which he took off himself, and offer'd at the Communion-Table, with two Swords more, in relation to Ireland and Scotland: His Spurs were put on by the Duke of Buckingham, as Master of the Horse; which done, he offer'd first Gold and Silver, then Bread and Wine, to be used at the Communion.

Thus completely Crown'd, the King was conducted by the Nobility to the THRONE, where he receiv'd the Oath of Homage, (the Quire, in the mean time, singing *TE DEUM*) from the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High-Constable for that Day, who also swore the rest of the Nobility at the Kings Knee, to be Homagers to his Majesty; then the Earls and Barons laid their Hands upon the Crown, as it was upon the Kings Head, making a solemn Protestation, to spend their Blood, to maintain it to him, and his Posterity: the Bishops took no Oath, but kneeling down, the King kissed each of them; then the King taking out of his Bosom a Scroll of Parchment, the Effect of which was, A Promise of Pardon, under his Broad Seal, to all that accept it; gave the Scroll to the Lord-Keeper, who read it four times, *East, West, North, and South*. From the Throne, the King went to the Communion-Table, and after Prayers had been read by the Archbishop, the *Nicene Creed* sung by the Quire; and the *Epistle and Gospel* read by the Bishops of Landaff, and Norwich; his Majesty receiv'd the Communion, the Bread from the Archbishop, the Wine from the Bishop of St. Davids: And at the same time, *GLORIA PATRI* was sung: which being ended, the Archbishop reading certain Prayers, concluded the Ceremony. After which, the King dis-robed himself in King Edwards Chappel, and came forth in a short Robe of red Velvet, lin'd with Ermins, and a lesser Crown upon his Head, set with precious Stones, and taking Barge with all his Train of Nobles, at Westminster-Stairs, He returned to White-Hall.

Great Forces had been lately raised both for Sea and Land; for whose better Disciplining, an hundred and fifty old Souldiers were commanded home from the Netherlands; by whose Industry, the Forces were brought into some good Order, against the sitting of the ensuing Parliament, which Assembled the sixth of February: And Sir Henne Finch was Speaker of the House of Commons; who having made his Excuses, such as are usual upon the like occasions, address'd himself in Speech to the King.

In which,

First, He humbly gave Thanks to his Majesty, for his Favour towards him, in approving the Choice which the House had made of him for their Speaker. Next, he express'd himself in the praise of Monarchy in general; but much more largely, and particularly, of the Happiness of this Nation under the present King, and his Government; speaking also against the Pride and Tyranny of the Spanish Monarchy, and the unjust Invasion of the Palatinate. Lastly, He crav'd leave of his Majesty, to present him these four Petitions, in behalf of the whole House.

I. That they, and their necessary Attendants, might be free both in their persons and goods, from all Arrests and Troubles, according to their ancient Priviledges.

II. That his Majesty would vouchsafe them liberty and freedom of Speech, so long as nothing should be therein contained, contrary to their Duty and Loyalty.

III. That when important Occasions requir'd, He would grant them free Access to His Royal Person.

IV. That their Proceedings might be free from mis-constructions, and receive a favourable interpretation at his hands.

The

The first thing done in this Convention, was, The rendering of thanks to the King for his gracious Answer to their late Petition for Religion. Next they fell into Debate of publick Grievances; The mis-carrying of the Fleet to Cadiz: The evill Counsellors about the King: Mis-employment of the Kings Revenue: An Account of the Subsidies, and three Fifteens, granted in the twenty first of King James; and in the Committee for Grievances these four Heads were delivered.

Proceedings in Parliament

Four Heads delivered in the Committee for Grievances.

### I. The State of the King in the constant Revenue of the Crown.

Wherein they considered how much it was abated, from what it had been formerly, by Gifts of Lands, *Ex mero motu*; by large Grants of Pensions, by encrease of Household, and of Purveyors, by his Majesties Embassies, by treble encrease of the privy Purse, by double encrease of the Treasury of the Chamber, and great Wardrobe.

### II. The Condition of the Subject in his Freedom.

Wherein were considered the bringing in of new Impositions; the multiplying of Monopolies, and selling them by Grants; the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without any Act of Parliament; and the mis-employment or wast of the Treasure.

### C III. The cause of the Nations good Success in former times.

Whereby it was fear'd, Victorious, and Renown'd abroad, which, they judg'd, was to be attributed to the Wisdom and Gravity of Council, who order'd nothing but by publick Debate; from whence there arose a readiness in the People to assist their Sovereign in Purse and Person.

### IV. The present Condition of the Nation.

Wherein was represented the loss of its wonted Reputation, through the ill success at Algier, in the Palatinate, in Count Mansfields Expedition, and at Cadiz: and this was imputed to the want of such Councils as were heretofore us'd, for as much as men through a diffidence in the success, were backward to adventure either their Persons, or Purse.

In the Committee concerning Religion, and the growth of Popery, Mr. Richard Mountague two Books: *Viz. His Answer to the Romish Gagger, and his Appeal to Caesar*; were again brought into question, and several Articles exhibited against him, whereby he was tax'd of divers passages in the aforesaid Books, tending to the encouragement of Popery, and the drawing away of his Majesties Subjects from the true Religion establish'd, unto Error and Superstition; with other passages dishonourable to the late King, and full of injurious and railing Language to other persons: As also, that he endeavour'd to raise Factions in the Common-wealth, by casting the scandalous Name of Puritans, upon such of his Majesties Subjects as conform'd themselves to the Doctrine of the Church of England: whereupon the House of Commons gave their Censure, That he ought to be brought to exemplary punishment, and to have his Books burnt: Nor do we find, that he ever made any Defence, or Answer to these Articles that were brought against him. It is observable, that a little before the meeting of the Parliament, Doctor Laud understanding from the Duke, that the King intended to leave Mr. Mountague to a Tryall, was heard to utter these words, *I seem to see a Cloud arising and threatening the Church of England, God in his mercy dissipate it*. Nor long after, the Commons sending for the Earl of Totnes, the Lords, Vere, Brook, and Grandison, Sir Robert Mansell, and Sir John Oyle, who were of the Council of War, that sat upon the Affairs of the Palatinate, question'd them concerning the management of that business; but the rest of them making their severall excuses, Sir Robert Mansell was he only who declared himself ready to render a clear account of it.

Mr. Richard Mountague's Gagger & Appeal to Caesar, again question'd.

The Palatinate Affairs call'd into question.

Complaint was also made in the House of severall persons; who by reason of some late created Dignities in Scotland and Ireland, claimed Precedency of the Peers of England: To this, Redress was promised, wherewith the House of Lords were for the present satisfied, though soon after much more dissatisfied by another Occurrent: The Lord Mairavers, eldest Son and Heir to the Earl of Arundell, had married the eldest Daughter of the late Duke of Lennox, contrary to the Kings mind, who intended her for the Lord Lorne, Argyle's Heir: The King hereat offended, commits the Earl of Arundell to the Tower, which caused a Petition from the Peers; wherein they pleaded, That no Peer sitting in Parliament, is to be imprison'd without order from the House of Lords, unless for Felony, Treason, or denial of Security for the Peace. This was disputed for the space of two Months, and then the Earl set at liberty.

Complaint of the Scotch and Irish Nobility, for claiming Precedency of the Peers of England. Mairavers marries the Duke of Lennox's eldest Daughter. The Earl of Arundell committed to the Tower.

The Commons were busied in the mean time, about searching the Signet Office, for the Original of a Letter under the Signet, written to the Mayor of York, for reprieving certain Jesuits, Priests, and other Recufants, and reported by Mr. Pim, Chair-man to the Committee for Religion; but their proceedings were interrupted by a Message from the King, brought by Sir Richard Wilson Chancellor of the Exchequer, demanding supply for the English and Irish Forces. This was so dis-relished, that Mr. Clement Cook, one of the Commons, openly protested, That it was better to die by a Foreign Enemy,

Sir Rich. Wilson sent by the King to demand supply for the English and Irish Forces.

Sir Henne Finch his Speech to the King.

Enemy, than to be destroyed at home; whom Doctor Turner, a Physician, seconded with these fix *Quarries*.

Six *Queries*  
by Dr. Turner  
thereupon.

1. *Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas, since the Duke became Admirall?*

2. *Whether his going as Admirall in this last Fleet, was not the cause of his ill Success, for the Fleet was lately returned again without any considerable performance?*

3. *Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired by his immense Liberality?*

4. *Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit Places?*

5. *Whether he hath not made Sale of places of Judicature?*

6. *Whether Retusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?*

The King of-  
fended.

These Expressions so Irritated the King, that he sent immediatly Sir Richard Weston to the House of Commons, to require satisfaction. Immediately upon the Kings Message, Doctor Turner made Speech in his Vindication, and to explain himself, alleading;

Dr. Turner's  
Vindication.

That what he had said, was for the generall good of the Common-wealth, and not reflecting upon any one in particular. That to accuse upon common Fame, he thought to be a Parliamentary way, and warranted by the Canons of the Church, and the Imperiall Laws, and by ancient Presidents; the Duke of Suffolk in King Henry the Sixth's time, having been accused upon common Fame. He added moreover, that Mr. Chancellor himself had presented the common Undertakers upon particular Fame, and that he knew no reason, why he himself might not in that place have as ample a Priviledge.

Sir William Wal-  
ter delivers his  
Sense of the  
Grievances in  
Parliament.

And the Debate of that matter being put off to another day, he in the mean time writ a Letter to the Speaker, to excuse his absence, by reason of his Indisposition of Body, and to signifie his desire of putting himself wholly upon the Judgment and Censure of the Parliament.

Sir William Walter delivering his Sense to the House concerning the Grievances, said, That the true Cause of them was for that (as was said of Lewis the Eleventh of France) All the Kings Council ride upon one Horse. Wherefore his Majesty was to be advised, as Moses was by Jethro, to make choice of Counsellors, to assist him, that should be thus qualified;

1. Noble, and not Upstarts and of a Nights growth.

2. Men of Courage, such as would execute their own places, and not commit them to undefending Deputies.

3. Fearing God, not inclining to false Worship, or halting between two Opinions.

4. Dealing truly, not given to flattery, or fawning Courtship, but such as might be safely trusted by the King and Kingdome.

5. Having Covetousness, and not such as liv'd upon other mens Ruines, or that would take Bribes, or sell places in Church or Common-wealth, or about the King.

6. To be Many, in the multitude of Counsellors, there being safety.

7. To judge of small matters, as well as great. (the greatest being to be refer'd to the King) much lets any one Counsellor alone to take upon him the whole management of a Business.

8. Elders, not young and unexperient'd men, through whole rash and unadvised proceedings, great Designs many times miscarry.

In this Debate he was seconded by Sir John Eliot, who represented to the House, The present State of the Kingdom, the great dishonour the King and Kingdome had sustained in several miscarriages, occasion'd through the ill management of things by these in highest trust.

He also cited two Presidents, the first in the sixteenth year of Henry the Third, when the Parliament denied the Subsidies that were demanded by the King, untill such time as the great Officers were examined, and Hugo de Burgo found guilty of Corruption was displac'd. The second in the tenth year of Richard the Second, when supply was requir'd, and the Commons complaining, That the Earl of Suffolk, then over-ruled all, returned answer, That they could not give. Notwithstanding the heat of these Debates, the Commons taking into Consideration the Kings necessities, voted three Subsidies, and Three Fifteens, and that the Act should be brought in as soon as the Grievances, that should be presented to the King, were answered by him.

They also took again into consideration, the business concerning the Duke of Buckingham, and the mis-employment of the Revenue, and ordered that the Duke should again have notice of their Intentions, to proceed therein. But the King, not perceiving them to make such haste, as he expected, to answer his last Message, summons both Houses together, and signifies his Resentments to them by the Lord Keeper Coventry, complaining of them for unpunishing Mr. Cook, and Doctor Turner, and for searching his Signet Office: He also justified the

the Duke to have acted nothing of publique employment, without his speciall Warrant, wherefore he forbid them to use any more disquisition of that nature, which he took upon as libelling against his own Government. Lastly, he came to the business of Supply, wherein he blamed them for being too sparing, and for not ordering the Bill not to be brought in, till their Grievances were heard and answered, which he would not admit of. To all these Points, their final Answer was expected by Saturday next. This was the substance of the Lord Keepers Speech: Which being ended, the King said; He must withall put them in mind, that his Father, moved by their Council, and won by their perswasions, brake the Treaties. In those perswasions, he was their Instrument towards his Father, and was glad to be instrumental in any thing, which might please the whole Body of the Realm; nor was there any then in greater favour with them, than the Duke, whom now they so traduced: But now finding him so sure intangled in War, as he had no honourable and safe Retreat, they made his Necessity their Priviledge, and for what Rate they please upon their Supplies, a Practice not very obliging towards Kings. And whereas Mr. Cook told them, it was better to die by a Forraign Enemy, then to be destroyed at home: Indeed, he thought it more honourable for a King to be invaded, and almost destroyed by a Forraign Enemy, than to be despised at home. At a Conference of both Houses, in the Painted-Chamber, the Duke of Buckingham was commanded by the King, to explain something in his, and the Lord Keepers Speech, that might be subject to mis-understanding; which the Duke accordingly did; and afterwards rendered an Account at large of his Negotiation in the Low-Countries. As soon as the Duke had ended his Speech, the Lord Conway, Chief Secretary of State, in farther justification of the Duke, and to clear him from the opinion of having unskillfully, and without Council, expended the Treasure, discouraged particularly of the Treaty of Denmark, of the Project of Count Mansfield, of the Treaties with France, and the Business of the Navie, and averr'd, that they were not done by single Council, since King James himself commanded it; and then he gave in a punctual Account of the several Sums disbursed for the War.

It was now the year 1626. and the second year of his Majesties Reign; when the Commons, in Answer to the Kings last Speech, presented him with a Remonstrance to this purpose.

1626.

That they gratefully received his Majesties Expressions of Affection to his People and Parliament.

That they had taken Mr. Cooks, and Doctor Turners words into their consideration, and might have given a good account thereof by this time, if his Majesties Message had not interrupted them.

That they had the Presidents of former Parliaments, for searching the Letters of his Majesty, and his Secretary of State, the Signet Office, and other Records, upon the like occasions.

That it was the unquestionable Priviledge of Parliaments, to complain of any Persons of any Degree; and their Proceedings, in relation to the Duke, should not prejudice either Crown or Kingdom.

That they were willing to supply his Necessities liberally and faithfully; if Additions might be made of other things importing his Service, then in consultation amongst them.

The Kings Answer was short.

That He would have them, in the first place, consult about Matters of the greatest Importance; and that they should have time enough for other things afterwards.

The Earl of Bristol having been refer'd to be examined by a Committee of Lords, appointed by the King, touching his Negotiation in Spain; and upon consultation of the Business, having been committed to Prison, prohibited access to his Majesty, and continued under restraint, ever since his return out of Spain, received a Letter from the Lord Conway; wherein, in order to his release, he propounded to him from his Majesty this choice;

The Parliaments Remonstrance to the King concerning the words spoken by Mr. Cook, and Dr. Turner.

The Earl of Bristol treated by Secretary Conway, in order to his Releasement.

1626.

whether he would choose to sit still without being question'd for any Errors past in his Negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late Gracious Pardon, whereof he might take the Benefit; Or whether, being contented to waive the advantage of that Pardon, he would, for the clearing of his innocency (of which he and his Friends were so confident) put himself into a legal way of Examination for the Tryal thereof.

In answer to which, he wrote back to the Lord Conway;

That whereas now his Proposition was, whether he would choose to sit still without being farther question'd, &c. His Lordship might remember, that in a former Letter he propos'd, whether he desir'd to rest in the security he was in, and to acknowledge the gracious favour of his Majesty that now is, who had been pleas'd not to question his actions; *Torish*, said he, that your Lordship had more clearly explain'd the sense of the former Letter; but conferring both together, and gathering the meanings, by making the latter an explanation of the former, I return unto your Lordship this direct Answer; That I do most humbly acknowledge and accept of his Majesties Grace and Favour, and shall not wave any thing that shall come to me by the Pardon of 21 Jacobi Regis, or by the Pardon of his present Majesties Coronation.

At the same time, the Earl Petitioned the House of Lords, to intercede with his Majesty, That whereas, being a Peer of this Realm, he had not received a Summons from Parliament, he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the benefit of his Peerage, after two years restraint, without being brought to a Tryal; and that if any Charge were brought in against him, he might be tryed by Parliament. Hereupon the Earl of *Hereford* reported from the Committee of Priviledges, to which the Business was refer'd, that it would be requisite for their Lordships, to beseech his Majesty to grant a Writ of Summons to the Earl of *Bristol*: Which when it was brought to him, there came along with it a Letter from the Lord Keeper, signifying unto him;

That though his Majesty had given way to the awarding of the Writ; yet notwithstanding his pleasure was, That his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint as he did before, and that his personal attendance was to be forborn.

This Letter, with his own Answer to it, the Earl of *Bristol* sent to the House of Lords, together with a Petition, wherein he express'd himself;

That though he should ever obey the least intimation of his Majesties pleasure: yet he humbly offer'd in their Lordships wise Consideration, as too high a point for him, how far this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, and the Authority of their Letters-Patents, to be in this sort discharged by a Letter missive of any Subject without the Kings Hand; and besought them that he might be heard, both as to the point of his wrongful restraint, and of what he had to say against the Duke.

The King much incens'd at this Petition, sent a Message to the House of Lords, by the Lord Keeper, by which he signified his resentment of it, as void of duty and respect to his Majesty; and that it was his Royal Pleasure, that the Earl might be sent for as a Delinquent, to answer in the House his offences, and his scandalizing the Duke of *Buckingham*, immediately; and his Majesty by reflection. The Earl being brought to the Lords Bar, and ready to be impeach'd of High Treason by the Attorney-General, besought their Lordships; That as he was a Freeman, and Peer of the Realm unattainted, and had something to say of high Consequence for his Majesties service, he might have liberty to speak: Which having obtained, I accuse, said he, that man, the Duke of *Buckingham* of High-Treason. This resolute proceeding of the Earl, moved the Attorney-General to hasten the Charge against him; which was drawn up into eleven Articles, to this effect.

That falsely and trayterously he inform'd the late King by sundry Letters, That the Emperour and King of *Spain*, would really make restitution of the Dominions and Dignity of the Count Elector *Palatine*; and that the King of *Spain* did really intend the Marriage between his now Majesty, then Prince of *Wales*, and *Donna Maria* the Infanta of *Spain*; whereas neither by the Emperour the said Restitution, nor by the King of *Spain* the said Marriage, was ever really intended.

II. That having received Directions to put the King of *Spain* to a speedy and punctual Answer, touching the aforesaid Treaties; he nevertheless continued them upon Generalities, without pressing the King of *Spain* to particular Conclusions.

III. That

III. That he did many times, both by Word and Letters, extoll the Greatnesse and Power of the King of *Spain*; to the intent, that he might retard the late Kings Resolutions, of declaring himself an Enemy to the King of *Spain*.

IV. That being told, upon his dispatch out of this Realm, that there was little probability of the Success of these Treaties; he reply'd, He cared not what the Success thereof would be; for he would be careful to pursue his Instructions; and howsoever the Business went, he would make his Fortunes thereby.

V. That to advance the *Romish* Religion, during the time aforesaid, he often by Letters perswaded his late Majesty to set at liberty the Priests and Jesuits, and to grant all Papists a toleration of their Religion.

VI. That by his false Informations and Intelligences given to the late King, and the Prince, his now Majesty, they were put into hopes, and by long delays into jealousies, concerning the said Treaties, that there was not that sincerity in them which they expected: Whereupon the said Prince, his now Majesty, intending either to conclude the Treaty, or discover the feigned Intentions of the Emperour, and King of *Spain*, was forced to undertake a long and dangerous Journey, to the hazard of his own person, and in Him, of the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.

VII. That at the Prince his first coming into *Spain*, the Earl asked of the Prince for what end he came thither; who, not conceiving his meaning, answered, You know as well as I. Upon which he reply'd; Sir, Give me leave to tell you, they say here in *Madrid*, that you intend to change your Religion: And added, If you will trust me with so great a Secret, I will endeavour to carry it the secretest way I can. At which the Prince being mov'd, told him, He wonder'd what he had ever found in him, that he should think him so base, as for a wife to change his Religion. To which the Earl desiring his Pardon, return'd, It was but out of his desire to serve him.

VIII. That at another Conference, he trayterously endeavour'd to perswade him to turn *Romish* Catholique, using this Argument, That the State of *England* never did, nor could possibly do any great thing, but when Obedient to the Pope of *Rome*.

IX. That upon an Overture of Marriage between the Prince *Palatine*, and the Emperour's Daughter, and his being brought up in the Emperour's Court; upon which consideration he should be restor'd to the *Palatinate*: When mention was made, of the danger of changing his Religion, the Earl said, That without some such great Action, the Peace of Christendom could never be procur'd.

X. That at the Prince his departure out of *Spain*, the Powers of *Desponsories* being left with the Earl of *Bristol*, an Express was soon after sent him by the late King, not to deliver them, until a full Conclusion were made concerning the *Palatinate*: Nevertheless, contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, he set so short a day for the *Desponsories*, without any Assurance, or so much as treating of those things to which he was restrained, That if extraordinary diligence, with good success in the Journey, had not concurr'd, the Prince's hands might have been bound up, and yet he neither sure of a Wife, nor the Prince *Palatine* of Restitution.

XI. Lastly, That in a high and contemptuous manner, he had prefer'd a scandalous Petition to this Honourable House; in one Article whereof, he gave his now Majesty the Lie, by denying, and offering to falsifie what his now Majesty had affirm'd.

He petitioned the House of Lords about his liberty, and that he might be heard against the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The King displeas'd with the Earl of *Bristol's* Petition.

Articles against the Earl of *Bristol*.

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Upon this Impeachment, the Earl affirm'd, that at his importunity the late King promised that he should be heard before himself; and for the Kings Promise, he vouched the Lord Chamberlain for a Witness: *I pray God*, said he, *that Promise did him no hurt, for he shortly dyed after*. Then he put the House in mind of his Petition, and desir'd, that before he were impeach'd, they would receive his Charge against the Duke, and the Lord Conway: So having presented his Articles, he withdrew; and it was resolv'd upon the question by the House of Lords; that the Articles against the Duke, and the Lord Conway, should immediately be read: Being afterwards called to the Lords Bar, concerning his Articles against the Duke, he made a long Narration, touching the Proceedings of the Duke toward him: Which was,

The Earl of  
Bristol's Narra-  
tion to the  
Lord, concern-  
ing the Dukes  
proceedings  
towards him.

That he, conceiving himself bound not to conceal, for any earthly respect whatsoever, the true State of Affairs, wrote several Letters to his late Majesty, in which he faithfully gave his Opinion, that the Distaste between the Duke of Buckingham, and the King of Spain's Ministers, would, if his wisdom prevented it not, utterly overthrow all his Affairs: Of which Letters, the Duke coming to the knowledge, and fearing least at the Earls return, his Misdemeanours in Spain should come to be discovered, laboured by all means possible, that his Access to his Majesty might be obstructed, and having in vain solicited the Marquess of Hamilton, and the Lord Chamberlain, to that purpose, he so contrived the matter, that at the Earls landing at Dover, a Letter was delivered him from the Lord Conway, commanding him, in his Majesties Name, to retire himself to his House, and not to come to Court, till he had answered such Questions, as should be propounded to him by certain Lords of the Council at his Majesties Appointment: This was done, as supposing that if his Arrest had been deferr'd, till he had come to London, he would have easily gotten access to the Kings presence. Upon his frequent importunity to the King, that he might be brought to a Hearing, he still received a serious Promise, confirm'd at last with an Oath, That as soon as he should have answer'd to certain Questions that were to be propounded to him by the Commissioners, he should be admitted. These Questions he earnestly urg'd might be sent him, and that speedily; which was likewise promis'd. He added, That he was dealt with by one Mr. Clark, to acknowledge certain Propositions, that were sent him from the Duke; which he refusing, the Duke grew more and more incens'd against him, and his Interrogatories, before the Commissioners, were by many Artifices still delay'd from time to time, untill the Dukes turn was serv'd, in detaining him from the Kings presence, and then the said Questions were never more heard of. Also, upon the Earls sending of his Answer to all the Commissioners, they having declar'd themselves satisfied; and being resolv'd to clear him, were never permitted more to meet. Afterwards the Duke sent him again four or five Propositions, and promis'd, that upon his acknowledgment of them, he would employ his power with the King and Prince, that he might be again received into their Grace and Favour; but those were so unjust, that instead of an acknowledgment, he sent him an Answer, which though it satisfied not the Duke, yet his late Majesty was pleas'd to say in the Dukes presence, 'Twere to be accounted a Tyrant, to enjoin an innocent man to confess faults, of which he was not guilty; and sent him word, that he would hear him, concerning the Duke of Buckingham, as well as the Duke concerning him; and this hapned but a little before his Majesties sickness. Upon his now Majesties coming to the Crown, he in an humble Letter implor'd his Grace and Goodness, but was still kept in disfavour with him, through the means and instigation of the said Duke.

The Earl having thus declar'd his mind, concerning these Particulars, and again put them in remembrance of his Cause, presented to them in his late Petition, he withdrew, and remained in the Custody of Mr. Maxwell the Gentleman Usher.

The twelve Articles which the Earl of Bristol prefer'd against the Duke of Buckingham, were these.

The Earl of  
Bristol's Arti-  
cles against  
the Duke of  
Buckingham.

- I. That the Duke did secretly conspire with the Conde of Gondamar, Ambassador of Spain, before the said Ambassadors last return into Spain, 1622. to carry his Majesty, then Prince, into Spain; to the end, he might be enforced, and infanced in the Romish Religion; and thereby have perverted the Prince, and subverted the true Religion established in England.
- II. That Mr. Porter was made acquainted therewith, and sent into Spain, and such Message framed at his return, as might serve for a good ground to set on foot the Conspiracy, which was done accordingly; and thereby both King and Prince highly abused.
- III. That

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III. The Duke at his arrival in Spain, Nourished the Spanish Ministers, not only in the Belief of his own being Popishly given, by absenting himself from all Exercises of our Religion (then constantly used in the Earl of Bristol's House), and conforming himself to please the Spaniard, by keeping to and adoring their Sacraments, but gave them hope also of the Princes Conversion, which caused them to propound worse conditions for Religion, than had been formerly Settled and Signed by the Earl of Bristol, and Sir Walter Aston.

IV. That the Duke did many times, in the presence of the Earl of Bristol, move his Majesty, at the Instance of the Conde of Gondamar, to write a Letter to the Pope; which the Earl utterly dissuaded; and that, although during the Earls abode in England, he hindered the writing any such Letter; yet the Duke, after the Earls return, procured it to be written.

V. That the Pope being informed of the Dukes Inclination in point of Religion, sent him a Particular Bull in Parchment, therein perswading him to pervert his Majesty.

VI. That the Duke in Spain, did abuse the King of Spain, and his Ministers so, as they would not admit of a Reconciliation with him: Whereupon, seeing the Match would be to his disadvantage, he endeavoured to break it; not for any Service to this Kingdom, nor dislike of it in itself; nor for that he found (as since he hath pretended) that the Spaniard did not really intend it, but out of his Particular Ends and Indignation.

VII. That he intended to cross the Match, and make use of Letters of his Majesty, then private, to his own ends, and not to what they were intended; as also concealed many things of great Importance from his late Majesty, thereby overthrowing his Majesties Purpose, and advancing his own Ends.

VIII. That, For the aforesaid ends, he hath abused both Houses of Parliament by a Sinister relation of the Carriage of Affairs, as shall be made appear in every particular of that Relation.

IX. That he employed his Power with the King of Spain, for the procurement of Favours and Offices, which he bestowed upon unworthy Persons, for Recompense and Hire of his Lust: Which is a great infamy and dishonour to our Nation; that a Duke, a Privy Counsellor, and Ambassador, Eminent in his Majesties Favour, and solely intrusted with the Person of the Prince, should leave behind him, in a Forrein Court, so much Scandal by his ill behaviour.

X. That he hath been a great part the Cause of the Ruine of the Prince Palatine, and his Estate; in so much as those Affairs concern this Kingdom.

XI. That he hath in his Relation to both Houses of Parliament, wronged the Earl of Bristol in his Honour, by many Sinister Aspersions.

XII. Lastly, That the Earl of Bristol did reveal to his late Majesty, both by Word and Letter, in what sort the Duke had mis-demeaned himself, and abused his Trust: And the King by several wayes sent him word, he should rest Assured, That he would hear the said Earl in due time; and that four dayes before his Sickness, he signified to the Earl, that he would hear him against the Duke, as well as he had heard the Duke against him; And not long after the King dyed, having been much vexed and pressed with the said Duke.

Besides these Articles against the Duke, the Earl of Bristol, exhibited Eleven others against the Lord Conway, which were to this Effect.

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His Articles  
against the  
Lord Conway.

“1. That the Lord Conway stuck not to send him word, that if Business could not be accommodated between him and the Duke, he must declare himself for the Duke; so that, being so great a Servant of the Dukes, he was unfit to be a Judge in any thing that concerned the Duke or the Earl.

“2. That he acknowledg'd himself, under his own Hand, a Secretary of the Duke of Buckingham's creation; and began his Letters to him, in this form, *Most Gracious Patron.*

“3. That as a Creature of the said Duke, he had been the Instrument of keeping the Earl from the Kings presence, and that the Warrants for his Imprisonment were only under his own hand.

“4. That he had procur'd his restraint upon undue Grounds, and had continued it for a years space, by misinforming the King; and when it appear'd that his Late Majesty had freely granted the Earl his Liberty, he reply'd, that, That Liberty expir'd with the Kings Death.

“5. That the Earl desiring the Lord Conway to move the King for Leave to see his Mother, who lay sick; he after long delays having spoken with the Duke, gave him a Negative Answer in the Kings Name; of which his Majesty being inform'd, and very much displeas'd at it, granted free Leave; but the Lord Conway sent him certain Limitations which were never express'd by his Majesty.

“6. That he would not deliver any Message from the said Earl to the King (although it was so order'd by his Majesty), without first acquainting the Duke, and receiving his Directions.

“7. That he perceiving that the Earl was like to be cleared concerning those Interrogatories, which the Commissioners, appointed by his Majesty to search into his Proceedings and Employment, were to propound to him, never moved for any farther meeting, whereby the said Earls troubles have been kept on foot to this present day.

“8. That there being some few questions to the Twenty Interrogatories, which when the Earl should have answered, his Majesty solemnly swore, That he should be Admitted to his Presence; the Lord Conway, notwithstanding that he acknowledg'd under his Hand, that he had receiv'd directions from his Majesty to send those Articles, and was often Solicited thereunto, would yet never send them.

“9. That the Earl being set Free by his Late Majesty, and having his Writ of Parliament sent him, without any Prohibition, was wish'd by his now Majesty to make some Excuse for the present, which he did, and moved he might have a Letter under the Kings Hand, to warrant his absence; but under colour of this Letter of Leave, the Lord Conway sent a Letter from his Majesty, absolutely forbidding his coming to Parliament, and therein likewise inserted a Clause, that the Earl should remain restrain'd as he did in the time of his late Majesty.

“10. That the Lord Conway, knowing that the Match for the Marrying of the King of Bohemia's Eldest Son with the Emperours Daughter, and his being bred up in the Emperours Court, was allowed and propounded by his Late Majesty; hath yet suffered it to be Charged as a Crime against the Earl of Bristol, both in the Twentieth Interrogatory, and his Majesties last Letter, that he should consent to the Breeding of the said young Prince in the Emperours Court, as if it had tended to the perverting of his Religion, when as he knew there was an express Clause that provided to the contrary.

11. That

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The Lord Keepers  
Message from the King  
to the House of  
Lords, concerning  
the Earls Articles against  
the Duke.

“That the Lord Conway hath been the Cause of all the Earl of Bristol's Troubles, by his dubious and Intrapping dispatches, which contained no such directions as he Alleg'd were given, and wherein he pretended the Earl had failed.

“The House not judging it reasonable that the Earl should be again committed to the Tower, suffered him to remain with the Usher of the Black-Rod, and order'd, that the Kings Charge against the Earl should be heard, before the Earls Charge against the Duke, of which the King, in a Message delivered by the Lord Keeper to the House of Lords, observ'd, that many of the Articles were such, as he himself was able to say more of his own knowledge, than any man, touching the Dukes sincere Carriage in them; and that one of them, concerning the Narrative made in Parliament, in the 21. of King James, trencheth as far upon himself as the Duke, for that his Majesty went as far as the Duke in that Declaration, and that all of them have been clos'd in the Earls own Breast now for these two years, contrary to his Duty, if he had known any Crime of that Nature against the Duke, and that now he vents it by way of Recrimination against the Duke, whom he knows to be a principal Witness to prove his Majesties Charge; and therefore his Majesty gave the House thanks, that they gave no way to the Earl of Bristol's unreasonable Motion, of putting the Duke under the same Restraint as they had put the Earl. There being an endeavour to take the Earls Cause out of the House, and to proceed by way of Indictment in the Kings Bench; the Lords gave their Reasons why they could not give way to that manner of Proceeding, in respect of these dangerous Inconveniences that would follow.

1. He could have no Council.
2. He could use no Witnesses against the King.
3. He could not know what the Evidences against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his Defence.
4. The Liberties of the House would be thereby infring'd.
5. The Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from Arraignment, and so he might be disabled to make good his Charge against the Duke; and therefore it was judg'd the most Proper and most Legal way of Proceeding; First, To have the Charge deliver'd into the House in Writing, and the Earls to set down his Answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesses might be Examind, and Evidence on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing, the House should find it to be Treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in Point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtful in matter of Fact, then to refer it to a Regal Fair.

Reasons why  
the Lords  
could not give  
way to an Indictment  
against the Earl  
at the Kings  
Bench.

Soon after the Charge was given in against the Earl of Bristol, who having his Answer ready to deliver to their Lordships, crav'd their Attention to some things which he intended to speak by way of Introduction: in which Speech he gave a full Account, Of his being brought up in the Protestant Religion, Of his constant adhering to it, and strict profession of it, during the time that he travell'd into France and Italy: Of his Behaviour, when he came first to be receiv'd into his Majesties Domestick Service, at which time none of the Kings Servants frequented Sermons more, or oftner receiv'd the holy Sacrament: Of his avowing and asserting the Protestant Cause, when he was sent Embassadour into Spain, about the Treatise of Marriage, and the Faithful Service he did the King, his Master, in that Embassie; and how that when he was sent for over into England, the Conde de Olivares, advertis'd him what was plotted against him here, and perswaded him in the Presence of Sir Walter Aston, to stay there in respect of the Danger, making great Offers of Honour and Preferment, which, relying upon his Innocence and integrity, he refus'd, and came over.

Then the Earl gave in his Answer to each Particular Article of the Impeachment.

“1. What was Charg'd against him in the first Article, His dealing unfaithfully in the Business of the Palatinate, he utterly denied, producing Letters from the Queen of Bohemia, from the Duke of Buckingham, and from King James himself; in each of which his good Services as to that particular were acknowledg'd, and very well accepted of: he also clear'd himself touching the Match, proving, that it was really intended by the King of Spain.

“2. His continuing the Treatise upon Generalities, Charg'd against him in the second Article, he also deny'd.

“3. Nor did he ever, as he said, dissuade his Majesty from taking Arms against Spain; as the Third Article infers: But only advis'd, that all fitting Preparation for War might be made.

“4. That

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4. That he doubted of the probability of the Match he granted, and said, that he always wish'd and advis'd a Protestant Match: he farther acknowledg'd, that he might say, *He would get his Instructions perfect*; but for the other clause of the Fourth Article, which tax'd him of saying, *He would make his Fortunes thereby*; he affirm'd, it was impossible for him to hold so mean and unworthy a Discourse.

5. He said, he was so far from moving his Majesty to set Priests at Liberty, and grant Papists a Toleration, that though his Majesty was engaged by the Treaty at Madrid, and his Promise to Conde Gondomar, to do many things in favour of the Papists; yet he the said Earl would not condescend hereunto de bene esse, as may appear by his Letters to Mr. Secretary Calvert.

6. That the Assurances he gave his Majesty concerning the Treaties, were no other than what were given by the Emperour and the King of Spain; and that it was neither those Assurances, nor the jealousies of Spain, but other Motives that were the original cause of the Prince, his now Majesties said Journey.

7. And 8. His words never tended to the perswading of the Prince to change his Religion, as the Seventh and Eighth Articles imply, and therewith produc'd a Letter of his to his M. that now is, wherein he gave his advice chiefly for a Match with a Protestant Princess; but if a Catholick, he inclin'd rather to Spain than France; but as to the first, he only told his Majesty, that the general Opinion of that Court was, That the intention of his coming thither, was to be a Roman Catholick: As to the Second, that upon occasion of a Letter, putting his Majesty in mind of the great Actions of his Royal Predecessours in the Holy War, the Earl believeth he might say by way of Discourse, that in regard of the difference of Religion, it was of more difficulty to undertake such great Actions, now than in former Ages.

9. That he deliver'd not his Opinion concerning the Marriage of the Prince Palatine Son with the Emperours Daughter, and his Education in the Emperours Court, otherwise then by way of discourse, and that with regard had to his being bred up in his own Religion. And to shew that King James himself was not averse to it, he produced a Letter of his to his Son in Law to that effect.

10. That his forwardness to consummate the Match, was in respect of a War-rant under his Late Majesties Hand, his Commission under the great Seal, positive order from his Majesty by Letters, since it was agreed by Capitulation to be so many days after the dispensation arriv'd; the Proxies were left to that end in his Hands, and renewed after his Majesties return into England.

11. Last'y, Touching his Petition, he hop'd to justify the Contents of it in such sort that it should not displease his Majesty, nor deserve that expression which was used in the Charge.

While these two Peers were thus contesting, the House of Commons had time to frame their Impeachment against the Duke; as hoping that this, joyned with the Earls, might give him a total Rout: It was therefore presented to the Lords on the Eighth of May, and the Cause managed by Master Glanvil, Master Herbert, Master Selden, Master Pim, Master Mansford, Master Skerland; to whom was added Sir Dudley Diggs, as Prolocutor, and Sir John Elliot brought up the Rear. Sir Dudley Diggs, in his Prologue, after a Complaint made against the Dukes ill ordering the Martial Affairs, gave the Lords a general account of the Impeachment.

First, That the Duke had ingrossed, Bought, and Sold the greatest Offices of the Kingdom.

Secondly, That he had by back-ways and by-ways procured to himself and others the chiefest Honours, which ought to have been the Rewards of Vertue.

Thirdly, That he had unworthily promoted his own Kindred, to the great Charge and Burden of the Crown.

Lastly, That he had cast unjust aspersions upon the Late King, for excuse of his own Exorbitances. After the Prologue, the Commons presented their Accusation, which we refer to the Dukes Answer, a Month after: But whilst the Commons dealt with the Lords, for the removing the Duke from his Place and Council; during his Impeachment, Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, were committed to the Tower, (yet soon after released,) the Judges giving in their Verdict, That

Sir Dudley Diggs his Prologue to the Articles against the Duke.

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That the whole House was arrested in their Persons, and the Commons remonstrating thereupon, The Duke being sensible of the number of his Adversaries, even in the House of Lords, perswaded the King, by his Patent to create three of his confederates Barons, to wit, the Lord Manderhill, was created Baron Kimbolton, Grandison Baron Imbercourt, and Calton Baron Tregate, and so having augmented the Number of his Friends, he presents his Defence to the Lords, and forbore the House, in the mean time while his Cause might be determined, which (had he not been well back'd) might have gone hard with him, as we may see by the Commons Impeachment against him for Misdemeanors, Misprisions, Offences, Crimes, and other Matters comprised in those Thirteen Articles following, the Dukes Answer to each particular being adjoyn'd.

First, That he the said Duke, being young and unexperienced, hath of late years, with exorbitant ambition and for his own advantage, procured and ingrossed into his own hands, severall great Offices, both to the Danger of the State, and prejudice of that Service which should have been performed in them, and to the Discouragement of others, who are thereby precluded from such Hopes as their Vertues, Abilities, and publique Employments might otherwise have obtained.

Articles of the House of Commons against the Duke of Buckingham; With the Duke's Reply to them.

Reply, That his late Majesty did of his own Royall motion bestow them upon him, and he hopeth, and conceiveth, he may without Blame receive what his Bountifull Master conferreth upon him, if the Common-Wealth doth not suffer thereby. Nor is it without President, that men Eminent in the esteem of their Sovereign, have held as great and as many Offices as himself, but if it shall be proved, that he falsly or corruptly hath executed those Offices, he is and will be ready to resign them with his Life and Fortunes to his Majesties Dispose.

Secondly, That in the 16 year of the Reign of the late King, he did give and pay to the then Earl of Nottingham, for the Office of Great Admirall of England, and Ireland, and of the Principality of Wales, and Generall Governour of the Seas, and Ships of the said Kingdoms, and for the Surrender of the said Offices, to the intent, the said Duke might obtain them to his own use, the Sum of 8000 l. and did also procure for the said Surrender from the Late Kings, an Annuity of 1000 l. per annum, payable to the said Earl; for which Considerations, the said Earl Surrendered the said Office, with his Letters Patents, unto the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his Life, which is an Offence contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, those Offices so highly concerning the Administration and Execution of Justice.

Reply, That the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Admiral, being grown much in years, and finding himself not so fit nor able to perform what appertained to his Place; as formerly, became an earnest Suitor to his late Majesty, to permit him to surrender up his Office; who, at length, being overcome by the Earl's many Sollicitations, condescended thereunto; and his late Majesty, at the entreaty of others, without the Duke's Privacy, was also perswaded to confer it upon the Duke much against his will; he being no way experienced in those Affairs; So that the Earl did freely Surrender, and the Duke accept the Grant of the said Office without any the least Contract or Proviso. But true it is, that his late Majesty Out of his Royall Bounty, did grant to the said Earl a Pension of 1000 l. per annum; as a recompence for his former Service to the Crown; and also the Duke himself did freely and voluntarily, with his late Majesties approbation, as an Argument of his Honourable respects to so noble a Predecessor, send the Earl Three thousand Pounds, which he hopeth is not blame-worthy in him.

Thirdly, That he the said Duke, in the 22. year of the late King, did give and pay unto Edward Lord Zouch, for the Offices of the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, the Sum of One Thousand Pounds; and granted also an Annuity of 500 l. per annum, during his Life; and that for the consideration aforesaid, the said Lord Zouch did Surrender his Offices, and Letters Patents, to the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his life; which Offices (so highly concerning the administration of Justice) the Duke hath ever since held against the Laws of the Land.

Reply,

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" *Reply*, That the Lord *Zouch*, being grown in years, and unfit to manage the Office of the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of *Dover* Castle, which are indeed both but one; discovered a willingness to surrender it, and made severall offers thereof to the Duke of *Richmond*; who at last contracted with the said Lord *Zouch*, for his surrender, for the consideration of one Thousand pounds in money, and five hundred pounds *per annum*; and the said Duke of *Richmond* being prevented by Death, his late Majesty directed the Duke of *Buckingham*, to go through with the Lord *Zouch* for it, upon the same terms; which he was the willingest to do, by reason he had found by experience, that the Kings Service suffered much through the Emulation, dissension and contention, arising between those two Officers: and he hopeth this Act of his, in acquiring this Office, accompanied with such circumstances, the King also being both privy and directing, will receive a favourable construction, especially, considering he was altogether unacquainted with any Law to the contrary.

Fourthly, That he hath neglected the just execution of those his Offices, and violated the trust reposed in, and committed to him by them; inasmuch as through his neglect, the Trade of this Kingdom hath been of late much decayed, and the Seas ingominously infected with Pyrats and Enemies, to the great loss both of Ships and Goods, and imminent Danger of this Kingdom.

" *Reply*, That the Loss happening to the Kings Subjects by Pyrats and Enemies, hath not proceeded through the Dukes default, as is suggested; but because those Pyrats Ships are built of a mould as fit for flight as for fight; being far too nimble for the Kings Ships. To prevent which inconvenience for the time to come, there is present order taken for the building of Ships of the same shape with those of *Dunkirk*: And for the Pyrats of *Sally*, That provision is taken either to restrain by Treaty, or to repress them by Force, as will give good Satisfaction; and this will clearly appear upon proof.

Fifthly, That whereas about Michaelmas last, a Ship called the *St. Peter* of New-haven, laden with divers Merchants Jewels and Commodities to the value of 40000*l*, or thereabout, for the proper account of Monsieur de Villeurs, then Governour of New-haven, was taken by the Ships of his Majesties late Fleet, and brought into the Port of Plymouth, as a prize, upon probability that the said Ship or Goods belonged to the Subjects of the King of Spain. Whereupon there was an Arrest of two English Ships at New-haven in the Kingdom of France: after which intimation was given to the Advocate in the chief Court of Admiralty, from his Majesty, by Secretary Cook, for the freeing and discharging the said Ship and Goods, and thereupon by Commission under Seal, the said Ship and Goods were released. The said Duke, notwithstanding any such Order, and Decree, detained still to his own use, the Gold, Silver, and Pearls, Jewels and other Commodities so taken out of the said Ship, and unjustly caused the said Ship to be arrested again, In contempt of the Lawes of this Land, and to the prejudice of Trade.

" *Reply*, That complaint being made on the behalf of some French men at the Councell Table, concerning the *St. Peter*, and some other ships; his Majesty then present did order, That she and all other should be released, as were found to belong to any Prince or State in Amity with him, provided, they were not fraudulently coloured: And accordingly this Ship was by Sentence in the Admiralty discharged, but within few dayes after, new Information came to the Lord Admirall, That this Ship was laden by the Subjects of the King of Spain in Spain, that the *Admirante* so waited her beyond the North Cape; And that Witnesses were ready to attest as much: Upon which the Duke acquainted his Majesty therewith, and by his command made stay of this ship, as he was assured (by the opinion of the King, and five other Advocates) he might do: and command was given to the Kings Advocate, to hasten the Examination of Witnesses, in pursuance of the new information. But the French Merchants, impatient of delays, which the producing many Witnesses would occasion, complained

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" complained again to the Councell Board, and obtained an Order from thence, for the delivery of the said Ship and Goods upon security; which security was once offered, but after retracted: yet upon the consideration of the testimonies produced, the Kings Advocate informing the Duke, That the proof came short for that Ship, The Duke did instantly give order for her final discharge, and that all her Goods should be re-imbarked to the Owners; which was done accordingly.

Sixthly, That the East-India Merchants in the 21 of the late King's Reign, preparing to set forth four great Ships richly laden in their usuall course of Trade; the Duke moved the Lords then assembled in Parliament, to know, whether he should make stay of those Ships for the Service of the States? which Motion being approved by the Lords, the Duke accordingly did stay those Ships, and after procured a Joyned Action to be entered in the Court of Admiralty, in the Name of the late King, and himself, as Lord Admirall, against 15000*l*. pretended to be Pyratically taken by some Captains of the said Merchants Ships, and in the hands of the said Captains; and accordingly an Attachment was served upon the said Merchants: Whereupon the said Merchants being urged to bring in the 15000*l*. or to go to Prison, made new sure to the Duke for the release of their Ships; who pretending that the Parliament must be moved therein, the Merchants much perplexed, and considering they should lose much by unlading their Ships, and the loss of their Voyage, resolved to tender to the said Duke 10000*l*. for his unjust demand; who by colour of his Office, extorted, and extraited from them the said 10000*l*. and upon receipt thereof, and not before, released the said Ships.

" *Reply*, That the Motion in Parliament about the stay of the East-India Ships, was only upon apprehension, that they might be serviceable for the defence of the Realm. That the Action entered in the Court of Admiralty against the East-India Company, was not after (as is suggested) but divers Months before that Motion in Parliament, yea, before the Parliament began. That the Composition (mentioned in this Article) was not moved by the Duke, but made by the late King; and that the Company without any Menaces or Compulsion, agreed to the Composition, as willing to give so much, rather then to abide the hazard of the Suit. That of the said Sums, all but 200*l*. was employed by his late Majesties Officers for the benefit of the Navy. And lastly, That those Ships were not discharged upon payment of the said sum of 10000*l*. but upon an Accommodation allowed, that they should prepare other Ships for his Majesty's Service; whilst they went on their Voyage; which accordingly they did.

Seventhly, That the Duke being great Admirall of England, did by colour of the said Office procure one of the principall Ships of the Navy-Royall, called the *Vant-guard*, and five other Merchants Ships of great burthen, to be conveyed over, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Apparel, into the Kingdom of France; and did compell the said Masters and Owners of the said Ships, to deliver the said Ships into the possession and Command of the French King and his Ministers, without either sufficient security for their re-delivery, or necessary Caution in that behalf, contrary to the duty of his Office, and to the apparent weakning of the Navall strength of this Kingdom.

" *Reply*, That those ships were lent to the French King without his privy. That when he knew thereof, he did what appertained to his Office; that he did not by Menace, nor any undue practice by himself, or any other, deliver those ships into the hands of the French. That what Error hath since happened, was not in the intencion any way injurious to the State, nor prejudiciall to the interest of any private man.

Eighthly, That the Duke knowing that the said Ships were intended to be employed against the Rochellers and the Protestants elsewhere, did compell them as aforesaid, to be delivered to the French King and his Ministers, to the end, that they might be employed against those of the reformed Religion; contrary to the intencion of our Sovereign Lord

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Lord the King, and to his former promise at Oxford, and to the great scandall of our Nation.

“ Reply, That understanding a discovery, that those Ships should be employed against *Rochell*, he endeavoured to divert the course of such Employment: and whereas it is alledged, that he promised at *Oxford* that those Ships should not be so employed, he under Favour faith, he was mis-understood; for he only said, that the event would shew it, being confident in the promises of the French King, and that he would have really performed what was agreed upon.

Ninthly, That he hath enforced some who were rich (though unwilling) to purchase Honours; As the Lord Roberts Baron of *Truro*, who was by Menaces wrought to pay the sum of 10000 l. to the said Duke, and to his use, for his said Barony.

“ Reply, He denieth any such Compulsion of the Lord Roberts to buy his Honour; and that he can prove, that as the said Lord did then obtain it by the solicitations of others, so was he willing formerly to have given a great sum for it.

Tenthly, That in the eighteenth year of the late King, he did procure of the late King the Office of High Treasurer of England, to the Viscount *Mandevill*, now Earl of *Manchester*; for which Office he received of the said Viscount to his own use, the sum of 20000 l. of money; and also did procure in the twentieth year of the late King, the Office of Master of the Wards and Liveries for Sir *Lionell Cranfield*, afterwards Earl of *Middlesex*; and as a Reward for the said procurement, he had to his own use, of the said Sir *Lionell Cranfield*, the sum of 6000 l. contrary to the Dignity of his late Majesty.

“ Reply, That he had not, nor did receive any penny of the said Sums to his own use. That the Lord *Mandevill* was made Lord Treasurer by his late Majesty, without any Contract for it; and though his Majesty did after borrow of the said Lord 20000 l. yet was it upon Proviso of repayment, for which the Duke at first past his word, and after entred him security by Land, which stood engaged untill his late Majesty, during the Duke's being in *Spain*, gave the Lord satisfaction by Land in Fee-farm, of a considerable value; whereupon the Duke's security was returned back: And that the 6000 l. disbursed by the Earl of *Middlesex*, was bestowed upon Sir *Henry Mildmay* by his late Majesty, (without the Duke's privacy) who had and enjoyed it all entire.

Eleventhly, That he hath procured divers Honours for his Kindred and Allies, to the prejudice of the ancient Nobility, and disabling the Crown from rewarding extraordinary Vertues in future times.

“ Reply, That he believeth, he were rather worthily to be condemned in the opinion of all generous minds, if being in such Favour with his Majesty, he had minded only his own Advancement, and had neglected those whom the Law of Nature had obliged him to hold most dear.

Twelfthly, That he procured and obtained of the late King divers Mannors, parcels of the Revenues of the Crown, to an exceeding great value, and hath received, and (to his own use) disbursed, great Sums of money that did properly belong unto the late King; and the better to colour his doings, hath obtained severall privy Seals from his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, warranting the payment of great Sums of money by him, as if such Sums were directed for the secret Service of the State; when as they were disposed of to his own use: and hath gotten into his hands great Sums, which were intended by the late King for the furnishing and victualling of the Navy-Royall, to the exceeding diminution of the Revenues of the Crown, to the abusing and deceiving of his late, and now Majesty, and detriment of the whole Kingdome.

“ Reply,

“ Reply, That he doth humbly, and with all thankfulness, acknowledge his late Majesties bountiful hand to him, and shall be ready to render back into the hands of his now Majesty, whatsoever he hath received together with his Life; to do him service: but for the value suggested in the Charge, he saith, there is a great mistake in the Calculation, as he shall make evident in a Schedule annexed, to which he referreth himself: Nor did he obtain the same by any undue solicitation or practice, nor yet a Release for any Sums so received; but having several times, and upon several occasions, disposed divers Sums of his late, and now Majesty, by their private Directions, he hath Released thereof for his Discharge, which was honourable in them to grant, and not unfit for him to desire, and accept, for his future Indemnity.

Lastly, That he, being a sworn Servant of the late King, did cause and provide certain Plaisters and Potions for his late Majesty in his last sickness, without the privy of his Majesties Physicians; and that although those Plaisters and Potions formerly applied, produced such ill Effects, as many of his sworn Physicians did disallow, as prejudicial to his Majesties health; yet nevertheless did the Duke apply them again to his Majesty: whereupon great Distempers, and dangerous Symptomes appeared in him; which the Physicians imputed to those Administrations of the Duke, whereof his late Majesty also complained; which was an Offence and Misdemeanour of so high a Nature, as may be called an Act of transcendent presumption. And the said Commons by Protestation, suing to themselves the liberties of exhibiting hereafter any other Accusation or Impediment against the Duke; and also of replying unto what the Duke shall answer unto the said Articles; do pray, that the said Duke may be put to answer all and every the Premises; and that such Proceeding, Examinations, Tryals, and Judgments, may be upon every of them had, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

“ Reply, That his late Majesty being sick of an Ague, a Disease out of which the Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found most advantageous to his health; the Duke replied, A Plaister, and Posset-drink, administered unto him by the Earl of *Warwick's* Physician: Whereupon the King much desired the Plaister and Posset-drink to be sent for; and the Duke delaying it, he commanded a Servant of the Dukes to go for it, against the Dukes earnest request, he humbly craving his Majesty not to make use of it, without the advice of his own Physicians, and experiment upon others; which the King said he would do; and in confidence thereof, the Duke left him, and went to *London*. And in the mean time, he being absent, the said Plaister and Posset-drink were brought; and at the Dukes return, his Majesty commanded the Duke to give him the Posset-drink, which he did, the Physicians then present, not seeming to dislike it; afterward, the Kings health declining, and the Duke hearing a Rumour, as if his Physick had done his Majesty hurt, and that he had administered Physick without advice; the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who with much discontent replied; They are worse then Devils that say so.

Upon occasion of the Dukes Impeachment, this following Paper was secretly conveyed to the Kings Hands.

That the great opposition against the Duke, was stirred and maintained by such as seek the destruction of this free Monarchy, because they find it not ripe to attempt against the King himself, they endeavour it through the sides of the Duke; the persons agreeing in this onemischief, are of divers sorts and humours.

1. Medling and busy persons, who love popular speeches.
2. Covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Depopulators, &c. who being of the Parliament, ease themselves of Subsidies, and lay it on the true Commons, and cry out the Grievances are caused by the Duke.
3. Recusants, who hate the Duke, because of the breach of the *Spanish* March.
4. Persons indebted, who by Priviledge of Parliament avoid payment.
5. Puritans and Sectaries, Haters of Government, who would have the Kings Power extinguish in matters Ecclesiastical, and limited in Civil.
6. Male-contented, who look upon the Duke with an evil Eye, because they themselves are not preferred.

A Paper conveyed into the Kings Hands, upon occasion of the Dukes Impeachment.

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7. Lawyers, who are very fit in Parliaments to second any Complaint against both Church and King, and all his Servants; with their Customs, Records Statutes, and Precedents.

8. Merchants and Citizens, who deceive the King of Customs.

9. Innovators, *Plebeicola*. That since the time of Henry the 6, these Parliamentary Discouragements were never suffer'd, as being certain Symptoms of subsequent Rebellions, Civil Wars, and the dethroning of Kings, no one Patriot daring to oppose them, least he incur the Reputation of a Coward in his Countries Cause; Kings therefore have ever strengthened themselves with some *Favourite*, as whom he might better trust than many of the Nobility tainted with this desire of *Oligarchy*. It behoveth, without doubt, his Majesty to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but de-courted, it will be the very Corner-stone of that Work, which they intend to lay, for the demolishing of this Monarchy; for if they prevail with this, they have hatched a thousand other Demands to pull the Feathers of Royalty. They will appoint him Counsellors, Servants, Alliances, Limits of Expences, and account of his Revenue: Chiefly, if they can, they will now dazzle him in the beginning of his Reign. Several things, though Actions of the King, are laid as Aspersions upon the Duke, who if he suffer in obeying his Sovereign, the next Attempt will be to call the King to account for any thing he undertakes, which doth not succeed according to all mens expectation and desire.

If it please his Majesty to remove and set aside all these disadvantages, he shall find the Charge against the Duke, very empty and of small moment; All that hath been by the Parliament objected against him, except two or three things that may receive an Answer, being pardon'd at the Kings Coronation, which benefit every poor Subject enjoyeth.

The Apology of Sir Dudley Diggs, and other Members imprisoned in the Tower, about certain words spoken in the House.

Sir Dudley Diggs, as soon as he was released out of the Tower, had somewhat to do to clear himself of certain words, which he was charg'd to have uttered at a Conference; namely, That speaking of the Plaster applied to the late King, he said, *That he forbore to speak farther, in regard of the Kings Honour*. But after his own solemn Protestation, and that of 36 Lords, that no such words were spoken, the King remained satisfied.

Sir John Elliot also made his Apology, in reference to several sharp Expressions against the Duke, of which he was taxed in a Speech by the Vice-Chamberlain Sir Dudley Carlton, as his comparing him to a strange Beast, when speaking of the plurality of his great and different Offices, he used the word *Stellionatus*, from a certain discoloured Beast called *Stellio*; that he used the phrase, *That man, which was to be esteemed a great Indignity*. That he compared him to *Sejanus*, &c. After he had explained his meaning in each of these Expressions; the House resolved upon the Question, *That in any thing that had proceeded from him, he had not gone beyond the Commission given him*. The like Vote they passed for Sir Dudley Diggs, and the rest of those that managed that Conference.

In the mean time, that the Duke stood impeached in Parliament, the Earl of Suffolk dying, and the Chancellorship of Cambridge becoming void by his death; The University understanding it was the Kings pleasure, that the Duke of Buckingham should be chosen Chancellor in his Room, were studious to shew themselves compliant with his Majesties desire in that Election, especially Mr. *Maw*, the Master of Trinity Colledge, who by his own power and interest, procur'd 43 Votes for the Duke; but there wanted not a strong and resolute party who opposed this Election, and made choice of the Lord Thomas Howard, second Son to the Earl of Suffolk deceased, inasmuch, that the Duke carry'd it only by five Voyces, there being a hundred and eight for him, and a hundred and three for the Lord Howard, who sent a Letter of acknowledgment to Mr. *Granado* Chester, (who, having some dependence upon him, was the principal Stickler in his behalf) desiring him to impart his thanks to his Friends in the University, who had been ready to give their suffrage for him. The House of Commons thinking it not fit that the Chancellorship of Cambridge, should be conferr'd upon a person that stood publickly charg'd with high Misdemeanours, were about to have signified by Letter to the University, their dislike of that Election; and the rather, for that in the manner of it, there were many Passages in contempt of the House. The King hearing of this their intention, forbade them by Sir Richard Weston, the sending of any such Letter; saying,

That

The Duke of Buckingham chosen Chancellor of Cambridge.

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That if any thing in the manner of the Election, were done in contempt of the House, they might inquire after it, and punish the Offenders; but for the Election it self, his Majesty did avow it, and resolv'd to maintain the Universities, against any that should go about to infringe their Liberties; nor had he ever heard, that upon Accusation onely, a man should lose his good Opinion in the World.

Presently after he writ a Letter, in approbation of the foresaid Election: The Duke also sent a Letter of acknowledgment to the University, in which he exprest his high resentment of the honour that was done him in that Choice; and how happy he esteem'd himself, in being thought well of by men of their Profession and Merit; and promis'd to employ his utmost endeavours, for the maintaining of the Charters and Immunities of the University in general, and for advancing Students of Merit and Learning in particular.

About this time, the King earnestly pressed the House of Commons again by their Speaker Sir Henage Finch, about a speedy Supply; letting them know,

*That if they did not pass the Bill of Subsidy by the end of the Week following, it would enforce him to take other Resolutions; and if by their denial, or delay, any thing of ill consequence should fall out, either at home or abroad, he called God and Man to witness, that he had done his part to prevent it; by calling his People together, to advise with him, whose sitting, if they dispatch'd this according to his desire, he resolv'd to continue for the dispatch of other Affairs; and after their Recess, to bring them again together the next winter.*

The Commons before they sent their Answer to the Kings Majesty, first drew up a Petition to his Majesty;

*That he would be pleas'd to remove from all places of Trust and Authority, all such persons, as were either Popish Recusants, or according to direction of former Acts of State, justly to be suspected.* And therewithall they sent a large Scrowl, containing the Names of all such Noble-men, and others, as remain'd in places of high Trust in the several Counties of England.

The King presseth the Parliament for Supply.

The Duke of Buckingham having given in his Answer to the late Articles against him into the Lords House, moved their Lordships to send to the Commons for a speedy Reply; whereupon the Commons also desired to have a Copy of his Answer. But the Duke fearing the issue of this Business, humbly applyed himself unto the Lords, whom he intreated to allow him the benefit of the free and general Pardon, granted by King James in Parliament, in the 21 year of his Reign; together with that of the present King at his Coronation. Upon the 14th of June, the Parliament had drawn up another Declaration of Grievances against the Duke, whom they resolv'd utterly to overthrow, though against the Kings Inclination; who thereat incens'd, the very next day dissolved them, and committed the Earl of Bristol to the Tower; sending forth also a Proclamation for burning of all Copies of the afore-mentioned Declaration of the Commons. To shew the manner and sort of the Kings dissolving the Parliament; I have thought it not amiss to insert the Kings Commission under the Great Seal, to that intent, which ran thus;

The Parliament being resolved to prosecute the Duke, is dissolved by the King.

### CAROLUS DEI GRATIA, &c.

CHARLES, By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most Reverend Father in Christ, and our faithful Counsellor, George Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; and to our well-beloved and faithful Counsellor, Sir Thomas Coventry, Knight, Lord Keeper of our Great Seal of England; and also to the most Reverend Father in Christ, Tobie Archbishop of York, Primate and Metropolitan of England: Also to our dearest Cofins, and Counsellors, James Earl of Marlborough, our Treasurer of England; Henry Earl of Manchester, Lord President of our Council; Edward Earl of Worcester, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, George Duke of Buckingham, our great Admiral of England; William Earl of Pembroke, Chamberlain of our Household: Also to our dearest Cofin, Edward Earl of Dorset: Also to our dearest

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dearest Cousin and Councillor, Philip Earl of Mountgomery: And to our dearest Cousin, William Earl of Northampton, President of our Council, below the Principality and Marches of Wales: Also to our dearest Cousin and Councillor, James Earl of Carlisle: Also to our dearest Cousins, John Earl of Clare, Thomas Earl of Cleavland, Edmund Earl of Mulgrave: Also to our dearest Cousin and Councillor, George Earl of Tottnes, and to our dearest Cousin, Henry Viscount Rochford: And also to our most Reverend Fathers in Christ, George Bishop of London, Richard Bishop of Durham, and to the Reverend Father in Christ, and our trusty Councillor, Lancelot Bishop of Winchester: Also to the Reverend Fathers in Christ, Samuel Bishop of Norwich, William Bishop of St. Davids: And to our well-beloved and trusty Councillor, Edward Lord Conway, one of our chief Secretaries: And also to our well-beloved and trusty, Samuel Lord Scroop, President of our Council in the North Parts: and to our well-beloved and trusty Councillor, Fulk Lord Brook, Greeting.

Whereas of late, for certain weighty and urgent Affairs concerning Us, the State and Defence of our Kingdom of England, and the Church of England; We ordained our present Parliament, to be begun and held at our City of Westminster, the sixth day of February, in the first year of our Reign; from which time our said Parliament hath been continued unto the fifteenth of June instant: Know, That we, for certain urgent Causes and Considerations specially moving Us thereunto, have thought fit to dissolve our said Parliament, this instant fifteenth of June. Having therefore much confidence of your Fidelity, Prudence, and Circumspection, We have, with the Advice and Consent of our Council, Assign'd you our Commissioners, giving you, and every three, or more of you, by the Tenor of these Presents, full Power and Authority in our Name, absolutely to dissolve our said Parliament, this instant fifteenth day of June: And therefore We Command you, or any three, or more of you, fully to dissolve and determine this our said Parliament, this instant fifteenth day of June, by virtue of these our Letters-Patents: And we command you diligently to mind the Premises, and to fulfill and execute them in the foresaid form; And to all and every Archbishop, Duke, Marquess, Earl, Vicount, Bishop, Baron, Knight, Citizen, and Burgefs, and to all others whom it concerns, to meet at our said Parliament: We straightly give in Charge, that they submit, yield, and give obedience to you, performing and executing the Premises in all things as becomes them. In Witness of which Thing, We have caus'd these our Letters-Patents to be made.

Witness Our Self at Westminster, the Fifteenth Day of June, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

EDMONDS.

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Presently after the King set forth a Declaration, in which he made known the Grounds and Reasons of his dissolving this and the former Parliament. Also by the instance and advice of his Council, taking into consideration the present necessity of his Majesties Affairs, he resolv'd to take some speedy course to advance the impair'd Revenue of the Crown: Whereupon he first declares, That all men of what quality soever, should for two years space, upon pain of high Displeasure, forbear to sollicite any Suit for any thing prohibited in the Book of *Bonny*, published in King *James* his time. Next, speciall care was taken by the Council, for the levying of Customs and Imposts, upon such Merchandizes as were Imported and Exported, as being a thing intended to have been sealed by the two last Parliaments, but was prevented by their suddain Dissolution: and because the Forfeitures arising to the Crown by the execution of the Laws against Priests and Recusants, had been corruptly extorted and misemploy'd, by inferior Officers; a Commission under the Great Seal was directed to the Archbishop of York, Sir *John Savile*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and others, to compound with the said Recusants for Leases of their Lands and Tenements, for Forfeitures due since the tenth year of King *James*, and Sir *John Savile* was appointed Receiver of such sums of Money as should be paid upon these Leases. Also Privy-Seals were issued out, and Benevolence proposed; especially the Nobility were incited by the King, to contribute liberally upon the present juncture of urgent Affairs; and the sum required, was to be according to the proportion of the four Subsidies; and three Fifteens intended to have been given by the Parliament. Likewise a Proclamation was set forth, shewing the Kings Intention to make his Revenue certain, by granting his Lands as well held by Copy, as otherwise, to be held in Fee-Farm. The several Maritime Counties and Port-Towns were order'd by the Council, to set out Ships for the guarding of the Coasts against the Attempts of Spain and Flanders; in particular, the City of London was charged with twenty of the best Ships upon the River, with all manner of Tackle and Ammunition, and Victuals for three Months; the City hereupon petition'd for an abatement unto ten Ships, and two Pinnaces; and the Ports of *Pool*, *Lime*, and *Weymouth*, presented an Excuse in behalf of themselves, and the County, alledging the Case to be without President: To these the Council answer'd, That State occasions in times of extraordinary danger, were not to be disputed by ordinary Presidents: To the City, alledging disability, they answer, That the Charge imposed on them, exceeded not the value of many of their private Estates; They therefore requir'd Conformity, without any excuse, or disputing of the Case. To the Lords Lieutenants of the severall Counties, Commissions were sent to Muster those that were apt for War, and to Array and Arm them, according to their severall degrees and faculties: And for the securing of the Coasts, divers of the Kings Ships were employ'd in the River *Elbe*, to prevent the furnishing of Spain from those parts with Materials for Shipping: A Royal Fleet was also preparing to be set out, under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the Design given out to be for *Bahary*.

About this time, there came to the Court of England, the News of a great Overthrow given by Count *Tilly* to the King of *Denmark*, who had taken up Armes against the Emperour in the Cause of the Prince *Elektor Palatine*; upon which, the King began presently to advise with his Council about some speedy, and more effectual Course for the supplying him with Money, then had yet been taken; and upon Consultation, a general Loan was Resolv'd upon, as the most convenient way (since the present state of things admitted nor of the way of Parliament); and forthwith Commissioners being appointed, had private Instructions given them, how to behave themselves in the management of the business: As,

1. That for a good example to others, they should themselves lend his Majesty the several sums required.
2. To go according to the Rates at which People were Assessed in the Book of the last Subsidy.
3. To stir up every man to a chearful lending, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of taking this Course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; As the Honour of the Nation, the defence of true Religion, the safety of Prince and People.
4. That they appoint the dayes of payment to be within fourteen dayes.
5. That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.
6. That they begin with such as are likely to shew best Examples.
7. That they endeavour to discover, whether any by under-hand persuasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good Intentions of others; and if any such be found, to certify their Names, Qualities, and Habitations to the Council.
8. That they signify his Majesties Pleasure to remit, upon the lending of these sums, whatsoever hath been desired upon the late Benevolence, or privy-Seals.
9. That they admit of no Suit to be made, or Reasons to be given, for the abating of any sum.
10. That upon their Faith and Allegiance to his Majesty, they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not disclose them to any others.

That which made this Loan the more unwelcome, was, For that at the same time the Souldiers return'd from *Calice*, were Billied in several parts, and their Quarters to be discharg'd by Money rais'd out of the Countries.

Sir *Randolph Crew*, for shewing himself backward and cold in promoting this Business of the Loan,

Several wayes resolv'd on for the advancing of the Kings Revenue.

News brought to the Court of the King of *Denmark*'s Overthrow.

A Commission granted by the Kings for the raising of a general Loan.

Sir *Nitholas Hyde* advanced to the Office of Lord Chief Justice; in the room of Sir *Randolph Crew* displaced;

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Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp Inform against the Bishop of Lincoln at the Council-Table.

The Occasion of a new War begun between England and France.

John was displaced from his Office of Lord Chief Justice, and Sir Nicholas Hyde advanced to the same. The Bishop of Lincoln also had an Information preferred against him at the Council-Table by Sir John Lamb, and Doctor Sibthorp; for publicly speaking certain words concerning the Lord, in disadvantage of the King and his Government, and for favouring that sort of men call'd *Parliaments*, and *Non-conformists*; and afterwards for the same things, an Information was given in against him at the Star-Chamber; not long before which, Bishop Lamb hearing that the said Bishop Williams endeavoured to regain the favour of the Duke, dream'd the same Night, that he receiv'd this News: *That the Bishop of Lincoln came with Iron Chains, but returned freed from them: That he leaped upon a Horse, departed, and he could not overtake him.* This was by him interpreted, to betoken that which afterwards fell out concerning the Bishop of Lincoln taking Arms for the Parliament in Wales, and his being at liberty, when he himself was imprison'd. Besides the cause of the Prince Palatine, there were other important Reasons of State, which exacted these great Supplies of money, the chief whereof was a War now Commencing with France upon this occasion:

Lewis the Thirteenth, King of France, had borrowed of his Brother-in-law, the King of England, the Ship, called the *Vaunt-guard*, and six Merchants Ships, in pursuance of a Design against Italy, and the *Valtoline*; but with this Condition, They should not be employed against the *Rockellers*, between whom, and the French King, an Accord had been lately made by Mediation of the English Ambassadors. *Monsieur de Soubise* the *Stairarch*, having gotten together a scattered number of small Ships, took advantage of the French Armies Advance towards Italy, and brake the Agreement unawares; surprizing the Isle of *Rhe*, and some Ships in the Harbour, and had also taken Port Lewis, if not prevented by the Duke of Vendosme. Lewis (conceiving their Infidelity, turns his whole Design for the *Valtoline* upon *Rockell*, and with the seven English Ships under Admiral *Pemington*, and twenty Dutch under Admiral *Hallstein*, and the French Navy conducted by *Momoraney*, brake furiously in upon *Soubise*, forceth him from his fastness, Reprizeth sundry Ships, and chaseth him to the Isle of *Oleron*. The King revented this Action of the French King as a Violation of his Royal Parol, and therefore sent him an expostulatory Message, requiring his Reason for his mis-employing of his Ships, and speedy Restitution of them. And when Lewis deferred to give satisfaction of these Particulars, the King sent here a rich Ship of *New-haven*, and the French King Arrested the Goods of the English Merchants in France; to the value of three hundred thousand pounds: but a length at Reconciliation was made, and the French had their Goods re-imbarked to them; and on the other side, the English Ships and Goods were released. Thus all was calm again for the present, untill the insolent Deportment of the Queens French Attendants produced a new Rupture; her Priest and Confessor had imposed upon her to go bare-foot, to spin, to wait upon her Servants at their ordinary rapists, and to trace on foot in the Mire, on a rainy Morning, from *Somerset-house* to *St. James*, (himself riding by her in the Coach) and to finish her progress as far as *Tyburn-Gallies*; to offer up her Prayers for the Souls of Jesuits, by them stiled Martyrs, formerly executed there for Treason.

The Bishop of Meins had shewed himself too busie, in contesting with the Earl of Holland, about the Queens Dowry-Mahners, to the disgrace of the King, who had conferred that Secretaryship upon the Earl: And the Lady *St. George* had been proved to have raised suspicion in the young Queen, of the Kings dis-affection to her, and over-much Favour to the English Ladies; and that through a causeless taking distast at a Repulse, from riding in the Coach with both their Majesties, Ladies of greater Eminency worthy claiming Preferment. These, and many other Arrogancies, had been justly laid to the Charge of the Queens French Domesticks, which appearing altogether inolevable, the King thought good to discharge them all, and paying them all their Dues, with large Rewards, the whole amounting to twenty thousand pounds, and eight hundred pounds *sterling*, Commanded them all Home to their own Country; where making their Complaint to the French King, they induced him to send over an Ambassador on purpose to Demand their Restitution; whose Negotiation yet proved ineffectual; by reason that the Parliament of *Rouen* had in the mean time Arrested the English Wine-Merchants Ships at *Bly Castle*, upon the *Gironde*: a thing so ill resented by his Majesty, That he resolved upon Hostility with France.

In the mean time, the Protestants Affairs in Germany were at a low Ebb, and danger from thence seemed to threaten us at our own Homes, which appeared also the more Portentous to us; for that about the same time, our Fleet under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the Earl of *Down*, which had been sent out to the Aid of the *Rockellers*, had met with so terrible a Storm, as they were all scattered, and found much difficulty to gain safe Harbour.

This Grand Assesment of the Loan, meeting with such Opposition from People of all sorts of degrees; those of lower Rank were order'd to appear in the Military Yard, near *St. Martins* in the Fields, before the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be by him there lifted for Souldiers; it being thought fit, that those who refus'd to assist with their Purse in the Common Defence, should be forc'd to serve in their Persons: Those of higher Quality were bound over by Recognizance to appear at the Council-Table, which accordingly they did, and several of them were committed close Prisoners to the Fleet, *Marshalsea*, *Gate-house*, and other Prisons; among these imprison'd Gentlemen, Sir John Elliot being one, sent a Petition to his Majesty, in which he

The Assesment of the Loan generally oppos'd, upon which divers Gentlemen are Imprisoned.

1626.

quoted many Presidents of former Kings Reigns, to shew, that all manner of Aides, and Taxes never us'd to be levied, but by the general consent of the Nobility and Commons assembled in Parliament, and give other Reasons and Motives of this forbearance to contribute to the said Loan; Notwithstanding this Petition, he remained a Prisoner in the *Gate-house*, till the general Order of Discharge.

Sir *Peter Hayman*, upon the same occasion, being charg'd by the Lords of the Council, with Refractoriness and unwillingness to serve the King, was Commanded to go upon his Majesties Service into the *Palestina*; which Command, having first set his Estate in order, he obey'd.

It had been long since that *George Abbot*, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been under a Cloud, and little say by at Court; but now at length an occasion hapned, which brought him into use; disfavoured with the King, which was this: Doctor *Sibthorp*, and Doctor *Manning*, two eminent Preachers at Court, having zealously preach'd up the Duty and Necessity of the Loan; the first affirming,

That the Prince hath Power to direct his Councils, and to make Laws; and that Subjects, if they cannot exhibit active Obedience, in case the thing commanded, should be against the Law of God, or of Nature, or were impossible, yet nevertheless they ought to yield a passive Obedience; and in all other cases they were bound to active Obedience.

The Second maintaining,

That the Kings Royal Command in imposing of Loans and Taxes, though without Common Consent in Parliament, doth oblige the Subjects Conscience, upon pain of Eternal Damnation.

These Sermons were entertain'd at Court with general Applause; that of Doctor *Sibthorp*, especially call'd *Apostolick Obedience*, which was licens'd and approv'd by the Bishop of London; also the King sent an express Command to Archbishop *Abbot*, to license this Sermon, which he refusing, was for a time suspended from his Archiepiscopal See; and a Commission was granted to the Bishops of London, *Durham*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, to execute for the present time that Jurisdiction.

The Archbishop, that the Truth and Reason of these things might be manifested to the World, set a large Narrative of them written with his own hand; wherein he declared, That being of fifty five years of Age when these things befell him, and having liv'd so long, for ought he knew, detain'd in a place of high Trust, he thought it fit, that the Reason of his removal should be understood, least it might turn to the scandal of his Person and Calling: That his absentsing himself from Court, and publick Services, however sinisterly interpreted by his Enemies, was occasion'd only through his indisposition of Body, and not any wilfull neglect, or Contumacy. That the Cause of the Dukes displeasure toward him, was not upon any just ground, but for being one that cared not to stoop to him, so as to become his Vassall. That it was the Dukes design to urge the licencing of this Book upon him, thereby to reduce him to this strait; that either by doing it he might discover a great deal of baseness and unworthiness, or by refusing, he might incur the Kings Indignation: Then he related by way of Dialogue, all the passages and discourses that hapned between Mr. *William Murray* of the Bed-Chamber, who was sent to him from the King, with his own Objections and Reasons why he could not license the Book. He gives a Character of Doctor *Laud*, then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who was employ'd to answer his Objections; brands him with an unworthy manner of life before his Rise, with Ambition and Ingratitude to his Benefactors: he repeats Doctor *Lauds* Answer, and shews the Invalidity of it; then he relates the discourse between him and Secretary *Conway*, who came to *Croyden* to him with a Message from the King, commanding his retirement to *Canterbury*. And lastly, He rehearsed the manner of the Dukes being first brought into Favour with King *James*, and how mainly Instrumental he was in that business, by the Power and Credit he had with Queen *Anne*; for which, he said, the Duke then profess'd himself infinitely obliged to him, and seriously promis'd to follow the wholesome Counsels which he gave him.

The Archbishop's Narrative, concerning the cause and manner of his suspension.

Of those Gentlemen that were in Custody for Refractoriness in the business of the Loan, five, Namely, Sir *Thomas Darnell*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *John Heveningham*, and Sir *Richard Hambden*, brought their *Habeas Corpus*, and came to their Tryal before Sir *Nicholas Hyde*, chief Justice; After the Cause had been argued between Sir *Robert Heath*, the Kings Attorney-general, and those that were Counsel for the Prisoners; as Serjeant *Brampton* for Sir *John Heveningham*, Mr. *Selden* for Sir *Richard Hambden*, Mr. *Noy* for Sir *Walter Earl*, and Mr. *Calthrop* for Sir *John Corbet*; the Lord chief Justice at last concluded, That since they were committed by the Kings Authority, the Court could not free them; so that for that time they were remanded, till such time as the Order came out for a general Release.

The five Gentlemen imprison'd about the Loan, have their *Habeas Corpus* granted, and are brought to their Tryal.

The Irish Papists now hoped to make their Markets, and therefore in lieu of some Favour to them in the penal Law, offered to furnish the King at their own Charge, with a constant Army of five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; and a large Contribution for the safe-guard of the

The Irish Papists offer to contribute largely toward the Kings supply.

the narrow Seas. This Motion was opposed in England by Sir John Savill, who put the State upon Collecting the Arrears of Recusants Thirds, due to the King by Law; and in Ireland, by the Lord Primate of Armagh, the Bishop of Derry, and divers others, who publicly protested against it, as a Course likely to preserve the Papists Interests, and to sink the Protestants; whereupon the Lord Deputy resorted to the Primare, and minds him, that as a privy Councillor, he was concerned to promote the Kings Affairs; and so moved him, to try how far he could prevail with the Protestants for some Competency to the Kings Necessities; which he did in a very Learned Speech, though the Success answered not his Expectation.

1627.

The Duke of  
Buckingham's  
Expedition to  
the Ile of Rhe.

It was now the third year of his Majesties Reign, when the action was agreed on; and though Money came not so plentifully as was hoped, yet the Duke of Buckingham, desirous to wipe away the Imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admiralship, had, with much ado, completed his Naval Forces, consisting of six thousand Horse and Foot in ten Ships-Royal, and ninety Merchant-men; with which he sets sail from Portsmouth the twenty seventh of June, and publishes his Manifesto the twenty first of July following, declaring at large the Kings affection to the Reformed Churches in France, and his Displeasure at the last mis-employing of his Ships against the Rochellers. The first design of this Fleet was intended against Fort Lewis, wherein prevented by the Duke of Angoulême, they resolved upon the Ile of Rhe; twelve Ships therefore were sent to Guard the Entry of Port Breton, the rest sailed on to a Fort of the Ile of Rhe, called de la Prie, making their Approaches with their Cannon so near, that Monsieur Toras, Gouverneur of the Citadel of St. Martin, perceiving their Intention, sent out his Forces, to the number of One thousand, in seven parajons, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on Shore: These were encountered by twelve Hundred English, whom Sir John Burrough, Sir Alexander Brett, Sir Edward Conway, and Sir Charles Rich, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordnance. The Fight was sharp and quick, wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their Lives on both sides; of the French, Monsieur Restingier, Brother to Toras, Chancelier Carpes, Naval, Talian, Montaine, Hensley, Boissone, Condanne; sundry Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, most of the Officers of better Note wounded; of the English, Sir Thomas York, Sir William Elgden, Sir Thomas Thorne, Sir George Blundell, Cornway, Glin, Whaley, Powell, Woodhouse, Goring, &c. and a Kinsman of Sir George Blundell, with Monsieur de Blancard, Agent for the Duke of Rohan, and the Protestants; and of the wounded were, Rich, Conway, Hawke, Greenville, Abraham Rainford, Wellome, Thorp, Maryles, and Bennet: the Victory uncertain. The English General removes his Camp, to make good his Publication there in French of the Reasons of the War, and intrenching, dispatches Soubiz and Sir William Beecher to Rochell, who returned with five Hundred Foot, and found the Duke before St. Martins Castle (the Chief strength of the Island) notwithstanding the dissuasion of his Councill, who advised him first to attempt the other Castle called the Medo, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome and safe place of Retreat in their future Necessity. Buckingham falls to circumvallation, ording the Ships to encompass the Island without, to hinder all Provision on and Supply from Toras; by which means the besieged were for the space of two Months greatly distressed, in which time there hapned a hot Conflict between both Parties, and that with equal success; and by a Letter of Toras to Monsieur Bellimount, their extremity appears to be such, that (as he there says), The Mills could not long stand, all their Corn was spent, which enforced their Souldiers to feed on their store of Bisket, not lasting above ten days: hereupon the Duke of Buckingham summons Toras, who refusing to falsify his Trust, the English now strengthened with fresh Auxiliaries from England and Ireland, under the Command of Sir Ralph Bingle and Sir Pierce Crosby, set themselves to invent new sorts of Engines to batter the Citadel, all which were rendered fruitless by Wind and Waves. And now Abbot Marsilaine procures Monsieur Valin to undertake the conveying of twelve Pinnaces laden with Provision, to the Relief of Toras and his Souldiers, which he prosperously achieved, and at his Return carried back with him their sick and wounded, and Women, to the Duke of Orleans. In the mean time scarcity afflicts the English Camp, and Sir John Burroughs, viewing the Works, is shot through, whereof he shortly dies; the French King comes from Court to the Camp, and thence in ten dayes attempts to send over some Aids to the Castle, but the English Ships repelled them, and three daies after flew another Brother of Toras, and put to flight his Squadron: and now the Souldiers of the Castle were reduced to greater hardship then before; not being furnish'd with Bread for above four dayes; wherefore having no other way left, Toras resolved to win time by treating with the Duke of Buckingham about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better News from his Associates, which accordingly fell out; for Monsieur Maupile, who with other Pilots, heretofore had sounded the selves, and designed the station for the Ships, contrived a way to bring them succour in despite of the English; it was in the Winter, the Nights long and dark, by which advantage he had opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 34 Sailer, 150 Mariners, 300 Souldiers, 160 of the chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders, with great store of Viands, and other Provision, having before sent some dissembling Renegades to tell the English that he passed a contrary way: so that when the Duke of Buckingham expected a Surrender, they boldly shewed him their Rundlets of Wine, Turkeys, and Capons upon the heads of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat dismayed, spends the Night in Council, and determines with all speed to raise the siege, and begone; but the Rochellers Intreaties, and Dolbiers Arrival from England, with assurance of Auxiliaries, unhappily prevailed with him for a longer stay, during which, the fame of fresh Supplies to the Besiegers published over all France, to be coming under Command of the

Earl

1627.

Earl of Holland, hastened the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of fifteen good Ships, and Thirteen smaller Boats; part to St. Martins, and the rest to the Meadow Castle; besides seven others which got to the Meadow Fort by Bellamouns command: And now the French King resolves to dislodge the English, and dispatches over an Army of Four Thousand Foot, and two Hundred Horse, besides Volunteers, under the Command of the Marshal of Schomberg, with Marilane his Lievenant General, to whom came all the besieged and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above Eleven Thousand men; after which another Army under Command of Bascompiere, and Halere, with Eight hundred of their Kings Lifeguard, a hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, 30 of the Kings horse, and Three great brals Pieces, land at the Meadow Castle. Against these last, the Duke of Buckingham marches with five hundred Foot, and fourty horse; and forceth them to retreat to the Castle, and returning to his Camp, finds the Trenches possessed by another Party of the French Army; Stanley is ordered to beat them out again; which he doth by main Force, though not without loss; and the Lord Montjoy seized a small Troop of French: him they endeavoured to surprize with six horse in show; whom he chased so far, that he had almost come in danger of their Ambuscado. One dark night a party of English fell upon a party of French, and not well discerning one another, so mingled, that by mistake the English falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them: Nor did Warr only afflict the English, but also Sicknes and Wane, whereby their Souldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final Resolution of taking his Farewell of the Island, with one more assault to St. Martins Castle. Toras had intelligence of it, and therefore he managed his business accordingly, and gave them so hot a welcome, as, being oppressed and fell'd to the ground with shot, they dropt in heaps; and after a great loss received, the General commands a Retreat to be founded, and soon after demolishes his Works, fills his Ditches, and levels his Trenches, in order to his departure: Schomberg and Marilane pursue, hollowing to them in a Bravado, and brandishing their Swords drawn. The English thinking the Enemy would then have charged them, drew up in Batallia; but they, knowing what advantage the Way would shortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marches on in Military order until they came to the Village Carda, where they made another stand, and by an Ambuscado of Musqueteers placed behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them slowly for 3. Miles; till they came to Anserine Causeway, which was so narrow, that they could only march six a breast, with Ditches on either side, mostly ending in Salt-pits: and now Schomberg, espying his expected opportunity, powred forth a great volley of shot against them, and then the English began to march as fast as possibly, but the Lord Montjoy's Troops, unable to endure the Charge of the French horse, turned tayl, and riding in amongst the other Ranks, put them into such a disorder, as enabled the French easily to break in upon them and rout them, with no small slaughter, overthrowing some into the Ditches, and Salt-pits, piercing others as they lay in the Dirt; nor was flight any whit more auspicious to them, for those who confusedly ran away, and casting away their arms, leaped into the water, were also cut off. Cunninghams horse fought it out nobly unto the last man. Montjoy was taken prisoner, and civilly used. The Reformadoes by uneven and turning paths, made their way to the further Bridge, with much danger, where joining with Conway, Crosby, Fryar, and Hackfoyl, and their forces, made good that Passage by repulse of the Enemy, and leaving a Guard of Musqueteers there all day, set the Bridge on Fire, and lodged that night stragglingly up and down; the next day, the Duke demanded and obtained the dead Bodies, and then went on board.

Great was this dayes Loss, viz, about fifty Officers, among whom were Sir William Cunningham, Sir Charles Rich, and Sir Alexander Brett, and near two Thousand common Souldiers slain, thirty Prisoners of Note, and forty four Colours, taken: of the French, not above three hundred lost. The Duke hoises sail, and meets the Earl of Holland with his unseasonable Recruits near the Western Coast of England; and at his return finding a favourable reception at the Kings hands, lodges the loss of the design upon the Earls not seconding the Expedition. But at Sea, things went somewhat better, where Captain Tretor in his return from Hambury, seized by Command a great French Ship at the Texell in Holland, named the Sanct Spirit, with twenty brals Culverines, two brals Semipalverins, two other brals Guns, sixteen large Iron Guns, and two lesser: in the Hold for Ballast, twelve great Guns, Arms for eleven hundred Souldiers, and eighteen barrels of Powder; and Sir John Penington, Vice-Admirall, took thirty four of their rich Merchant Men homewards bound, all which were safely brought unto England, to sweeten, though not counter-vail, the loss received. The poor remains of this Army, mostly Irish and Scots, and consequently rude and boisterous, were billeted in Villages, to the great disgust of the Country people.

The Kings Condition at this time was somewhat low, his Exchequer poor, and his Reputation impaired by the improperous enterprizes for the Assistance of the Rochellers; now more then ever distressed, his Confederates the King of Denmark vanquish'd by the Emperour, and the English Garrison of Strand reduced to great extremity; The causes of which Evils were gravely represented in Sir Robert Cottons Speech of Advice to certain Lords of the Council, when he was call'd to deliver his Opinion. Upon these and the like Considerations, it was resolv'd on by the Council, That a Parliament should be summon'd; and immediately Writs were Issued forth. Also a Commission pass'd under the Great Seal, to Levy Monies throughout the Nation by Impositions in nature of an Excise; and the Lord Treasurer was ordered to pay 30000 l. to Philip Burlemas, a Dutch Merchant, to be by him return'd over into the Low Countreies to Sir William Balfour, and

Another Par-  
liament sum-  
mon'd.

John

1627.

A Letter written by an English Jesuite, to the Father Rector at Brussels, discovering their secret designs against this Church and State.

The Parliament assembled.

A Letter directed to the House of Commons, call'd, A Speech without doors; laying open the Miscarriages of the Kingdom.

The Case of the Imprison'd Gentlemen Debated.

John Dalber, for the raising of a Thousand Horse, and hereupon there were strange suspicions and jealousies entertained by many men, as if the intent of raising these German Horse, had been to bring them over hither to enforce the payment of this Excise. There likewise began a Consultation about advancing of the King's Revenue, by levying of Ship-Money upon the Counties, but the Council thought fit not to go on with it, in regard of the approaching Parliament. Not long before the beginning of which Convention, there were apprehended a company of Jesuits in *Clackenwell* at a house designed for a Colledge of that Order; and among the rest of their Papers, there was found the Copy of a Letter, written to their Father Rector at *Bruxells*, wherein the Authour of it acquainted Father Rector with all the subtle Plots and Contrivances their Society had laid for the imbroyling this State, and for the erecting of an *Universall Catholick Monarchy*; and to this end he said they chiefly made use of *Arminians* and *Projectours*, and that both these Factions should co-operate to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new form of Government; that is to say, *Oligarchy*; and that their chief care was to stave off the *Protestants* for having any influence upon the Duke, lest they should negotiate a Reconciliation between him and the Parliament. Also, how that many times, to bring their purposes about, they took upon them the semblance of *Paritans*; With several other Machinations and Devices contained in the said Letter.

The 17th of March being come, the Parliament assembled, and, Sir John Finch chosen Speaker for the House of Commons, the King salutes them and tells them, That the greatness of the common danger was such as required a speedy supply, and therefore they may rest assured, that it was the principal cause of their Convocation, wherein he hoped they would shew themselves such true Patriots of the true Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of this State, and just Defence of their Friends and Allies, now in such hazard by Popish Enemies, as not to deceive his Expectations which were very great, though indeed somewhat nip'd by remembrance of the distractions of the last Meeting. After the King, the Lord Keeper addrest his Speech to them, wherein he enlarg'd himself upon all that the King had briefly intimated to them before, and earnestly press'd them to consider of some speedy way for the supplying of his Majesties necessities. No sooner was this Parliament met, but presently before any thing had been begun to be debated among them, there came a Letter directed to the Members of the House of Commons, concerning the Grievances and inconveniences of the State, from one who had been a Member of the former Parliament. This Letter was call'd, *A Speech without doors*; and first laid open the abuses of *unlawfull Elections*, when many times the Country by a threatening Letter from the Lord Lieutenant, was forc'd to choose only those whom he appointed, were the party never so ignorant or corrupt; the ill consequences of prohibiting *freedom of speech*, since there could be no redress of *Enormities or Injuries*, if Men might not dare to complain freely of them: nor could the truth of any passage or transaction be brought to light, if men were discourag'd from revealing the whole circumstance of what they knew. Next, it took notice of the several sorts of grievances, as well those which concern'd the Nation in generall, as in particular. As,

1. The attaining of Honours by base and mercenary ways, without any merit or vertue in the Person so advanc'd.
2. The ill carriage of the Wars, and the consuming of a Mass of Treasure to no purpose, which was caus'd by that sort of men which may be well term'd abusers of Princes, perswading them to War and to become Poor, when they might live in Peace and become Rich: and for this the Parliament had an unjust aspersions cast upon them, as if they had been a cause to draw his Majesty into a War, and had failed on their parts to contribute to it; the disorders and outrages committed by the Souldiers in the Country, when as there was no occasion, nor any Enemy appearing.

Lastly, It exposited them to manifest to the King their willing minds to repair and fit to Sea his Majesties Navy, which might be term'd the Walls of England, and to take it upon themselves, with the advice of experienced Men, to make them able and serviceable.

The first thing taken into consultation, was the opening of the Grievances of the Kingdom; and the first Grievance they debated on was, the Case of those Gentlemen, who, having refus'd the *Leas*, were notwithstanding their *Habeas Corpus*, commanded to Prison: This business took up a long and earnest debate; which was chiefly manag'd by Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Edward Cook, and Sir Robert Phillips, all of them eagerly contending for the Liberties and Priviledges of the Subject, against the illegality (as they call'd it) of the *Leas*, and the imprisoning of men without alledging just cause: onely Sir John Cook, Secretary of State, argued for the King, and affirmed it to be more proper, that Supplies should be first taken into consideration, and afterwards the redress of Grievances: *We should begin*, said he, *with the King, and not with our selves*. Afterwards at another Debate, the Judges of the Kings Bench, Judge *Whitlock*, Judge *Doddridge*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Hide* being desired to declare themselves upon this business, spoke in justification of their proceedings upon the *Habeas Corpus*, and that if they had granted them Bail upon the *Habeas Corpus*, it must needs have reflected upon the King, as if he had unjustly imprison'd them: In conclusion, it was Resolv'd upon the Question no, man Gain saying;

1. That

1627.

1. That no Freeman ought to be restrain'd by the Command of the King or Privy Council, without some cause of the Commitment.
2. That the Writ of Habeas Corpus, ought to be granted upon request to every man that is restrain'd, though by the Command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other.
3. That if a Freeman be Imprison'd by the Command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other, and no cause of such Commitment express'd, and the same be return'd upon a Habeas Corpus granted for the said party, then he ought to be delivered or bailed.

The Parliament next proceeded to the drawing up of a Petition against Recusants.

1. That all Lawes and Statutes against Jesuits and Popish Priests be put in full power and execution.
2. That a strict course be taken for the discovery and apprehending of them.
3. That all Popish Recusants be prohibited from coming to Court, or within Ten miles of London.
4. That no Place of Trust or Authority should be committed to them; with other Particulars, to the like effect.

This Petition was solemnly presented from both Houses by the Lord Keeper to the King, who gave to every Article a positive and satisfactory Answer. There had lately been presented to the House of Commons by Secretary Cook, certain Propositions from the King touching Supplies, and the setting forth of Ships and Men for forraign Service; These Propositions after some little Consultation about them, were laid aside, and the Debate concerning Grievances resum'd, Sir Francis Seymour urg'd, That the late Supplies which had been given, had purchas'd nothing but dishonour; and that what the Subject gave, unless his Majesty employ'd Men of Integrity and Experience, would be but thrown into a bottomless bag. Sir Thomas Wentworth said, Unless we can be secur'd for our Liberties, we cannot give. But at length, after two other Messages from the King, Mr. Pym mov'd for a Five Subsidies quick dispatch, and presently Five Subsidies were granted: The granting of these five Subsidies gave the King such satisfaction therein, that he sent them word by Secretary Cook, That he would King deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted. This encouraged them to fall afresh upon the Peoples Liberties, and Sir Edward Cook, Sir Dudley Diggs, Mr. Selden and Mr. Littleton, delivered the Opinion of the House to the Lords, where at first it found some opposition in consideration of the dependance of their Interests upon the Prerogative; which by this means would be too much invalidated: but at length it was carried by the Popular Party, the Opposites not daring to enter their Protestations upon Record, for fear of incurring the publique hatred.

Personall Liberty thus settled, and a Petition presented to the King against the billeting of Souldiers in the Countries (to which he promis'd an answer in convenient time) the House fall next (by the perswasion of Sir Edward Cook) upon that memorable Petition of Right, and having *Magna Charta*, and six other Statutes explanatory of it, on their side, delivered their Petition to the Lords; at which Conference, the Kings Council Sir Robert Heath Attorney-Generall, and Serjeant Ashley being permitted to argue against the Propositions that were tender'd by the Commons in order to this Petition of Right, Serjeant Ashley said, That they tended rather to an *Anarchy* than to a *Monarchy*; That if they be yielded to, it is to put a Sword into the Kings hand with one hand, and to take it out with the other; That they must allow the King to govern by Acts of State, otherwise he is a King without a Council, or; which is as bad, hath a Council without Power; That the Question is too high to be determin'd by Law, where the Conqueror or conquer'd will suffer irreparable loss. For these Expressions the Serjeant being call'd to the Bar by the Lords, and committed to custody, was driven at length to recant what he had said: At another Conference the Lords propounded their Addition to be made to the Petition of Right. We present this humble Petition to your Majesty, with the care not only of preserving our own Liberties, but with due regard to leave where that Sovereign Power, wherewith your Majesty is trust'd for the Protection, safety, and happiness of the People. But after that divers of the Commons had deliver'd their Opinions at large, why this Clause could not be added; the Lords concurr'd, That without any addition or preface, the Petition should be presented to the King: the Effect of which Petition was as followeth;

First, They do pray your most excellent Majesty, That no man hereafter be compelled

The Parliament draw up a Petition to the King against Recusants.

The Petition of Right taken into debate.

1627.

compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like Charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such Oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise be molested, or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof.

Secondly, That no Freeman be taken, and imprisoned, or be diseised of his Freehold or liberty, or his free customs, or be out-lawed, or exiled, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Laws of the Land.

Thirdly, That your Majesty would be pleased to remove the Souldiers, and Marriners now Bilited in divers Counties, and that your People may not be so burthened in time to come.

Fourthly, That the late Commissions for proceeding by Martiall Law, may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commission of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed, left by colour of them, any of your Majesties Subjects be destroyed and put to death contrary to Law, and the Franchises of the Law.

*All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their Rights and Liberties, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, That all Awards, Doings, or Proceedings, to the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter into Consequence, and Example.*

About the same time that the Addition which the Lords propounded was in Debate, there came a Letter from the King to the House of Lords; in which among other things,

*He declar'd it to be his Royall Pleasure, which, God willing, he would ever continue and constantly maintain, That neither he, nor his Privy Councell should or would at any time hereafter command to Prison, or otherwise restrain the persons of any, for not lending Money; nor for any cause which in his Conscience did not concern the Publick good, nor would he be drawn to pretend any Cause, wherein his Judgment was not fully satisfied.*

This, Sir Thomas Wentworth said, *Was a Letter of Grace, but that the People were not to be satisfied but by a Parliamentary way; That the Debate would spend much time: That it was not directed to the House of Commons; And that the Petition it self would redress all mistakes.*

Nor did the frequent Messages of the King for the expediting of those Subsidies lately granted, take any effect untill this great Debate was ended. After the Petition of Right was presented to the King, presently this Answer was return'd;

*The King willeth that Right be done, according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that his Subjects may have no cause to complain of any Wrong or Oppressions, contrary to their just Rights and Liberties: To the preservation whereof, he holds himself in Conscience as well obliged, as to that of his Prerogative.*

There had been lately a Charge brought in by Mr. Rous, against Doctor Edward Manning, in reference to certain Sermons before mentioned; which the House of Commons taking into Consideration, drew up a Declaration against him, shewing, That in the foresaid Sermons, called *Religion and Allegiance*; he maintain'd, That the Kings Royall Command in imposing Loans, Taxes, and other Aides upon his People, though without consent in Parliament, did oblige them upon pain of eternall Damnation: That those of his Subjects who refus'd the Loan aforementioned, in such manner as is before recited, did therein offend the Laws of God, and were guilty of Rebellion and Disobedience: That Authority of Parliament was not necessary for the raising of Aides and Subsidies: That the proceedings of such Assemblies are not fit for the supply of the urgent Necessities of State.

This Declaration was presented to the Lords at a Conference, and Mr. Pym appointed to manage that Conference; whereupon he made a large Discourse upon each particular Article, aggravating the heinousness and danger of such Opinions, and the ill Consequences that would arise from the suffering and allowing them. Not long after, by consent of both Houses, Judgment

The Kings first Answer to the Petition of Right not satisfactory.

A Declaration drawn up by the Parliament against Dr. Manning, about two scandalous Sermons which he had formerly preach'd.

A passed against the Doctor, notwithstanding his solemn submission, made after a most humble manner; That he should be Imprison'd, Fin'd, disabled from ever having any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and from preaching at Court: That he should be suspended from his Cure for three years, and that his Books should be burnt.

The Kings Answer to the Petition of Right being read in the House of Commons, was judged too scant, in respect of the time and pains that had been employed in the contriving of it: But that which brought a far greater Discontent among them, was a Message that came a while after from his Majesty; wherein, signifying the Resolution he held for the concluding of that present Session, he required them not to enter upon any new Business, which might spend greater time, or lay a Scandal on the Asperion upon the State-Government, or Ministers thereof: this sharp Message caused the House to turn into a Grand Committee, to consider what was fit to be done; and at last, upon their humble Petition, for a clear and satisfactory Answer to the Petition of Right, the King (manifesting to the World, how free and candid his Concessions were, in granting to his Subjects, whatever in reason they could desire) sent them a short, but full Answer in this form;

### SOIT DROIT FAIT COME IL EST DESIRE.

This Answer was received with the general Acclamations of both Houses; and the Citizens for joy thereof made Bonfires, and rung their Bells; and the King, for further satisfaction, received into his favour, *About the Archbishop of Canterbury, Williams Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Essex, Lincoln, Warwick, Bristol, and the Lord Say*; all which had heretofore lain under a Cloud of the Kings displeasure: and suffered the Commission of Loan and Excize to be cancelled in his own presence; so that now there appeared not the least wrinkle of discontent on either side.

It was now the 4th year of his Majesties Reign, when the Parliament not well digesting their disappointment in their former Accusation of the Duke of Buckingham, drew up another Remonstrance against him, and Bishop Neal, and Bishop Land, which they presented, together with the Bill of Subsidies, to the King, in the Banqueting-house of Whitehall; to which he answered, *That he expected not such a return for his favourable Answer to their Petition of Right; and as for their Grievances, he would take time to consider of them.*

There having also been exhibited in the Star-Chamber, an Information against the Duke, for several Offences and Misdemeanours; an Order was made in that Court, that the said Bill or Information, and all Proceedings thereupon, should be forthwith taken from the File, according to the Kings express will and pleasure. Moreover, it having been given out by Mr. Christopher Eukner, a Member of the House of Commons, that the Duke at his Table should utter these words; *Tush, it makes no matter what the Parliament doth, for without my leave and authority, they shall not be able to touch the hair of a Dog.* He made a Protestation in the House of Lords, *That he never had those words so much as in his thoughts*; which Protestation, the Lords commanded to be entered upon Record. He also taxed one Mr. Melvin of certain Aspersions and Scandals of a high Nature, which he had cast upon him.

The Lords about this time, took offence at the Commons, for omitting their Names, which should have been expressed in these words; *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal*: which the Commons excused, as a thing not intended; and which, if their Lordships pleased to return the Bill, should be amended: But the King absolutely resolving to hold up the Duke, had framed to tart an Answer to the last Remonstrance, as provoked the Commons (so soon they had forgot his Majesties late Act of Grace,) to double upon him against Tonnage and Poundage; which being a matter of too great a value and consequence to be so hazarded, the King determin'd to prevent, by adjourning the Parliament unto the 20th of October, which he accordingly did. In this Session were enacted these Laws.

1. For further Reformation of divers Abuses committed on the *Lords-Day*, commonly called *Sunday*.
2. To restrain the passing or sending of any to be Popishly bred beyond the Seas.
3. For the better suppressing of unlicensed Alehouse-keepers.
4. For continuance of divers Statutes, and repeal of others.
5. For the establishing the Estates of the Tenants of *Bramfield and Tate*, in the County of *Dorset*, and of the Tenures, Rents, and Services thereupon reserved, according to a late Composition made for the same, with the King, then Prince of Wales.
6. For the confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy.
- And 7. For the grant of five intire Subsidies, granted by the Temporality.

About this time, or a little before, Doctor Lamb, a Favourite of the Dukes (who had been formerly twice Arraigned, once for *Necromancy*, and another time for a Rape) was killed in *Leikbury*, by the enraged Multitude, who hated him both for his own sake, and the Dukes, (whose Devil he was called) and flying at him, though guarded with four Constables, and their Retinues, struck him down, and grievously mawled him, beating out one of his eyes, and leaving him half dead on the place. He was from thence carryed to the *Poultry-Counter*, where he dies, pittyed of few, and loved of none, according to his own Prediction the year before.

Not long after him Doctor *Prescot*, that famous Preacher, departed this life, a man as famous for his goodness, as the other was infamous for his lewdness.

The Kings last Answer to the Petition of Right, which gives satisfaction.

1628.

The Parliament frame a Remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham, Bishop Neal, and Bishop Land.

The Parliament adjourned.

Dr. Lamb set upon by the People, and killed.

1628.

This year Sir Charles Morgan, Commander of the English Forces under the King of Denmark in Germany, having a long time bravely defended Stood against the Imperialists, was necessitated to surrender it, upon Condition, that the Garrison Soldiers should never bear Arms against the Emperor, but at the Command of their own King.

This year Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was advanced to the Bishoprick of London. Two Barons were also made, the Lord Weston Lord Treasurer of England, and the Lord Wentworth, Lord President of the North; the same, who afterwards succeeded Favourite in place of the Duke of Buckingham, whose end we now come to relate.

The Duke of Buckingham undertakes another Expedition to the Relief of Rochel.

During the last Session, the Earl of Denbigh as Admiral, conducted a Fleet of fifty Sail to the Relief of Rochel but was repelled with much loss; so that finding no hopes of prevailing, he made a speedy return to Plymouth. Hereupon another Expedition is agreed upon, and the whole Vacation was spent in equipping a more formidable Fleet, whereof the Duke himself intended to appear as General, hoping to repair his own, and his Brother-in-laws ill success, by notable performances; and such was the diligence of those employed about it, that a most considerable Armado was gotten together; to view which, the King and the Duke came down towards Portsmouth, and kept his Court within four miles of the Town. The Duke of Buckingham was very busie in hastning his Design, starting frequently with the Commissioners of Rochel and Sonbier (now once more shifted over into England) in order to his passage into France, which was yet anticipated by his passage into another World. For on the 23 of August, the Duke coming down the Stairs from his Upper-Chamber with Sir Thomas Fryar, to Breakfast in a lower Parlour (turning in at the foot of the Stairs in a narrow Entry) and at the Door embracing Fryar, was stabbed to the heart by one John Felton (a Lieutenant of Foot in Sir John Ramseys Regiment) with a back-blow of a Courel Knife, which, the Murderer flying, left sticking in his Body, till the Duke himself drag'd it out; whence issued such a stream and emission of Spirits, that instantly he expired; his Servants and Retainers pursued, and soon apprehended Felton, whom Stanford would have immediately slain, but others would have him reserved for publick Justice: in order whereunto, he was clapt into a small Centry-house upon the Wall, horribly laden with maniced Irons, neither to sit nor lye down, but to be cripled against the Wall; where being afterwards asked, What invited him to the Action? he boldly answered, He killed him for the Cause of God, and his Country: he had also tack'd a Paper in the Crown of his Hat, wherein he declared, that his onely motive to the Fact, was the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler Cause, than by delivering his Country from so great an Enemy.

He is stab'd to death by Felton.

The Dukes Bowels were interred in Portsmouth, by his Sister the Countess of Denbigh, and a Memorial there erected for him; his Body was brought to York-house, where he lay some time in State, and was afterwards Intomb'd in St. Edwards Chappel: Felton was Arraigned and found Guilty at the Kings-Bench Bar, and hanged at Tyburn, and his Body sent to Portsmouth, and Gibbeted in Chains without the Town.

Concerning the Dukes untimely End (dying in his 36th year) there were several Prefages ventilated;

As first, that his Picture fell down in the High-Commission Chamber at Lambeth, on the same day that Lamb was slain.

And secondly, That the Lady Davies, who was reputed a great Prophetess, had in June foretold, that the Dukes fatal time would not come till August.

And thirdly, That one Mr. Tower, an Officer in the Customs-house, was charged by a Phantom, resembling the Dukes Father, to tell him, That if he changed not his courses, he would shortly become a great Fairing to the City of London; which afterwards was thought accomplished by his death, hapning the day before Bartholomew Fair.

The Earl of Lindsey sets sail towards Rochel.

In the eighth of September, the Fleet (much forwarded by the Kings presence) set sail under the Command of the Earl of Lindsey, an able Souldier, and came to the Bar of the Haven of Rochel, where he found a monstrous Work attempted and finished by Cardinal Richliem with Boome and Baracado and Traverse, cross the Channell 1400 yards, leaving a convenient space for the Flood and Ebb of Tides, (a thing not paralleled by any History) all which nothing danting the Admirals courage he made many brave ventures at it, passed the Out-Forts and Bulworks, even to the very mouth of the Bar, where unexpectedly the Wind turning cross, drove them dangerously foul upon each other. This ill success of the Fleet, made the Rochellers despair of further success; and that despair produced a speedy surrender; which the Earl of Lindsey perceiving, brought his Fleet safe home again.

He returns, without effecting any thing.

On the 20th of January, the Parliament assembled again, which should have met upon the 20th of October, but that upon occasion of some bad News brought to the King, during this Expedition, he re-adjourned them untill this time; in the mean time, the Merchants had refused to pay Tonnage and Poundage, whereupon their Goods were seized: Complaint whereof was made to the Parliament; the King therefore summons the Houses to his Banqueting-house at White-Hall, and requires them to pay their promised Bill, for clearing his former and future Actions, especially in this time of great Necessity, seeing Tonnage and Poundage was too precious a Jewel of his Crown to be so lightly forgotten.

The Commons (who were forward enough to lay hold of Occasions, to put off the Kings Requests) answered, That Gods Cause was to be preferred before the Kings, and therefore they would in the first place consult about Religion; and accordingly appointed two Committees, one for Religion,

1628.

Religion, and another for Civil Affairs; the proceedings of the first, we shall refer to a more proper and distinct place. The other brought in a Complaint, that the Petition of Right had been printed with the Kings first Answer, which had been excepted against; and not his last, which was taken as satisfactory. Another Complaint was upon the seizing of the Merchants Goods, who had refused to pay Tonnage and Poundage; one of whom was Mr. Rolles a Parliament man; to whom it is reported, that some of the Officers of the Customs-house should say, 'Though all the Parliament were in you, we would take your Goods.' Another was Mr. Richard Chambers, who was committed to Prison, for saying at the Council-Table, That such great Customs and Impositions were required from the Merchants in England, as were in no other place, and that they were more screw'd up, than under the Turk. Afterwards having a Form of Submission drawn up, and sent him from the Star-Chamber, where unto he was to subscribe his Name: He, instead of acknowledging it, underwrote these words; 'All the aforesaid Contents, I Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest as most unjust and false, and never to death will acknowledge any part thereof; and cited also several places of Scripture, that condemn Oppression and Injustice.' For the first Complaint, the Printer was questioned, who transferred the fault to the Kings Attorney-Generals Order. For the later, Sir John Worshelm, Farmer of the Customs, Mr. Dawes and Mr. Carmarthen, his Assistants, were called to account, whom the King excused, as acting by his Command; which not being clear to the Parliament, they would have dealt with them as Delinquents; but that the King certified them by Secretary Cook, That in honour he could not, nor would give way thereto. This so incensed the Parliament, that immediately they adjourned for some dayes; and then meeting again, the King adjourned them till the first of March. Hereat Sir John Elliot stands up, and accuses the Lord Treasurer Weston, as an Enemy to the English Trade, which he desired to transfer to Foreigners; the end of whose Speech, was attended by a Message of longer Adjournment, till the Tenth of March. The Commons hereat intraged, check the Speaker, for admitting the Message; and bid Sir John to read his Remonstrance (the Speaker and Clerk refusing) which was to this effect,

Complaint made about the seizing of the Merchants Goods, who refused to pay Tonnage and Poundage.

That they had considered of the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage; but being over-pressed with other Business, and that of itself so perplex, as would require much leisure to discharge, could not, at that time, finish it; this present Session moving hastily to an end; and lest his Majesty should hereafter, as he had done heretofore, incline to evil Spirits, or be abused to believe, that he might justly receive the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, (which they humbly declare to be against the Fundamental Law of the Nation, and contrary to the Kings late Answer to the Petition of Right) therefore they crave, that his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not to take it ill, if his Subjects refuse, what is demanded by Arbitrary and unwarrantable Power.

A Report being made from the Committee of Pardons, concerning the Pardons obtained by Dr. Sibbop, Dr. Manwaring, Mr. Cofens, and Mr. Mountague; Mr. Oliver Cromwell (a fatal name in succeeding years, and beginning already to discover it self) one of that Committee, informing the House, that Dr. Neah, Bishop of Winchester, was the main Instrument, in procuring the Kings Hand to their Pardons; and that the said Bishop preferred Dr. Manwaring, notwithstanding that the last Parliaments Censure had disabled him from ever holding any Ecclesiastical Dignity, to a rich Living, and moreover, that he was a Countenancer, not onely of Arminianism, but of flat Popery: If these, said he, be the Steps to Church-Preferment, what may we expect?

The House having prepared their Remonstrance, concerning the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage, would have had the Speaker to put it to the Vote, Whether it should be presented to the King, or no; but he refused, and would have left the House, as he had been Ordered by the King: But Mr. Hollis would not suffer him to rise, till himself had read the Commons Protestation, digested into these three Articles;

The Commons prepare a Bill against Tonnage and Poundage.

First, whosoever shall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by Favour seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianism, or other Opinions, disagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-wealth.

Their Protestation read in the House by Mr. Hollis.

Secondly, whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to the Common-wealth.

Thirdly, If any man shall yield voluntarily, or pay the same, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to the Common-wealth. This was received with general applause of the Members; but not of the King; who presently sent for the Serjeant of the Mace; but he was not permitted to go out, Sir Miles Hobart, a Member, taking the Key of him, locks the Door.

The King dissolveth the Parliament by force.

1628.

The King now angry (as well he might, at so unwonted and bold a liberty, though proceeding from a Parliament) sends *Maxwell* Master of the Black-Rod to dissolve them, who being excluded, the King with his Pensioners and Guard, resolves upon forcing the entrance, which they undertaking suddenly avoided the House; and such was the end of this Parliament. In the mean time, there happened a lamentable Fire in the Strand, which consumed *Vicomte Wimbertons* house (at that time) the Lodging of the Dutch Ambassador; and not long after comes News of the Death of *Frederique Henry*, Eldest Son to the King of *Bohemia*, drowned in the Mere of *Harlem*; which put the Court all into Mourning.

He calls to-  
quation cer-  
tain refractory  
Members of  
the Commons.  
The Marquis  
of Huntly, and  
other Scotch  
Lords, are pro-  
claim'd Rebels  
by the Coun-  
cil at *Edenbu-*  
rough, and fly  
into *England*.

*Renbow* comes  
over from the  
Arch-Dutchess  
to move for a  
Peace with  
*Spain*.

Articles of  
Peace between  
*England* and  
*France*.

The King, after the dissolution of the Parliament, publishes a Declaration of the causes thereof, and then falls upon questioning the Refractory Members at the Council-Table; namely *Mr. Hall*, *Sir John Elliot*, *Sir Miles Hobart*, *Sir Peter Hayman*, *Sir John Barrington*, *Mr. Selden*, *Mr. Sroun*, *Mr. Coriton*, *Mr. Valentine*, *Mr. Long*, *Mr. Kirton*, all which were committed to several Prisons. The Marquis of *Huntly* hereditary Sheriff of a great part of *Scotland*, neglecting the Order of the Council at *Edenborough*, for the apprehending of certain Priests and Jesuits, who openly said Mass at *Aberdeen*, and committed other insolencies, was summoned to appear before the Council, together with the Earls of *Arrol*, *Arhol*, *Nidesdale*, and *Abercon*, who joyned with him in his Contempt; and upon both their refusals to appear, and their giving notice to the said Priests and Jesuits to escape, they were proclaimed Rebels to the King and Kingdom, and a strict course taken for the apprehending of them, whereupon they took their flight into *England*. This year *Petrus Paulus Renbow*, the famous Painter of *Antwerp*, Secretary to the Arch-Dutchess, was sent over Agent into *England*, to solicit a Peace with *Spain*, who it seems was at this time as so low an Ebbe, that *Renbow* posted him up at *Rome* in a Fryars Habit, together with *Marforius*; who, the question being ask'd, why he was painted in that Habit, answered, That it was, because he had lately taken three Vows upon him One of Poverty, ever since the *Hollanders* took the *West-India Fleet*. The other of Obedience, since the *French* made them quit *Casal* and *Montferrat*. And lastly, of Chastity, when the *Conde de Olivares* shall give him leave. This Peace was not concluded, till there came over another Ambassador more fully empowered. In the fifth year of his Majesties Reign, the Emperour sends over an Ambassador into *England*, and offers here, to the Queen of *Bohemia*, Thirty thousand pounds per annum, with convenience of Reception, within the Palatinate, upon condition, that her eldest Son living, should marry one of the Emperours Daughters; and be educated at that Imperial Court; which motion was magnanimously rejected. In Italy the Wars had been hot, to little purpose, with the loss of a Million of Mortals between *France* and *Spain*, about the Dukedom of *Mantua*, wherein at length *Charles Confaga*, Duke of *Nevers*, was invested. But the *French* having weakened themselves in this War, and gotten no great bargain by it, desired new Alliances, to attack the *Spaniards* and *Austrians*, and by the mediation of the *Venitians*, propos'd and conclude a Peace with *England*, upon these Articles.

First, That the two Kings shall renew former Alliance, inviolable, with free Commerce, and in this particular, such things may be propos'd, to add or diminish, as either part shall judge convenient.

Secondly, That for what is past, during the late difference, no satisfaction shall be demand'd on either side.

Thirdly, That the Articles of Marriage of the Queen of Great Britain, shall be confirm'd; and concerning her Domesticks, Expedients propos'd, to be added or diminished.

Fourthly, All former Alliances between the Crowns shall stand good, unless changed by this present Treaty.

Fifthly, The two Kings, being thus remitted to their former Affections, shall respectively correspond towards the Assistance of their Allies (so far as the condition of Affairs, and the general good shall permit) for procuring of the repose of the Troubles of Christendom.

Sixthly, That Ambassadors on either part be dispatched for Ratification; and Residents in either Court.

Seventhly, Touching Ships at Sea, with Letters of Marque on either side, that for two Months following, that shall not prejudice this Agreement; provided, either Prize be restor'd after that time, upon Demand.

Eighthly,

1629.

Eightly, That these Articles be joyntly signed the Fourteenth of this present April, and instantly then Consigned into the Hands of the Lords Ambassadors of *Venice*, to be delivered to each King, at a day prefix'd; all Acts of Hostility to cease, and to be Proclaim'd in both Kingdomes, the Twentieth of May following.

And shortly after, *Sir Thomas Edmonds*, Controler of the Kings House, was sent from *England*, and the Marquis of *Chastellaneux* from *France*, for the solemn Confirmation of the Articles by Oath. In the beginning of November, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Somerset*, and *Clare*, with some others, were Committed, upon Information given, That they had dispersed several Copies of a Book of Projects, instructing the King to augment his Revenues without the help of Parliaments: but they were cleared from that Suspicion by *Sir David Fowles*, who discover'd upon Oath, that it was contrived about sixteen years ago by *Sir Robert Dudley*, eldest Son to the late Earl of *Leicester*, then living at *Florence*, under the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*. On the first of January *Don Carlo de Colomae* came Ambassador from *Spain* to the late Earl of *Leicester*, to Treat of Peace between the two Crowns, and six days after had, his first Audience.

By the dissolving the last Parliament, the Popular Odium was more than ever stirr'd up against the Great and Powerful Ministers of State, as appear'd by certain invective Libells dispersed about; whereof there was one against Bishop *Laud* to this purpose:

*Laud, Look to thyself, be assured thy life is sought: as Thou art the Fountain of Wickedness, Repent of thy monstrous Sin before thou be taken out of the World; and assure thy Self, neither God nor the World can endure such a vile Counsellor, or Whisperer.* This Libell was found in the Dean of *Pauls* his Yard, with another more lets bitter against the Lord-Treasurer *Weston*: Others there were more zealous for the advancement of the Kings Prerogative, who considering how little Success his Affairs had by this and his two former Parliaments, advis'd his Majesty never for the future to Call any more Parliaments; and for the better carrying on of such a Design as this, the aforesaid Book of Projects was publish'd and dispers'd in several Places, containing, A Proposition address'd to the King, how he might so order the Matter, as not to be troubled for the future with the Impertinencies, as he call'd it, of Parliaments; Instanting the Example of *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, who pretending, that the third Estate, representing the Commons, did inroach too much upon the Clergy and Nobility, dissolv'd that Parliament of the three Estates, and never after had a free Election of the third Estate; but instead thereof, ordered an Assembly of certain Eminent Persons of his own Nomination, which is call'd *L'Assemblée des Notables*: The wayes propos'd for the avoiding this Impertinency of Parliaments were in brief these;

1. To have a Fortrefs in every considerable Town.
2. To cause high-ways to be made through such Towns.
3. To choose or the Government of the Fortresses of such Towns, no Inhabitants of the Place.
4. To let none pass through such Places without a Ticket.
5. To have the Names of all Lodgers taken by Inn-keepers.

6. To impose general Oath upon the Subjects, for the avoiding of all Rubs that might hinder the conclusion of these Business. Then for the encreasing of the Kings Revenue, the Advice was;

1. To demand Decima, or tenth part of mens Estates.
2. To buy all Lases upon the Crown-Lands.
3. To take the benefit of Salt into his own Hands.
4. To demand a Rate for Sealing the Weights every year.
5. To demand an Impost for Wools.
6. To put a Tax upon every Lawyers Fee.
7. To put a Tax upon Inns and Victualling-houses for a Licence.
8. To put a Tax upon all Cattel, Flesh, and Horses sold in the Market.
9. To put a Tax upon all Lands alienated.
10. To demand a Rate upon all Offices in his Majesties Grant.
11. To reduce his Majesties Household to Board-wages.
12. To demand a Rate or Licence to eat *Lacticia*, or White-meats, upon fasting dayes.
13. To take an Imposition upon the Catholics Lands.
14. At the Princes Marriage, to make Earls *Principi*, Barons Earls, two hundred of the richest men of *England* that were no Nobles Titulate; Gentlemen of low Quality Franklines, and rich Farmers Esquires; each paying for their Honours, according to their several Degrees.

Lastly, To prohibit costly and gorgeous Apparell to be worn by any, but Persons of considerable Quality, which would save the Gentry of the Kingdom much more money than what they were taxed could amount unto.

About this time, certain Gentlemen of the Temple attempting the rescue of one *Bellingham*, a Captain in the late Isle of *Ré* Expedition, who was Arrested in *Fleetstreet*, and divers of them in the Fray being wounded, and carried to Prison: The Business at length came to that height, and the Concourse of the Temples so far encreas'd, that they made a Barricado about *St. Dunstons Church*; and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* coming against them with a Company of the Train-bands, they being about six hundred in number, made a bold Resistance, killed five, and wounded

Libells found  
against Bishop  
*Laud*, and the  
Lord Treasur-  
er *Weston*.

A Paper of  
Advice, present-  
ed to the King,  
to rid himself  
of Parliaments.

A Tumult in  
*Fleetstreet*  
about an Ar-  
rest.

Captain Ashburn, and Captain Stamford being found Guilty, were Condemned, and Executed at Tyburn, notwithstanding, that for the saving of *Stamford's* life, great Intercession was made to the King, who answered, *That since he had been formerly pardoned for a Murder, and had committed another, a course ought to be taken to prevent a third.*

1630.

The death of William Earl of Pembroke.

The Birth of Prince Charles.

Sir Robert Ashley, sent Ambassador to the Emperor, to Treat about the Palatinate.

A Peace Proclaimed between England and Spain.

Tumults in Dublin about restraining the liberty of the Catholics.

Contentions in England between the Jesuits and secular Priests.

wounded near a hundred; Hereupon the Lord Chief Justice was sent for up to London, and an extraordinary Session kept at Guild-hall, for the Tryal of the chief Offenders, in which Captain Ashburn, and Captain Stamford being found Guilty, were Condemned, and Executed at Tyburn, notwithstanding, that for the saving of *Stamford's* life, great Intercession was made to the King, who answered, *That since he had been formerly pardoned for a Murder, and had committed another, a course ought to be taken to prevent a third.*

It was now the sixth year of his Majesties Reign, being the year 1630. which began with the death of William Harbut, Earl of Pembroke, a Person truly Generous and Heroick, a great Enemy to the Spaniard, and Disliker of forrein Men, Manners, and Modes; he died in the fiftieth year of his Age; after which, his Brother, the Earl of Montgomery, obtained of the King the disposition of his Council.

On the twenty ninth of May, the Queen was brought to Bed of a young Son, which was Baptized at St. James's, on the twenty seventh of June, and named Charles; reserv'd by Providence to Succeed his Father on the Throne of Great Britain, after the Miseries of a long and tedious Exile from his Native Country, and rightful Inheritance; unto which, nevertheless He comes to be at length happily Restor'd with the general Consent and Acclamation of the whole Realm: His Godfathers were the King of France, and Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of Lenox, and the Marquis of Hamilton; and his Godmother was the Queen-Mother of France, represented by the Dutches of Richmond. It is observed, that at his Nativity, at London, was seen a Star about Noon-time; which, that it portended something more than ordinary, the extraordinary Passages, things, rather then rely upon the Predictions of Astrologers, which are at the best but Conjectures. In the mean time, the Affairs of Germany did necessarily require a general Diet to be kept at Ratisbone, whither the Prince Elector was invited, to put in his Plea for his Restoration to the Palatinate; whereupon he sends his Agent thither, and procures our King to send Sir Robert Ashley, ther as Ambassador to the Emperour in his behalf; who having received fair Respects from the Emperour and States, at length returned reinfected: About this time, Doctor Leighton was sentenced in the Star-Chamber to have his Body whipt, his Forehead stigmatiz'd, his Ears cropt, and his Nose slit, for exhorting the late Parliament to smite the Bishops under the fifth Rib; and for calling the Queen, the Daughter of Heth, a Canaanite, and Idolatress, in his Book call'd *Sions Plea*, which was accordingly inflicted.

Don Carlo de Colona had so effectually plyed his Business, that in November a Peace was concluded between England and Spain, upon the same Articles that had been agreed upon between King James and Philip the Third; and the Spaniard to use all his Interest in the Emperour, for the Prince Electors Restitution. The Peace was Proclaimed on the twenty seventh of November: And now the old Prerogative Statute for Knighthood comes in place; whereby those who had Estates of forty pounds per annum, were summoned to appear a little before Christmas, to be Knighted; and upon default, to be fined: By which means, about one hundred thousand pounds were brought into the Exchequer.

In Ireland, the Romish Catholics upon St. Stephens Day, while the Lords Justices were at Church in Dublin, took the boldness to Celebrate Mass, of which the Lords Justices having speedy Notice, sent the Archbishop of Dublin, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder, to apprehend them; their Crucifixes and Paraments of the Altar were taken away, and the Priests delivered into the Custody of the Pursevants; Also eight Popish Aldermen were clapt up in Prison, for not assisting the Mayor. A Company of People gathered together in a Tumult, and refused the Priests out of the Pursevants hands; but the Guard being sent among them, forc'd them to deliver them up again. Upon Information sent to the King and Council of this Riot and Insolency, fifteen Houses were by a special Order from the Council seized upon to his Majesties use, and the Priests and Fryars so far molested and prosecuted, that two of them hang'd themselves: nor were the Catholics in England and Ireland free from Jars among themselves, there jarring a notable Contest between the Jesuits and secular Priests, upon occasion of the Usurpation of one Richard Smith, who in the year 1625, having been sent into England by Pope Urban the Eighth, to reside as chief Superintendent of his Emisaries here, under the Title of Bishop of Chalcodon; took upon him so far, as that he challeng'd to himself the sole Authority of approving such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors: This the Jesuits judg'd to be so great an Intrenchment upon their Jurisdiction, that they contriv'd a Declaration against his pretended Authority, under the Names of the most Noble and Eminent Catholics, which they presented to the Spanish Ambassador, just upon the time of his departure out of England for Spain; and by all other ways they could invent, to prosecute the Bishop, that he was forced to make his Escape into France.

This year Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, made his famous Irruption into Germany (being invited by the Protestant Princes, who were headed by the Duke of Saxony:) To his aid, his Majesty sends over the Marquis of Hamilton, with three hundred thousand Dollars, and an Army of six thousand Foot; the greatest part whereof perished in that War, and Hamilton himself returned in-glorious, and stained with suspicion of Treason, as being said to have designed by this Expedition to endear himself to the Scottish Officers, and by their help hereafter to make himself King of

of Scotland; the truth whereof was offered to be evidenced by the Lord Rey and Uchiltry, and Major Borthwick; against his Engines Ramsey and Meldram. Some two years ago, the Fort Keck upon the River of Canada, in the North-part of America, had been taken and Garrison'd by Captain Kirk, it being a great Staple for Bevers and Otters; The King of France therefore detains four hundred thousand Crowns, part of the Queens Portion, whereupon a greater Breach was likely to ensue; but this year put an end to the difference, the Fort was delivered, and the Money paid.

The Earl of Essex having many years ago Marri'd the Lady Frances Howard, and upon her Complaint of his Insufficiency for Conjugal Duties; which the business being brought to a full Tryal, was evidence'd by the Verdict of a Jury of Midwives, and the Earls own Confession; That he never could, and believ'd never should carnally know her: Sentence of Divorce having been pronounc'd by the Bishops between him and his Lady, (who afterwards marri'd the Earl of Somerset) and ratified by a Commission under the Great Seal; the Earl of Essex betook himself to Fortitude, and won the Reputation of a Souldier, willing also to approve himself as much Man as Souldier, and as true a Son of Venus as of Mars; he return'd into England, and married Elizabeth, the Daughter of Sir William Paulet, a Wiltshire Knight: But long this new Marriage had not been consummated, ere the objecting the same Cause of Complaint against him as his former Lady had done; and having been taken over free in the bestowing of her Favours upon one Mr. Udal, the Earl was easily induc'd to consent to a Diffarreation as well with this as his former Lady.

In the seventh year of his Majesties Reign, being the year 1631. Mervin, Lord Audley, was Arraigned for Rape and Sodomy before his Peers, upon the Petition of his own Son and Heir; where divers unnatural and bestial Actions being prov'd against him, he receiv'd his Sentence to be hang'd; but had the rigour of his Sentence remitted by Favour, and was beheaded at Tower-hill the 14th of May. He was of Noble Extraction bred up a Protestant, but after turned Papiſt, for more liberty in Evil.

And so pleased himself with his Enormities, that he impudently said in presence of some Lords; As others had their several Delights, some in one thing, some in another; so his whole Delight was in damning Souls, by enticing men to such Acts as might surely effect it.

A little while after this, Sir Giles Allington, who had married with his own Niece, was Convented before a Court of eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners, by whom he was fined 12000 l. to the King, and forced to give Bond of 20000 l. never to co-habit, or to come in private with his said Niece; to be Imprison'd, or put in sufficient Bail, till they have both done Penance at St. Pauls Cross, London, or great St. Maries at Cambridge, at the day assigned.

About this time, the King of Sweden won the memorable Battle of Lypsick, and grew so considerable, that the King thought him the likeliest man to restore his Brother to his Principality; and so sends an Ambassador to him, to Congratulate his Success, and to mediate the Palgrave's Restitution with the Swede, (who now had gotten the greatest part of the Palatinate in his Hands); which he seem'd willing to grant, but upon such hard Conditions as were dishonourable both to the King and the Prince, and so ended this year; nothing memorable hapning at Court, save only the Birth of the Princess Mary, upon the fourth of November: And the Difference between Donalld Lord Rey, and David Ramsey; the last whereof was tax'd for Hamiltons Insultment, in that forementioned Design in Germany, and the former his Accuser: But Ramsey denying what he was Charg'd with, they were admitted to a Tryal by Combate, which was order'd after this manner;

“ Upon the day appointed, which was the twenty eighth of November, they were to appear in the Painted Chamber, before Robert, Earl of Lindsey, Lord High-Constable for the time being, Thomas Earl of Arundell, Earl-Marshal of England, the Earls of Pembroke, Dorset, Carlisle, the Vicounts, Wimbeldon, Falkland, with other Earls and Lords: At the upper end, four Foot high, was erected a Bench for the Constable, Marshal, and Lords Assistant; under them was plac'd a square Table, with Seats about it, for the Heralds and Serjants at Armes: just under the upper Bench sat Doctor Dethick the Register, and over against him Doctor Duck, the Kings Advocate for the Marshals Court; the Earl-Marshal bearing a Truncheon of Gold tip'd with black, and Usher'd by nine Heralds, and three Serjants at Armes, conducted the High-Constable into the Court, together with Sir William Seager, one of the Kings of Armes, and presented the Constable with his Commission, which was deliver'd to the Register to read; the effect whereof was,

That his Majesty being inform'd by Donalld Lord Rey, of divers Treasons plotted against him by David Ramsey Esquire, the one accusing, the other denying; doth therefore

The Earl of Essex having been divorce'd from the Lady Frances Howard's Marries, Sir William Paulet's Daughter, and in a short while he also parts from her.

The Tryal of the Earl of Castlebrun.

And of Sir Giles Allington.

The King of Swed succels in Germany

The Birth of the Lady Mary. The Tryal between the Lord Rey and David Ramsey.

1630.

1631.

fore Authorise the said Robert Barty Earl of Lindsey, to call unto him Thomas Earl A of Arundel, Earl-Marshall; and with him such other Peers as he thought fit to hold a Marshalls Court, for the sifting out the truth between the said Parties.

Then the King of Arms deliver'd to the Countable his silver Verge, headed with a Crown of Gold; then the Herald receiving a Key from the Earl-Marshall, went and Usher'd in the Appellant, who was attir'd in black Velvet, trim'd with silver Buttons, his Sword hanging in a silver embroider'd Belt, and accompanied with his Sureties, Sir Peerce Crosby, Sir Walter Crosby, Sir William Forbiez, Sir Robert Gordon, and Sir William Evers: The Defendant likewise in Scarlet, lac'd with silver Lace, and lin'd with Sky-colour'd Plush, but unarm'd, was Usher'd in by another Herald. The Earl-Marshall told them the substance of the Commission, the Power and Legality of the Court; and that to prevent any Combate, he hop'd the truth would be brought to light; after the Earl-Marshall, the Kings Advocate spake to the same purpose, in justification of the warrantableness of the Court, and brought many Precedents of Tryal by Combate in cases of the like nature: Afterwards the Appellant was order'd to deliver in his Charge against the Defendant, which he did by Bill: This Charge imported certain words spoken by Ramsey to the Lord Rey, when they were together in the Low-Countries, against the State and Church of England; and, That he was privy, as he himself boasted, to a design of the Marquis of Hamilton, to convert those Forces which the King had promis'd him for foreign Service (with the Wine-Customs of Scotland for their Maintenance) against England; that their Friends in Scotland had provided Arms and Ammunition, and more were expelled from Sweden, and other parts, and that he himself was earnestly solicited by Ramsey, and Alexander Hamilton, to combine with them in this their Design. And added, that if Ramsey would deny it, he was a Villain and a Traytor, which he would prove, and therewith cast him his Glove: Ramsey on the other side deny'd all, and said, Rey was a Lyar, and a barbarous Villain, and threw down his Glove, protesting to Gar him to dye for it, if he had him in a convenient place; Then Rey temperately demanding an Answer to his Bill, Ramsey alledg'd the impossibility of the Charge, since there were but six thousand raw Souldiers expelled, and that the Marquis was not so weak, as to think, that if with those Forces he could surprize the King, That he could also secure himself against his Children and Kindred. But being told by the Earl-Marshall, that he must answer the Bill according to form of Law; He acknowledg'd the substance of the Discourse alledg'd by Rey, with the circumstances of time and place, but deny'd that any Treason was intended, or utter'd: then the Court was Adjourn'd till the fifth of December; at which time the two Adversaries entered again, Rey habited as formerly, Ramsey in a Suit of black Satin: he presented his Answer in writing; wherein having mention'd the six thousand men under the Marquis of Hamiltons Command, to be employ'd in the King of Swedens Service, he confess'd, That speaking in general of Matters amiss in England; Rey answer'd, God amend all; to whom Ramsey reply'd, By God Donnold we must help him to amend all; and to all other things he utterly gives his denial, and craves revenge upon Reys person by Dint of Sword. Both Parties having Counsel assign'd them, Doctor Eden who was Counsel for Ramsey affirm'd, That the Defendant might according to Law decline the Combate:

1. Because no man can be charged as a Traytor by one that is guilty in his own particular.
2. Because of the doubtfulness and uncertainty of the Charge.
3. Because the Appellant refers the Combate to the last, in case the charge cannot be prov'd by any other ways; but the Defendant saith, That though in Law he might, yet in Honour, and for the justifying of his Innocence, he will not decline the Combate.

Time being given to Rey for his Replication, he appears at the day appointed clad as before; Ramsey also appears habited in an Ash-colour'd Sute, and Scarlet Cloak, both overlay'd with silver and sky-colour'd Lace; the Sute opened with Scarlet, the Cloak lined with Ash-colour'd Velvet: The Appellant presented his Replication to the High-Constables, wherein he aver'd, That the Defendant had cunningly over-slept a part of the Charge; then he repeated the several parts of the Charge, and the strength of them, with the Defendants defects in not clearing the chief Points: Ramsey's

Ramsey's Counsel urg'd against the Replication, and the Lord Reys Intention therein to have recourse to Proofs: Whereas, said he, This Court of Honour and Chivalry was appeal'd unto for the hazarding of their persons by Combate, which intends a Tryall without proof. Doctor Duck the Kings Advocate, and Doctor Reeves, who were Counsell for the Appellant, mov'd for the continuance of the Replication; which was granted: and upon another appointed day, the Exceptions therunto were made by the opposite Party.

This the Council on both sides having argued for a long time Pro & Con, the Court Adjourn'd till another day, when no further proofs being brought, it was determin'd, that the Matter should be refer'd to the Kings Will and Pleasure; which was so far prevail'd upon by the great power the Marquis had with his Majesty, that after a greedy expectation in both Parties of the Result, his Favour was found chiefly to incline to Ramsey: Which as soon as it was known, the Lord Rey sufficiently satisfied in his mind to have done the duty of a faithful Subject, stay'd not long in the Kingdom, but forthwith betook himself to the Swedish Army, where he had a considerable Command. This Story we thought fit to set down the more at large, since it will give much light to the truth of the Scottish Affairs.

The King in his eighth year, sends Colonel Sanderson with two thousand men out of England, and a like number of Scots under Colonel Esly, to help the Muscovite in his Wars against Poland, who with an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, besieges Smolensko, during which, the two Colonels quarrell, and Esly basely murdering Sanderson, was committed to the Guard: so that the Scots and English having lost their Commanders, and being grown jealous of one another, were the less useful in that great Battell presently after ensuing, wherein the Muscovite received a shameful overthrow.

This year died five Noble Personages: First, Sigismund King of Poland. Secondly, Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, slain at the Battell of Lutzen. The third, Pappenheim, slain also at the same Battell. The fourth, Frederick King of Bohemia, and Prince Elector of the Rhine, who departed at Mantua, eight dayes after the recovery of his most considerable Town of Breuckendale. The fifth, Sophia Queen Dowager of Denmark, to condole whose death with the then King her Son, the Earl of Leicester was sent over; as also to demand one hundred and fifty thousand pounds (due by her death as a Portion to the Heirs of her Daughter Anne, late Queen of Great Britain) which was then promised, though never paid.

In Ireland things began to look troubled; the Protestants grumbling that the King should discharge the Papists from paying the State-penalty of twelve pence a Sunday, for absence from Church, whereby they were excessively encreased. These Distempers began to swell, which the King minding to allay, recalled the Lords Justices, who then had the Government of the Land, and sent Viscount Warrmorth thither as Lord Deputy, thinking that their humours would better settle and repose under a single Government.

The King, as soon as he was recovered of a fit of sickness, the small Pox, (which seiz'd on him the twenty second of December, but soon, and favourably left him) dispatcheth the Earl of Arundell to the Hague, to the Princess Elizabeth his Sister, to condole the death of her Husband, the Prince Elector Palatine, and to invite her and her Children over into England; but she returning thanks for the Complement and the Invitation, desir'd to be excus'd from the trouble of so tedious a Journey. The Cathedral Church of St. Paul having born the Shock of Times Injury for many for many Generations, and contracted the Decays and Ruines of Age, the King, desirous to provide so good a Work, as the repairing and re-embellishing of so stately a Monument, recommended to the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, the raising among themselves a large Contribution towards it. This Motion, though many repin'd, was so far entertain'd by the Generality, that a considerable Sum was gathered, and the Work had a fair progress, till the coming on of the late Troubles put a stop and period to it. At the same time the Earl of Bedford obtained leave of the King to build up that part of the Suburbs of London, commonly called Covent-Garden, a place full of stately and proud Structures, and not inferior to many famous Cities: But while Buildings and publick Adornments went on in some places, lamentable Ruines and Devastations hapned in others; witness, that wide breach and discontinuance of Houles upon London Bridge, which is to be seen there at this day, caus'd by a violent and raging Fire.

In the Ninth year of King Charles's Reign, being 1633. Preparation was made for a Journey into Scotland, where his Presence had been humbly intreated for, to comfort them with his Court, and honour them with his Personall Coronation, which he now resolves upon; and May 13. sets forward, attended by the Earl of Northumberland, Arundell, Pembroke, Southampton, Salisbury, Carlisle, Holland, Monmouth, and Newcastle; the Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer, Secretary, Vice-Chamberlain, with many Gentlemen of Quality, and comes to Edinburgh the tenth of June, and eight dayes after is Solemnly Crowned there. As soon as that Celebrity was finished, he calls a Parliament, passes an Act of Ratification of the old Acts, notwithstanding some there were, who asserted, That by so doing meant a Confirmation of Episcopacy, and for that reason oppos'd

1632.

Viscount wentworth made Lord Deputy of Ireland.

1633.

The King takes a Journey into Scotland, to be Crowned there.

1633.

opposed it, though in vain; and not long after became Heads of the Covenanters: But the King A having visited *Falkland, Sterling, Dunfermling*, and some other places, takes leave of Scotland, and comes home to *Greenwich* the twentieth day of July.

In this *Scottish* Parliament, that Nation discovered some Seeds of disaffection to the King, for his Renovation of things alienated from the Crown in his Fathers Minority, and for his Commission of Surrenders of Superiorities and Tithes; whereby Ministers and Land-Owners were freed from the Clientele and Vassalage of the Nobility and Laick Patrons: And the Lord *London* opposed the ratifying of an Act, formerly granting power to King *James*, and his Successors, to ordain Habits for the Clergy and Judges professing, and made a great stir before it could be carried on the King's side. And the Generality of the people (invited, no doubt, by the Great Ones of the Malignant Faction) deterred the Bishop of *Dumblain*, Dean of the Kings private Chapel, from observing his Orders there: for performing Prayers twice a day after the *English* manner, for receiving the monthly Communion on their Knees, and for Officiating on *Sundays* and *Holydays* in a Surplice.

A little before the Kings Journey into *Scotland*, his Majesty, willing, if it had been possible, to have spared this trouble, writ to a Lord of that Nation, to whose Custody the Crown of *Scotland* was entrusted, to bring it into *England*, that he might be Crowned here: But the Lord returned this Answer, *That he durst not be so false to his Trust; but if his Majesty would be pleased to accept thereof in Scotland, he should find those his People ready to yield him the highest honour: but should be long defer that duty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of another King.* A very peremptory answer (especially in the latter part thereof) for a Subject to send to his Prince.

In *England* about this time died *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, into whose place *William Laud* Bishop of *London* was elected.

The Birth of the Duke of York.

October the thirteenth, the Queen was delivered of her second Son, who was Baptized ten days after, and named *James*, and design'd Duke of *York*: And a little after, the young Prince *Eliz* by the Proxy of the Duke of *Lennox*, and the Earl of *Dorset*, was made Knight of the *Garter*.

On *Candlemas* Night the four Inns of Court united all together, to present the King and Queen with a stately *Masque*, which was attended with a Train of Christian Captives lately set at liberty, by *Cidan* King of *Morocco*, who had long kept them in slavery, and now presented to King *Charles* as a grateful acknowledgment for the Loan of a part of his Fleet, by whose assistance he had taken *Sally*, and destroyed that execrable Nest of *Pirates*. This Revell found such acceptance at Court, that it was again with much Applause exhibited a Fortnight after, when the King and Queen were magnificently entertained by the City at the House of Alderman *Freeman*, then Lord Mayor.

1634.

Ship-money designed by Noy the Kings Attorney-Generall.

It was now the Year 1634. and the Tenth of his Majesties Reign, when the *English* Coasts being infested by *Pirates*, and the Fishing almost usurped and ingrossed by the *Hollands*, the design of Ship-Money was set on foot; for the King wanting money to regain his absolute Mastery of the *British* Seas, consulted about it with his Attorney-Generall *Noy*, who finds out of old Records an Ancient Precedent of raising a Tax upon the Nation, for setting forth a Navy in case of danger, by sole Authority of the King. This Tax brought into the Kings Coffers about twenty thousand pounds per *menssem*, which was raised by Writ, not without muttering both of Clergy and Laity: And soon after the Attorney having enabled the King to provide a Potent Armado, failed himself out of the narrow Seas of this life, into the Ocean of Eternity.

The *Swedes* did not lose their Hopes, although they lost their King, but having Crowned *Christina*, *Gustavus* Daughter, applied themselves to the prosecution of their *German* Quarrell, and send Ambassadors to all their Allies for Assistance, among whom, the Son of *Axel Oxensterna*, came into *England* with Credentials from his Queen and the Council, and was splendidly entertained by the King; but yet departed in some Disgust, because his Answer was not so satisfactory as he expected.

In *reland* the Lord Deputy called a Parliament about the business of supply for the Kings Necessities in relation to that Kingdom; which being urged home, and prudently managed, found answerable success.

There was also a Synod held there at the same time, in which a Canon was agreed upon, declaring the consent of that Church with the Church of *England*, in the profession of the same Christian Faith: which Canon was as followeth;

For the manifestation of our Agreement with the Church of *England*, in the Confession of the same Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, We do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy in the whole Convocation holden at *London*, Anno Dom. 1562. For the avoiding of diversities of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion; And therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm, that any of those Articles are in any part superfluous or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto, let him be Excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a publick Revocation of his Error.

A Parliament and Synod called in *Ireland*.

In *Scotland* Discontents began to arise, and out comes a Book, charging the King with indirect proceedings in the last Parliament, and a tendency to the Romish Belief; and to blow up under him *Monsieur Montrieux* to work upon the Discontents of that Nation. The Author of the aforementioned Book was inquired after, and found to be one *William Hagge*, abetted by the Lord *Balmerino*, the treacherous Son of a perfidious Father, who was thereupon (the other escaping) Arraigned, by his Peers, found guilty and sentenced to death, but pardoned by the King.

This year died Sir *Richard Weston*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Edward Coke*, formerly Queen *Elizabeths* Attorney-Generall, and Chief Justice of the *Kings-Bench*; but now out of favour, by reason of his too great freedom of speech. And in *Scotland* died the Earl of *Kenoulde*, succeeded Archbishop *Spotswood* of *St. Andrews*, aged about sixty years, one justly commended for three excellent Qualities, Learning, Moderation, and Wisdom.

This year was unfortunate to the *Swedish* Party in *Germany*, where Generall *Arnhem* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*; the Town of *Ratisbon* was re-gained by the Imperialist, Generall *Aldring* slain at *Lansbut*, and the whole *Swedish* Army totally defeated by the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Infante*, at the famous Battell of *Norlingen*; after which ensued the Surrender of the Town, and the Conquest of the Dukedome of *Wittenberg*, whose Duke C by means of the *French*.

After the departure of *Smith*, the Bishop of *Calcedon*, out of *England*; *Gregory Panzani*, a Priest and Civilian, was sent hither by the Pope, with a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, to decide the difference between the Regular and the Secular Priests; this *Panzani* insinuating himself into the favour of the Lord *Cottingham*, and Secretary *Windebank*, seeks to discover by his Agents at Court, how far the Kings Mind might be wrought to a Toleration in matters of Conscience to the *Romish* Religion; as the giving way to a *Nuncio* from the Pope to the Queen, and the allowing of a Catholic Bishop for the *English* Nation to reside here, who should be no dependence between the Regulars and the Seculars, he returned home, and committed the transacting of the rest to Signior *George Com*, whom he left in his room.

It was now the Year 1635. when a gallant Fleet was set out, by the aide of Ship-money, forty Sails, under the Earl of *Lindsey* Admirall, and twenty others, under the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admirall, who secured the Seas from *Pirates* formerly molesting, whereby our Commodities were safely transported, and the *English* Puissance rendered so considerable in the eyes of Foreign Princes, that the King of *Spain* thought it his safest course to entrust his *Bullion* in our Bottoms, which was Coynd in *England*, to the great benefit of the King's Mint, and of all the Merchants also, whose Commodities were exchanged thereby, and the rest of the money payed over by exchange to *Flanders*. At this time the *French* and *Hollanders* had confederated themselves to infect the *Spaniards* from before *Dunkirk*, and the Natives discontented by the Intolerances of the *French*, took up Arms against them, and joyned with the *Spaniards* to expell them out of the Country.

There was brought up to Court by the Earl of *Arundell*, as the Miracle and Rarity of these times, for the wonderful provexity of his Age, one *Robert Parr*, a Shropshire man, who had reacht almost his 160 year, and might in all likelihood have out-liv'd that time some years, had not the incommodiousness of so long a Journey to a man so aged, the removal of him from his own proper Sphere, the Country, and the change of his wonted course of Dyer, hastned on the period of his dayes.

*Charles* Prince Elector, finding small hopes of Restauration from the mediation of Neighbour States, came over into *England* to crave Assistance of the King, and was received with all the Caresses of Courtisie and Affection, and lodged in Prince *Charles's* Quarter at *White-Hall*: And soon after, Arrived his Brother Prince *Rupert*.

The twenty eighth of *December*, the Kings second Daughter was born, and on the fifth of *January* was Baptized, and named *Elizabeth*. To Congratulate the Queens happy Delivery, over comes an Ambassadour from *Holland*, who to work the more into favour, brought with him a Present of an immense value, a masse piece of *Ambergreece*, two fair, and almost transparent, *China* Pions, a rare Clock of excellent Art, being the Workmanship of *Radolphus* the Emperour, and four very admirable Pieces of Painting, the Originals of *Tintoret* and *Titian*, those admired ancient Artists. And now the King began to bethink himself of a new Treasurer, that Office having been managed by Commissioners, ever since the death of the Earl of *Portland*: but some differences arising between them, so incommodated the Kings Affairs, that he resolves again to put it into the hands of one; and so, *March* the sixth, commits the Staff of that Office to Doctor *William Juxon*, Bishop of *London*.

Now more then ever began to rise Divisions about Ecclesiasticall matters, which were mainly caused by the great offence and distast that was generally taken at the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The death of the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, and Sir *Edm. Coke*.

The *Swedish* Success declining in *Germany*.

*Panzani* sent into *England* to decide the difference between the Jesuits and Secular Priests.

1635.

A Fleet set out under the Earl of *Lindsey*, to scour the Seas.

*Robert Parr* brought up to the Court by the Earl of *Arundell*.

The Lady *Elizabeth* born.

Differences in Religion, how occasioned.

Canterbury, his strict and zealous maintaining of certain Ceremonies of the Church, as the placing of the Communion-Table at the East-End of the Chancel, upon a Gradual Altar, in the manner of an Altar, with a Traverse of Rails before it, with other things formerly not so strictly insisted upon, and now vehemently oppos'd by many; who commonly went under the name of Puritans, and Non-conformists, whose over-nice scrupulosity in things indifferent, was judg'd too much inclining towards faction: Nor were there wanting some of the Episcopall Party, who assented by Writing, that the Communion-Table ought to stand, according to the Primitive example, in the Nave or middle of the Quire: To this purpose a Book was publish'd, written as some think, by the Bishop of Lincoln, though owned by another person.

1636.

Another Fleet set out under the Command of the Earl of Northumberland.

The Earl of Arundell sent Ambassador to Ferdinand the third, about the restitution of the Prince Palatine.

The King considering the good effects of his late Fleet, sets out another, consisting of three-score Sail of good Ship, under the Command of the Earl of Northumberland, in 1636, being the twelfth year of his Reign, who going Northwards, scoured the Seas of the Dutch Busses, seizing some, sinking others, and enforcing the rest to fly; so reducing them all to a precarious Condition, of entreating the favour of fishing by the Kings Commission; which he was the readier to incline them, because he looked upon them as the likeliest means of his Nephew's Re-induction, which he so passionately desired; that understanding that an Imperial Dyer was indicted at Rheims, September the sixteenth, for the Electing a King of the Romans, he dispatch'd thither, the Earl of Arundell, as Ambassador to the new Emperor (who had lately succeeded his Father by the name of Ferdinand the Third). The Earl arriving at the Imperial Court, presented his Masters Request in behalf of the Prince Elector; and was answered, That he might be considered for holding the Lower Palatinate, but as for the other, it was in the power of the Bavarian, and therefore it would concern the Ambassador to treat with him, and with the Emperor's Deputies. Some of them were well inclined toward the Palgrave; but others were so hot against him, that they could hardly refrain from offensive Contumelies: And the Bavarian said plainly, That what he had won by the Sword, he would hold by the same as long as he was able. The Earl foreseeing what small success his Negotiation was like to have, would not mispend his own time, and his Majesties Money in the Treaty, but hastened away, and that (the more to shew his Indignation) without taking any leave, having before sent the King an account of his Transactions: nor could he be perswaded to stay one month longer, by all the Intreaties of the Spanish and Polish Ambassadors, whom the Emperor sent after him to appease him with promises of better effects, if he would return: but home he comes and finds the King so angry, at his being neglected, that he resolv'd to shew the like contempt to the Emperor's Agent, which came over to palliate the business, and to propose some terms of Accommodation. But though the Prince Elector's hopes seem'd now to be dash'd, yet another occasion of reviving them, seem'd to present it self; namely, an Overture of a Marriage between his Sister and the King of Poland, which was almost effected by the Legation of Prince Radzivil here in England, and consented unto by the Polish Peers and People, but obstructed by the Clergy, who pitch'd upon Cecilia, second Sister to the Emperor, and made up the Match between her and their King, leaving the poor Palgrave in his former state of desperation.

The Judges Debate about Ship-money. The Birth of the Lady Anne.

Master Hamden of Buckinghamshire, and divers other Gentlemen of Quality, had refused to pay the Tax of Ship-money, whereupon this Michaelmas Term, the King refers the Cause to the Censure of Twelve Judges, Brampton, Finch, Davenport, Denham, Hutton, Jones, Crook, Trevor, Vernon, Berkeley, Crawly, Weston; all which, except Hutton and Crook, gave Judgment against Hamden and his Associates, and subscribed their Names to be Inrolled in all Courts at Westminster-Hall. This year, March the seventeenth, the Princess Anne, the Kings third Daughter, was born.

1637.

Dr. Bastwick, Mr. Pryn, and Mr. Burton, are Condemned.

In the Year 1637, being the thirteenth year of the Kings Reign, a heavy Censure was pass'd upon Doctor Bastwick, Mr. Pryn, and Mr. Burton, for writing Books against Episcopall Government and Bishops; all three were sentenced five thousand pounds Fine to the King, to lose their Ears in the Pillory, and to be imprisoned. The Papists also suffered at this time under a severe Animadversion, it being observed, that they made numerous resorts to private Conventicles, the houses of Foreign Ambassadors, and especially to the old Chappell at Somerset-House; to whom Mr. Walter Mountague, Sir Toby Mathews, and the Queens Officers, were most notorious.

June the twenty sixth, Charles Prince Elector, and his Brother Prince Rupert departed for Holland, upon a design of effecting somewhat in reference to the recovery of their Patrimony, and the next year by assistance of the Kings Puse and Credit, with the Prince of Orange, and some of the States, gathered together a considerable beginning of an Army, with which, and the hopes of encreasing in their Advance, and entrance into their own Country, they march'd into Westphalia, and besieged Lemgo; but Count Hatzfeldt, one of the Emperours Generals, having notice of it, came suddenly upon them, and brought them to a necessity of a Battell, wherein they lost two thousand, and Prince Rupert, and the Lord Craven were taken Prisoners, the Elector himself hardly escaping by flight to the Hague.

Williams

A Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, comes now to his second Declaration, for his first was in the Kings first year, when the Great Seal was taken from him, and given to the Lord Coventry; this he so deeply resented, that he set himself to meditate revenge, and under-hand sowed all malevolent and popular disaffections; till at last, being narrowly watch'd he was found to vent some dishonourable Speeches of the King, for which he was put into a Bill in Star-Chamber, where after some years Hesitation, he was committed upon those words; and further for indirect practices used for his Purgation: (For one Priden, the main man that witnessed for him, being charged by an Order of the Justices at Lincoln, with a Ballad laid to him by Elizabeth Hudson; he, fearing least his Witness should be made invalid by this disgrace, procured by means of his two Agents, Towel and Owen, the Order to be repealed, and the Child to be Fathered upon one Boon, and Priden acquitted) and was therefore this year sentenced ten thousand pounds Fine to the King, Imprisonment in the Tower during pleasure, Suspension Ab officio & Beneficiis, and to be referred to the High-Commission, for what concerned that Court.

Scotland was now the Scene of Action, for the King pursuing what his Father had formerly designed, desirous that there might be an Uniformity in Religion between the two Nations, thought fit to injoin that people the use of the English Liturgie, and Sacerdotal Habilliments, beginning at his own Chappel; and this year it was to be proclaimed, to be used in all Churches, and the Bishops were well contented therewith, but not the Ministers of the Kirk; and the People generally so enraged at it, that when the Dean of Edinburgh so attired, began to read the Common-Prayer in St. Giles Church, July 13. therein countenanced by the Council, Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates; the Women first, and meaner men, with cursing and clapping their hands, and such like Actions, raised such a Hubbub, that nothing could be heard, save their Noise; the Bishop of Edinburgh who was to preach that day, steps up into the Pulpit, and reproves them for their irreverent behaviour in the Church, but was assailed (by them now more furious) with a whole shower of Stones, Sears, Sools Cudgels, and what ever came next to hand, to the great hazard of his life, the Archbishop of St. Andrews Lord Chancellor offering to interpose, had been as rudely handled, if he had not called down from the Gallery the Provost and Bayliffs, and other civil Magistrates, who with much ado excluded the Tumultuants, and to the Dean proceeded in his reading of the Service-Book, not without molestation by the Multitude abroad; and this hapned in other Churches also: But in the Afternoon such Order was taken, that it was then read with less disturbance; and the Magistrates seem'd so offended at these proceedings, that making enquiry after, and finding out some of the principal Actors, they inflicted punishment (though not very severe) upon them, and encouraged the Ministry to read the Book by an Act Obligatory, for their safeguard and maintenance. Thus all seem'd appeas'd, hush'd, and quiet for the present, until October following, when Harvest and Vacation taking end together, there was such a confluence of persons of all sorts, from all parts of the Kingdom to Edinburgh, as put the Council into a just fear of an Insurrection: To prevent which, they issued out these three Proclamations the 17th of that Month.

First, That no Church-Matters should be resolved; but that all Persons depart home; unless they shew some cause to the Council, upon pain of Rebellion.

Secondly, For removing the Session (or Term) from Edinburgh to Lithgow for the present, and afterwards the succeeding Sessions to Dundee, still further pleasure.

Thirdly, For calling in, and burning a Seditious Book; Entitled, A Dispute against the English Popish Convention, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland.

But all this had so little prevalence upon the people, that the next day the Bishop of Galloway pass'd to the Council-Chamber, was by them pursued thither, and assaulted in the very Council-House; and being difficultly drawn in from their Rage, the House was immediately better, and his person demand'd with such outrage, as necessarily call'd to his Succour the Earl of Traquair, and Winton, who forced their passage in, with much trouble, and little profit; for the Multitude encreasing, encompassed the House, that they were forced to require Aid of the Provost and City-Council; who being in the like condition, were glad to preserve themselves by subscribing:

First, To joyn in opposition to the Service-Book, and in positioning to that purpose. Secondly, To restore Ramsey and Rollock, two silenced Ministers, and Henderson a silenced Reader. This being related to the Council, the two afore-mentioned Earls went in person to the Town-house, where they found the Liar roar somewhat moderated by the Concessions of the Magistrates; but returning by the great Street, they were furiously assaulted; and Traquair Lord Treasurer was trodden under foot, his Hat, Cloak, and White Wand taken away, and himself haled to the Council-House.

And to the Lords weighing their own Danger, sent privately to some Noblemen and Gentlemen (who were disaffected to the Service-Book, and then assembled on behalf of the Common-Cause against it) by whom they and the Bishop of Galloway were guarded thence through the Crowd, to their several Lodgings.

X \*

And

1627.

The Bishop of Lincoln is d and imprisoned for certain Misdemeanors.

The occasion of new Broyles and Commotions in Scotland.

1638.

And now thinking themselves safe, they make Proclamation, for breaking up all Conventions, and keeping the peace; but instead of Obedience to it, they are re-encountred with two Petitions. The first, from the medley of Men, Women, and Children. The second, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministry, and Burgeses; both against the *Service-Book*, and *Canons*: and these were sent to the King; who displeased thereat, adjourned the Term to *Sterling*, and published a Proclamation, forbidding, upon the extreamest penalty, such Tumultuous Refracts. Against this the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindsay*, and divers others made Protestation; and agreeable to it, erect four Tables, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Barons, and a fourth of the Ministers; all to prepare and digest Propositions for the general Table, which was formed of severall Commissioners choise: from the rest.

The Scots enter into a Solemn League and Covenant, to maintain their Religion.

The Marquis of Hamilton procures the Office of High-Commissioner for the Scottish Affairs.

In the Year 1638, the generall Table entred into a solemn Covenant to preserve their Religion there profess'd, and resolved to maintain it, sent for Generall *Lesly*, and other Commanders and Officers from beyond the Seas, and provided themselves with Arms and Ammunition, whilst *Hamilton*, who was delegated High-Commissioner to pacifie these Distempers, under-hand fomented them, trifling away the time for almost the space of a year, with Declarations, Proclamations, Messages and Letters. Nor was it a small advantage to the Covenanters, that the Countess of *Roxborough*, Lady of the Bed-Chamber, and Governess to the Princess *Mary*, and in great Favour with the Queen, was a great Well-willer to their Designs, and did continually give her Husband, and he to them, Intelligence of the Court-Designs.

*Hamilton* having lost the Scottish Army for the *Svedes* Aide, and perceiving his Design that way frustrate, falls upon new Ones, cunningly induces the Duke of *Lenox* to favour him, and partly by his means and advice to the King, had procured to himself the Office of High-Commissioner for the Scottish Affairs; although the King was advised by the Earl of *Sterling*, Secretary of State, the Bishops of *Refs*, and *Breken*, Privy Counsellors, Sir *Robert Spotswood*, Lord President of the Colledge of *Justice*, and Sir *John Hay*, Master of the Rolls, rather to make choice of Marquis *Hume*, a known Enemy of the Covenanters; whereas *Hamilton* was suspected to hold correspondence with them. When he was come to *Dalkieith* (impowred with a Commission to use the utmost of his Interest for the settling of Peace) he abode there many dayes before the confederate Lords would take any notice of it (the Business being to managed, that they should shew him a seeming disrespect at his first coming), and then he had an Invitation to *Edenborough*; which he accepted. The first thing he did, was to expostulate with them concerning their late Actions, and what they would further have? To which they plainly answered him, That nothing but a General Assembly and Parliament would satisfie them, and that they had not any wayes turned from their Loyalty, so needed not return to it; and that they would rather renounce their Baptism, then their Covenant; and so doubled their Guards.

From *Edenborough* the Marquis removes to *Dalkieith*, and there publishes the Kings Declaration, for relieving of their Grievances, and professing his Majesties forwardness for maintaining the Religion there profess'd, and his resolution not to press the *Service-Book* and *Canons* upon them, but in a legall way of proceeding, and his Order given for the discharge of all Acts and Commissions concerning them: But this would not please, so he sends into *England*, and obtains leave from the King to recall the Terms to *Edenborough*, and to commit the publick Affairs to the secret Council: Which Grants, drew a Letter of Thanks from the Covenanters, who were hereby encouraged to demand Sir *Robert Spotswood*, the President of the Council, and Sir *John Hay*, Master of the Rolls, to be removed out of the Session, Proteſting, in case of denyall, to account all Acts to be null, if they two were present. But here they suffered a Repulse, and the Marquis leaving them jarring, comes privately to the King, and presently returns again: And treating with the Covenanters, after long disputation concerning the Condition of the Members of their Assembly, at length contracts all his Propositions into these two:

First, If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves, and the rest, That no *Laity* shall have Votes in choosing the Ministry, to be sent from the severall Presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor none else but the Ministry of the same Presbytery.  
Secondly, If they will undertake that the Assembly shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherways then by Remonstrance to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiasticall to the General Assembly, and things settled by Acts of Parliament, to the Parliament.

Then I will presently Indict a generall Assembly, and promise upon my Honour, immediately after to call a Parliament.

The Covenanters flew high, and threatned, that if they could have an Assembly upon no other Terms than these, they would call one themselves; wherefore to stop their impetuous Current, the Marquis makes another Journey to the King, and so works upon him and his Council, (not so well vers'd in the Scottish Affairs) that the whole unlimited management of the Business is committed to him, to order things as he should see most convenient; with which Authority he comes back to the Confederates, and finds them over-forward to order their own Election of Assembly-Members, which he puts a stop to for the present, by acquainting them with a Declaration, that he had procured from the King in their Favour to this purpose;

That

A That he did discharge the *Service book*, Book of *Canons*, and *High-Commission*; and also, That he did annul and rescind all Acts for establishing of them, and did discharge all persons from urging the practice of the Five Articles of *Perth* (so difficultly by King *James* obtained in Parliament); that all persons whomsoever shall be liable to the Censure of Parliament, General Assembly, or any other Judicatories, competent to the nature of the Offence: That no other Oath be Administered for the free entry of Ministers, then that which is contained in the Act of Parliament: That the ancient Confession of Faith, and Band annexed, should be subscribed and received, as in the Fathers time: That a General Assembly be holden at *Glasgow*, the 21 of *November*, 1638, and in the Parliament at *Edenburgh* the 15th of *May*, 1639. all former Offences pardoned; and a Generall Fast appointed.

B This Declaration being published, the Marquis and Council subscribed the Covenanters Confession of Faith; then followed the Proclamation for the General Assembly and Parliament: And lastly, an Act of the Council, for a general Subscription to the said Confession; and a Commission sent to those who were to take the Subscriptions. Yet something still remained matter for a new Protestation, which was read by one *Johnson*; wherein the people were moved to consider with whom they were to deal, and Exceptions made against Bishops, and Bishops Voting in the Assembly.

The next thing was to proceed in the electing Commissioners for the Assembly; where having fitted themselves, not without some brawling between the Presbyters, and the Lay-Elders, they move the Commissioner to cite the Arch-Bishops and Bishops to appear there as guilty persons; which he refusing, they presented a Bill of Complaint against them to the Presbytery at *Edenborough*, who accordingly warned them to appear at the next General Assembly.

Upon the Meeting of this Synod, the first thing that was done, after the reading of the Marquis's Commission, was the putting in of the Bishops Protestation against the Assembly, which the Covenanters vouchsafed not to read; and *Hamilton* seemingly incited, hastily enters a Protestation against their Refusal; and then *Alexander Henderson* was chosen Moderator.

And lastly, they presumed to prohibit six Lords of the Kings Privy-Council (though by him nominated) to be Assessors at their Assembly: But the King having an inkling of their proceedings, as to Bishops, and other Matters; and doubting the Event, ordered his Commissioner to dissolve the Assembly, which was accordingly done upon *November* the 29th; and the Covenanters after their usual mode, instantly set forth their Protestation against it; and withall, declared six former Meetings (obstructive to their wayes) to be void and of none effect, and soon after abolished Episcopacy; and *Hamilton* returning to *England*, prepared for War, as knowing that the King was determined to maintain the Bishops, and to call them to an account for all their late Transactions.

Cardinal *Richelieu*, whose Plot it was to raise the Fortunes of *France*, by the Dissentions of her Neighbours, puts in for his share, and sends over one *Chamberlain*, his Chaplain and Almoner to encrease the difference, and to widen the Orifice of the now gaping Wound, by promising them Assistance from his Master, the ancient Confederare of that Kingdom: Whereupon, a Letter was sent to the King of *France*, to implore his Aid, in these terms;

SIR,

Y Our Majesty being the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to represent unto your Majesty, the Candor and Ingenuity, as well of our Actions and Proceedings, as of our Intentions, which we desire to be Engraven and written to the whole World, with a Beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give Faith and Credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching Us, and our Affairs, being almost assured, Sir, of an Assistance, according to your wonted Clemency heretofore, and always shewed to this Nation, which will not yield the Glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally--- your Majesties most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate Servants,

Roths,  
Montrose,  
L. fly,  
Mar,



Montgomery,  
Lowden,  
Foirester:

X x 2

O. L. L.

1638.

He obtains from the King a Declaration, in favour of Covenanters.

The Covenanters except, and declare against Bishops.

The General Assembly meets, and what was there acted

The Assembly dissolved by the Kings Order.

Cardinal Richelieu sends over his Almoner to foment the differences in Scotland.

A Letter sent by the Scots to the King of France, to implore his Assistance.

The Queen-Mother came into England, where she was honourably entertained by the King her Son-in-law, for the time she staid here, which was not long; nor was her presence very grateful to the people, as being by some judged ominous, and of evil tendency, where ever she resided; but they must be very blameless, that can escape the popular Censure.

The Scots by this time had gotten together a competent Army, and were upon their March, when the King having also prepared his Forces, committed them to the charge of the Earl of Arundel, as General; the Earl of Essex as Lieutenant-General of the Foot, and the Earl of Holland of the Horse; and a considerable Fleet under the Command of Marquess Hamilton: And upon 27th of February, put forth a Declaration, wherein the Scots were charged to have dispersed seditious Pamphlets against Regal Authority, and for inciting several persons against the King, by the private Meetings of their Agents at London, and other places, for their Protestations against his Commands, for executing their own Tables, Councils, and Committees, by their own Authority, and for refusing the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, because they had taken their Covenant. And lastly, That he was resolved to maintain Episcopacy there: In rejoinder to this, March the 22th, is published an Ordinance of their General Assembly, seeking to excuse themselves of what the King declared against them, and cursing themselves, if they meant any harm to England, concluding their Wars to be merely defensive, and grounded upon the Law, Natural and Civil.

1639.

H: marcheth in person into the North against them;

It was now the year 1639, at the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, the King set forward with his Army, March the 27th, and next Month comes to York, and the Month following to Barwick, where both Armies had an interview: In this mean time, Hamilton Anchors his Fleet in the Frith of Edenborough, receives a Visit from his Mother, a rigid Covenantar; who in the War (like a Virago) rid about the Army with Pistols at her Saddle-bow, to testify her zeal to the Cause; and the Scots themselves were heard to say, That the Son of so good a Mother would do them no hurt, as indeed he did not; for having loyted there some time, as soon as he understood of the Treaty of Pacification at Barwick, he gets on Land, and posits thither immediately, to be present at it, to carry on something there, which might serve his own Interest.

While the King staid in York, the Earl of Roxborough, and Traquair, came thither under pretence of Treating: But it appearing, that their main purpose was to tamper with the English Lords, and to take off the Edge of their Animosities against the Scots, (by telling them, that the Scots Ruine would enable the King to be more Imperious, even to the English, then they would be well able to bear) they were both committed, yet soon after released and dismissed, having done their principal Business, and taken order for the mutual Intelligence and Correspondency with the English Lords; so that when they came to Barwick, it was evident, that they had no mind to fight, although every way superior to the Scottish Army: The English were Encamped near Barwick, and the Scots at Dunfrow, when by the mediation of some, a Treaty was begun, which ended in a short-lived Peace upon these Articles, on the Kings part.

He comes to an Agreement with the Scots.

First, That his Majesty confirm, what his Commissioner promised in his Name.

Secondly, That a General Assembly be indited to be kept at Edenborough, August the sixth; and a Parliament at Edenborough, August the tenth.

And lastly, That upon their disbanding of their Forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended Tables and Conventicles, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts, and Ammunition, as also his Royal Honours; and to every one of his good Subjects their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken and detained since the late pretended General Assembly, the King will presently thereafter recall his Fleet, and retire his Forces, and cause Restitution of their Ships and Goods, since the aforesaid time: This the King to do by Declaration, On the Scots Part, the Articles were;

First, The Forces of Scotland to be disbanded within eight and forty hours, after Publication of the Kings Declaration.

Secondly, They to render up, after the said Publication, all Castles, Forts, Ammunition, of all sorts, so soon as the King shall send to receive them.

Thirdly, They to hold no Meetings, Treatings, nor Consultations, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.

Fourthly, They to desist from all Fortifications, but such as were permitted at the Kings pleasure.

Fifthly, They to restore to all the Kings Subjects, all their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and means, taken, or detained from them, since the second of February last. Upon the eighteenth of June, the Kings Declaration was signed, and the Scots Articles.

The

The Kings Declaration was no sooner published, but the Covenanters produce another Protestation for adhering to their late Assembly at Glasgow; for adhering to their Covenant; and for prohibiting all Members of the Colledge of Justice from attending the Session or Term: And toward the latter end of July, the King, who had intended to be present at their general Assembly, now finding the Scots not punctual in the Performance of their Articles, and perceiving that they intended to fall upon those things which would prove distasteful to him; he therefore thinking he could better bear their Proceedings at a distance, plays him home to England, and upon the Sixth of August the Assembly meets at Edenborough, and sits till the 24th. and abolishes Episcopacy, take End, and the Parliament (prorogued to August the last) begin and spend their first four days in debating the election of the Lords of the Articles. And having at last agreed among themselves touching that Particular, they formed these Demands to be made to the King.

First, That Coin be not medled with, but by Advice of Parliament.

Secondly, No Stranger to command, or to inhabit in any Castles of the Kings, but by their Advice.

Thirdly, No Honour to be granted to any Stranger, but such as have a Competency of Land-Rent in Scotland.

Fourthly, No Commissioner, or Justiciary, or Lieutenantcy, but for a limited time; and next they Protest against Precedency of the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Privy Seal, as not warranted by a Positive Law.

These things coming to the knowledge of the King, together with a Pamphlet prevaricating the Conditions of the late Treaty, their Letters to the King of France for Aid, their Provisions for Armes, their levying Taxes of ten Marks per Centum, and continuing their Officers and Fortifications, induced him, by his Commissioner the Earl of Traquair, to Command the Adjournment of their Parliament untill the second of June next, upon pain of Treason: against which Command, the Covenanters declare, and send a Remonstrance to the King by the Earl of Dunfermling, and the Lord Lowdown, who coming without Warrant from the Kings Commissioner Traquair, were sent back without Audience, after them comes Traquair himself, and he and Hamilton consult together privately about representing the Matter to the Council; which began a debate, whether or not the Presence of the King were expedient for their Reduction; this was carried on both Sides with Arguments of Policy, and at length Resolved in the Negative, That they were not to be reduced to their Duty, but by force of Armes; and soon after this Dunfermling, and Lowdown return from Scotland in the quality of Commissioners, and with them Sir William Douglas and Mr. Robert Barkley, who after a long Speech for the Justification of the Scottish Transactions, desired, That the King would ratify and confirm their Proceedings, and that their Parliament might Proceed to determine of all Articles (or Bills) brought to them, to the establishing of Religion and Peace; but instead of an Answer to their Requests, the King charged them with the afore-mentioned Pamphlet (which he had caused to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman,) to which they made no Answer: but afterward the State of Scotland, in their Grand Declaration, excuse it, as related to them by their Commissioners, as being the chiefest cause of the Pacification, and the only Lenitive which made the People digest his Majesties Declaration. As for the Letter to the French King, the Original of it came to the Kings Hands, and the Character was found to be the Lord Lowdowns; who was thereupon committed for a short time, but Released upon the mediation of Marquis Hamilton, and then he and Dunfermling presented their Remonstrance to the King, and Traquair, comes also to give an Account of all before the whole Body of the Council; where things were handled with so much Acrimony, that both Parties were thereby exasperated into a greater dislike of one another.

During these Jarrs and Discontents between his Majesty and the Covenanters, about the middle of July, the Prince Electour (who the year before had lost both his Army, and his Hopes in West-Phalia) came over again into England; for Duke Bernard of Saxon-Weimer, a Commander very eminent in the German Wars, and a great Stickler against the Emperour, died about this time; and the Prince of Orange cancelled the Passgrave to go into England to his Uncle the King, and to procure from him that Assistance and Countenancing, which might get him the Command of that Dukes Army: but the King had his Hands full of Scottish Troubles, and therefore advised him to apply himself to the King of France, and to that end, deals with the French Ambassador here residing, to persuade his Majesty to joyn in League with him: Richelieu, the Grand Director of the Gallick Affairs, bore no great good will to the King of England upon the Ile of Rhe account; and, consequently disaffected toward his Nephew, sets some of his Engines on work, to persuade the Prince to pass through France, disguised, to the Swedish Army; which he imprudently attempted, but was discovered all the way by the great Respect shewed to him from the English Fleet as he passed near them, and from the Ship which landed him at Boullen; from whence he went to Paris, and thence to Lions, where he was seized, (and denying himself) as dealing perfidiously in a time of Treaty, was committed to a Guard of Horse and Foot for the present.

This year was remarkable for the great Sea-fight between the Spaniards and Hollanders in the Downes. Don Antonio D'Oquendo conducted a Fleet of near Seventy Sail, with about Twenty Five Thousand Men to be Landed at Dunkirk for a Recruit for Flanders. These met with the Dutch Vice-Admiral in the way with Seventeen Sail of good Men of War; by whom they were forced to an Engagement upon the Seventh of September, in which the Hollander coming by the

The Assembly meets again at Edenborough, abolishes Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and High Communion. The Scots Assembly ending their Parliament begins.

The Prince Electour comes again into England, to procure the Command of the Duke of Weimer's Army.

He passeth disguised into France, is discovered, and committed to a Guard.

The Sea-fight between the Hollanders and Spaniards.

1639.

worst, with the loss of two Ships sunk, got to Wind-ward, going along with them towards *Dunkirk* continually firing their Ordnance upon them, to give warning to *Pantrumpe*, the Dutch Admiral, who lay before the Town. The Admiral hears the Reports, and comes up with ten Ships; and, joining Forces with the Vice-Admiral, Encounters the *Spaniard* in a sharp Fight between *Dover* and *Calais* for almost half a day, having much the better, taking two Gallions, and forcing the rest (forely shattered) on the English Coast near *Dover*, and so bore off towards *France*, till they might Consult what was next to be done. The *Spanish* Resident desired the King to Protect them from the *Hollander* for two Tides, that they might have convenience to get back to *Spain*: but the King, in Amity with both, would not meddle in the business; but enjoined those *English* who had agreed privately to transport their Souldiers and Treasure to *Dunkirk*, to desist from any such Enterprises, by reason of the Dutch Ambassadors Complaint, and gave Order, that no *Spaniard* should be suffered to pass unlicensed beyond *Gravefend*; and so the *Spaniards*, being left to his own wits, took Advantage of the Night, and by a Stratagem conveyed to *Dunkirk* fourteen Ships, with four thousand Men, and four hundred thousand pounds. But the King, unwilling to have them engage in his Seas, desired the *Spanish* Admiral, by the Earl of *Arundell*, to retreat upon the first fair Wind: but the Wind continuing contrary, longer than ordinary, held them there so long, that the *Hollander* (who waited his coming out) now increasing by daily Supplies (to the number of a hundred complex Ships,) resolved to fall upon them, as they did, upon the eleventh of *October*, charging them with Cannon and Fire-ships, in such furious manner, as they, unable to endure the Shot, cut their Cables, and twenty three of them ran ashore, whereof two were perished; one of which was a great Gallion of two and fifty brass pieces of Ordnance, commanded by the Vice-Admiral of *Gallicia* *don Andrea de Castro*; the *Spaniards* of the rest fled to Land, leaving their Ships to be man'd by the *English* for safeguard from the Dutch. Admiral *Oquendo* and *Lopez of Portugal*, with thirty Ships went to Sea, keeping in close order, till they were covered with a great Fogge; by advantage of which, the Dutch interposed between the Admirals and their Fleet, and fired the Admiral of *Portugal*, besides other Damage; which *Oquendo* perceiving (the Foggs then clearing up) he with some few other Ships bent their course to *Dunkirk*. Of these thirty, eleven were taken and sent into *Holland*; three perished upon the Coast of *France*, one near *Dover*, and five sunk in the Fight. What the design of this *Spanish* Fleet was, remains yet in uncertainty: various Designs were differently passed upon it; For five and twenty thousand Men to be imbarqued for a Recruit, seemed to most men unlikely, and the Refusal of the Admiral of *Naples* to shew his Commission, when required by the King, was very suspicious; and, That the *Dunkirks* should a while dispute the Reception of those four thousand which were conveyed thither, did cause no little wonder; inasmuch that many there were, who judged the principal Design of this Fleet to be against our King; for distempers beginning to arise about this time in *England* and *Ireland* as well as in *Spain*, it was not altogether improbable that the *Spaniards* might have had those Correspondences in some one of those Countries, which should have furnished them at their Landing (wheresoever it was to have been) with Armes and Ammunition, whereof they stood in so great need in the time of their fighting with the Dutch, that five and twenty Ships were able to deal with their whole Armado of near seventy Sail: However it was, the Kings Reputation was hereby greatly impaired, for suffering the *Hollanders* to fall upon the *Spaniards* in his Seas; and the *Hollanders* doubting that he might relent the affront offered to him in that Action, were willing to keep him so busied, that he should not have opportunity of revenge, and to that end, accommodated the *Scots* with all manner of warlike Provision.

This year died Sir *Thomas Coventry* on the tenth of *January*; he was Privy-Councellour to the King, and had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* for the space of fifteen years, who deceased with the greater Commendation, by reason of the eminent delinquency of his two immediate Antecessors, the Viscount *St. Albans*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*; and to him succeeded Sir *John Finch*.

One *Bagshaw*, a Reader of the Middle-Temple, was about this time silenced for speaking too boldly against Prelacy; and was therefore shrewdly Checkt by the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and forced for a while to abstain himself from *London*. The *Scott* Commissioners having delivered their Message, return Home to *Edenborough* November the 19, the same Night that a great part of the Castle Walls fell down, being the just Anniversary of the Kings Birth day. For the Reparation of them, the King sent the Lord *Esirich*, Collonell *Ruther*, and others; who were resisted by the Covenanters, because they thought not the Lord *Esirich* to be a fit Governour of the Castle, as the King had designed him. The Kings Anger was now grown to the height, and therefore he Resolves since fair means avail'd but little, to bring them to Reason by force of Armes; and to that end, Considers of raising Men and Money to bring them into Order: a secret Cabinet Councell is call'd, consisting of but three; these three were the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and *Hamilton* (who drove designs by himself); amongst these it was agreed, That a Parliament must be called in *England*, and another in *Ireland*, for the Kings Supply: but because the King feared that the Parliament would be tedious in their debate, before they would agree upon any Subsidies for him, it was Resolved, That the Lords should for the present subscribe some Loans; the Lord Lieutenant subscribed 20000 l. the Duke of *Richmond* as much; *Hamilton* kept his Moneys for other ends, and therefore pretended poverty; most of the Lords, Judges, Officers, and Dependants of Courts of Judicature, and generally the greatest part of the Gentry, even the Recusants, contributed according to their abilities. About this time the

The death of the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry, in whose place Sir John Finch succeeded.

The King makes new preparations against the Scots.

1640.

A *Scott* perceiving what a Storm was like to fall upon them, made preparation for defence, and to that end, entertained Treaties with several foreign Princes and States; as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Holland*, and *Poland*; and as for the *Jesuits*, they thought it would be no venial Sin if they thought not have a hand in fomenting the differences; to which end, *Cow*, the Popes Agent and Chamberlain, *Richliens* Chaplain, Sir *Toby Matthews*, a Jesuited Priest of the Order of *Politicians*, Captain *Read*, and one *Maxwell*, a couple of *Scots*, bestir themselves very diligently, to re-inforce the fence of every injury, and to excite the People to believe that the King chiefly aimed at a Tyrannical subjugation of them to his own arbitrary will. These their Practices were discovered by *Andreas Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, then become Physician to the Kings Sister, the Palgrave Relict, who made it also apparent, that many of the Nobility of *England*, and chief Favorites at Court (among whom were the Earl and Countess of *Arundell*, Secretary *Windebank*, and *Endymion Porter*;) were acquainted, and consenting with their Transactions. *Con* did directly imitate the ways of his Predecessor, *Richard Smith*, the titular Bishop of *Chalcedon*; who did (all his Successors) *Banzani*, *Con*, and *Rosetti*; this *Con* had formerly offered in the Popes name a Cardinals Cap to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

April the 13, in the year 1640. and the 16 of the Kings Reign, the Parliament Assembled, and Mr. *John Glanvill* was Speaker of the House of Commons: In this Parliament the Earl of *Strafford* was greatly honoured, being led into the House of Lords by two Peers, in honour of his good Service in *Ireland*, in obtaining the Grant of four Subsidies, to maintain ten thousand Foot and sixteen hundred Horse; and this for a Pattern to *England*. And that *England* might the more Cheerfully write after the *Irish* Copy, the King sends to the Parliament, to tell them, That if they would supply him with a sufficiency, for the suppressing of the *Scottish* Insolencies, he would acquit his Claim of Ship-Moneys, and give satisfaction to their just Demands. By these Proposals the Parliament perceived the extremity of the Kings Exigences, and therefore they would be first satisfied in these three Points.

First, For clearing the Properties of the Subject.

Secondly, For establishing true Religion.

Thirdly, For Priviledges of Parliament; But while they were debating whether the Kings Supplies or the Subjects Sufferings should be first considered, and things were brought to a hopeful posture, Secretary *Vane* (spoils all, either purposely, or fortuitously, by telling them, that the King demanded twelve Subsidies, whereas he required but six; and hereby put them into such a heat against the King, and rendered things so desperate, that the King, by advice of his Junto, dissolved the Parliament May the fifth, after two and twenty days Session: nor was this only the Advice of the Junto, but also of the Privy Council, who were ascertained, that the Animofities of the Commons were so great, as they intended that very day to have Voted against the War with *Scotland*; whereby the King would have been left in a worse case than he was before their sitting.

About this time the Convocation of Bishops sat with Commission to act, propose, deliberate, and conclude such Cannons and Constitutions, as they conceived conducive to the peace of the Church; amongst other things, they imposed that Oath known by the name of &c. as an Anti-Covenant to that of the *Scots*.

The practices of the Jesuits discovered by Andreas Habernsfield.

A Parliament Assembled at Westminster.

Suddenly dissolved by the King.

A convocation of Bishops sit and conclude about the Affairs of the Church.

**I A. B. Do Swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline of Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that so Established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Arch-Bishops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now Established, and as by Right it ought to stand: nor yet ever to subject it to the Usurpations and Superstitions of the See of Rome; and all these things do I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and Swear, according to the plain and common sense or understanding of the same words, without any Equivocation or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever: and this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the Faith of a Christian: So help me God in Jesus Christ.**

This was the main Business of the Convocation, which ended May the 29. The Archbishop by his zealous Proceeding against Non-conformists, and such as went by the name of *Puritans*, and by his strict injunction of the Observance of Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, especially by re-inforcing such old Ceremonies as had not been of late much observ'd; incurred a great deal of hatred from the common men, especially the *Londoners*, who had a particular distaste against him, for his severe animadversion upon *Barton, Primm*, and *Bashwick*; to that May the 9th. a Paper

1640

A Company of Apprentices belee the Arch-bishop of Canterbury's House in Lambeth.

One of the Ringleaders hang'd and quartered.

The King marcheth again with an Army against the Scots.

The Armies engaging in a Fight, the English are put to the worst.

The Earl of Haddington and others slain by an accident.

The Lords Petition the King to call a Parliament.

a Paper was posted upon the Old Exchange, exhorting Apprentices to rise and sack his House at Lambeth next Monday, which they were the more forward to do; because it was rumor'd, that he was a prime instigator of the King to dissolve the Parliament; but he had notice of their intent, and provided against their coming: On Monday following, in the dead of the Night, five hundred of them beset his House, striving to force their Entrance, yet were repulsed, and glad to depart, having in some measure vented their anger against him, in words, and in breaking his Glasse Windows. The next day many of them upon inquiry were apprehended and imprisoned, but three dayes after forcibly rescued from thence by their Companions, who broke open the Prison doors; for which one of their Ringleaders was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his Limbs set upon London Bridge.

The King grew daily more and more offended at the Scots, and calls a select Juncto to consult about them, where the Earl of Strafford delivered his mind in such terms, as afterward were made use of among other things to his destruction; War was Resolved upon, and Money to be procured either by fair means or foul. The City of London was invited to a Loan, but refused, and pleaded poverty, being, as it seemed, distast'd that the Star-Chamber had sentenced their Plantation of London-Derry in Ireland, to be forfeited for some alleged Misdemeanours, and the Undertakers Fined; yet the Citizens were content to offer an ample sum towards the building of a magnificent Palace for the Kings Court in St. James's Park, according to Inigo Jones's Modell, but it took not effect. The Gentry Contributed pretty freely, so that with their Aids the regal Army was compleated, and the King himself was Generalissimo, the Earl of Northumberland General, and the Earl of Strafford Lieutenant General; Northumberland falls Sick, and therefore the King takes the Command upon himself, and sends away part of the Army, Horse and Foot, under the Lord Conway into the North. July the 20, the Queen was delivered of a Son, who was Christned Henry, after created Duke of Gloucester; And August the 20, the King with the rest of the Army sets out of London, and comes to North-Alorton. In the mean time the Lord Conway had but ill success; he had drawn about 1200 Horse, and 3000 Foot, to secure the Passes upon the River Tyne, near New-born; Thither was the Scottish Army advanced with their General Lesly, better provided than the time before. August the 27, Lesly desires leave of Conway for his whole Army to pass to the King with their Petition, but is denied; three hundred Scottish Horse attempted to cross the River, and are repelled by the shot of the English Musketeers, who were placed under the shadow of the Breft-work; Lesly makes a large Requisition for that, by playing upon them with his nine Pieces of Ordnance, which he had placed on the other side of River, and blinded them with the Buishes; The English Infantry terrified with the unexpected Charge of the Cannon (for they were mostly raw Souldiers) forsook their Posts, cast down their Arms, and fled; Lesly comes on with his Horse, and Charges Commissary-General Wilmore, who with the Cavalry stood stoutly to it, till over-born with Multitude and Cannon, they were put to a disorderly Retreat: the Lord Conway seeing both Horse and Foot worsted, hasts to the King, to carry him the unwelcome News of the defeat; and Sir Jacob Ashley, Governour of New-Castle, knowing the Place not tenable, deserted it, sinking the Ordnance in the River, and so both New-Castle and Durham came shortly into the Scots Hands. Now comes Strafford, with whom the King Retreats to York, and stay's there, while the Earl (who now had the Command of the Army) Charges the whole Miscarriage upon Conway, and he as stoutly denies it.

In Scotland, the Earl of Haddington, who commanded the Forces in Louthian and Merse, having recovered from the Souldiers of Berwick Garrison, the pieces of Ordnance (which Lesly had left behind him at Dunfer) and brought them to Duglass, was the next day slain with twenty more Knights and Gentlemen in the midst of his Court by the Stones that flew from the Vault near adjoining; which was then blown up with the Magazine that lay in it.

The King had formerly declared the Scots to be Rebels and Traytors by Proclamation, and commanded that Publick Prayers should be put up against them in all Churches: but at this time is contented to Treat with them, and to that end, receives from them a Petition flust with Complaint of their Grievances; to which he answers by his Secretary of Scotland, the Earl of Lamerick, That he expects their particular Demands, and them he receives within three days, all tending to requiring a Parliament to be called in England, without which, there could be no satisfactory Redress for them: They had likewise published a little before their Marching into England a Declaration, called, *The Intensions of the Army*, viz. Not to lay down Armes till the Reformed Religion were settled in both Nations upon sure Grounds, and the Causes and Abettors of their present Troubles (viz. the Archbishop and Lord Deputy) brought to Publick Justice, and that in Parliament. Conformably to this, twelve English Peers, Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Warwick, Mulgrave, Brilston, Rutlingbrook, Say and Seal, Mandavill, Edward Howard, Brook, Paget, drew up a Petition to the King, and had it delivered: After which, others of the like Nature were brought from the Londoners, and other Parts of the Kingdom; all consenting most harmoniously in this, That nothing could relieve the Pressures of this Kingdom, but a Parliament. To this the King in part consents, giving hopes also of further satisfaction ere long, and for the present summons the Lords to appear at York the 24 of September, which they did: and on the first day of their Meeting, it was Agreed, That a Parliament should be called, to convene November the Third, and then, for relief of the North, sorely suffering under Lesly's Army (Durham Bishoprick being then taxed 350 l. and Northumberland

1640

A Northumberland 300 l. per diem) it was resolved, that a Treaty should be set on foot, and so Sixteen English Lords, viz. Earls, Bedford, Berkshire, Hertford, Salisbury, Essex, Holland, Bristol, Warwick; Barons, Mandevill, Howard, Paget, Paulet, Savile, Broke, Dunsmore, Wharton, should meet with so many Scots Lords, the place York: but that was refused, as not safe enough for the Scots Commissioners, by reason of the pience of the Lord Deputy, who had proclaimed them Traytors in Ireland, and was now in great Authority, as having the Chief Command of the Kings Army, a Capitall Enemy of their Nation, and against whom they had matter of high Complaint: hereupon it was concluded, that the Treaty should be held at Rippon.

The first thing that was here proposed, was a Cessation, but the Scots thought other things were to be considered of in the first place; for as they would Obey the King in his late Command which he had laid upon them, To advance no further; so neither would they Return, until they had obtained the Effects of their Errand, and therefore they required to know:

First, How their Army should be maintained till the Treaty was ended, and Peace secured. Secondly, That, if more Commissioners be required, then a safe Convey be granted for them. Thirdly, A safe Convey for all Letters between Them and the Parliament.

And Fourthly, That, for the Benefit of both Kingdoms, there may be a free Commerce, and that the Common Trade of New-Castle be not hindered, but especially for Victuals.

These Articles were at length agreed unto, although the first did seem both unreasonable and dishonourable to the English Nation; and indeed the Earl of Strafford was so offended thereat, that he craved leave of the King to give them Battell, and was willing to undertake (as he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury) upon the Perill of his head, with his Army of English Grashoppers, to beat those Sons of Bitches home again: for so much superiour were the Scots then accounted to the English, as to matter of Souldiery: And, upon the 16 of October, the English Commanders, (some through Fear, some through Favour, and others out of a Politicall Maxime not to strive against the Stream) consended to these ensuing Articles; which were afterwards produced, and then Signed by the King himself.

First, That there be a Cessation of Arms, both by Sea and Land, from this Present.

Secondly, That all acts of Hostility do henceforth cease.

Thirdly, That both Parties shall peaceably return during the Treaty, whatsoever they possess at the time of the Cessation.

Fourthly, That all such persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River of Tweed, shall not exempt their Lands which lye within the Counties of Northumberland and the Bishoprick, from such Contributions as shall be laid upon them for the payment of Eight hundred and Fifty pounds per diem.

Fifthly, That none of the Kings Forces upon the other side of Tweed shall give any Impediment to such Contributions as are already allowed for the Competency of the Scottish Army, and shall fetch no Victuals, nor forage out of their Bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and Owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any Restraints or Detention of Victuals, Cartell, or Forage, which shall be made by the Scots within those Bounds for their Maintenance shall be no Breach.

Sixthly, That no Recruit shall be brought into either Armies, from the time of the Cessation, and during the Treaty.

Seventhly, That the Contribution of Eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem, shall be only raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bishoprick, Town of New-Castle, Cumberland, and Westmerland: and that the not Payment thereof shall be no Breach of the Treaty, but the Counties and Towns shall be left to the Scots Power to raise the same, but not to exceed the Sum agreed upon, unless it be for charges of driving, to be set by a praiser of the Forrage.

Eighthly, That the River of Tweed shall be the Bounds of Both Armies, (excepting alwaies the Town and Castle of Storkton, and the Village of Egslyss) and the Counties of Northumberland and Bishoprick be the Limits within which the Scottish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such Convoys as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the Contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

A Treaty agreed upon between the Scots and English.

The Articles of Agreement.

1640.

• Ninthly, That if any Person commit any private Insolence, it shall be no breach of our Treaty, if upon Complaint made by either Party, Reparation and Punishment be granted.

• Tenthly, If Victuall be desired upon the Price which shall be agreed upon, and Ready money offered for the same, and refused, it shall be no Breach of Cessation to take such Victualls paying such Prices.

• Eleventhly, No new Fortification to be made during the Treaty, against either Party.

• Twelfthly, That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their Trade of Commerce freely pass to and fro without any Stay at all: but it is Particularly Provided, That no Member of either Army, pass without a formall Pass under the hands of the Generall, or of him that Commands in Chief.

This Treaty of Rippon was but previous to another Treaty of greater Importance to be had at London for a Generall concluding and making up all Differences between the King and his Subjects of Scotland. The Earl of Strafford is here censured for Impudence either in not foreseeing, or else in not preventing that Danger then hanging over his head by the Scots Commissioners Treating at London in the time of a Parliament, and that at such time as he lay under the hatred of the Citizens in generall, and likewise of the greatest and most prevalent part of the Members for he knew that the Scots were resolv'd to make it one of their chief Errands to put up a Complaint against him; nor could he be ignorant of what kind Acceptance such an Accusation would find amongst Persons so disaffected towards him: From all which, he might have secured himself, had he either returned to his Government in Ireland, or transported himself for Refuge to some other Foreign Land: Not to speak of his neglect of timely exhibiting those Articles which he had in a readinesse against his chief Accuser Pym, for holding correspondence with the Scotch Covenanters, whereby he should have prevented his Advancers by beginning with them first.

During this Treaty at Rippon, James Earl of Montrose made severall applications to the King by Letters, testifying his Faith and Loyalty to him, and his Dislike of the Scottish Proceedings: But those his Letters were said to have been secretly taken out of the Kings Pockets, and copied out and conveyed to the Covenanters by the means of Hamilton, who also hath been generally believ'd to have been the cause of his first Confederating himself with them, by perswading him, (at such time as he came out of France, where he had been Captain of the Scots Guard) that the King had intent of reducing Scotland into a Province under England, and of Oppressing this Nation: And to colour his Design the better, he is said to have induced the King to shew him an unkind disrespect when he came to kiss his Hands. The Covenanters thus by the discovery of these Letters, understanding his mind, were not wanting to themselves, but used all convenient means to render the Earl odious to the People, and so unserviceable to the King. And before this time, the Kings Secrets had been discovered through the rifling of his Pockets by his corrupted Bed-Chamber men; and now the Peoples Desires were to receive satisfaction by the Convening of a Parliament which was summoned to meet at Westminster, by a fatal oversight of the King (in the Judgment of many men) who had sufficient Presidents from the Histories of former times, to have caused them to have met at York, or some other place in the North, more near the Scene of Action, and that Danger which was the Occasion of their Assembling; but this was not all the Error, to Westminster he calls them, near London, whose Citizens he had found by experience to be disgusted for the most part, both at him, and his Favourites: And moreover, the Scots Commissioners must come thither, and at such a season have an Opportunity put into their Hands, to work upon the discontented Humours of the Londoners.

A Parliament again assembled.

Tuesday, November the third, the Parliament met: Which day was look'd upon by the Bishop of Canturbury as a fatal day for summoning of Parliaments, in reference to Church Affairs, having provid' so in the 20th year of Henry the Eighth; whereupon he advis'd the King for luck's sake, to put off their Sitting for two or three dayes; but his Majestie not minding any such observation of dayes, made no account of it. There was chosen for Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. William Lenthall, one of the Benchers and Readers of Lincolns-Inne (this is that long Parliament so much talked of); the King comes to them and tells them, That the Scottish Troubles were the Causes of their present Meeting, and therefore requires them to consider of the most expedient means for the casting them out; and then promises them, That he will heartily and clearly concur with them for the satisfying their just Grievances: After that, he propounds to them his want of money for the maintaining of his Army, and how dishonourable it would be to the English Nation, if his Army should be disbanded, before the Scots were put out of the Kingdom; and that they would take into Consideration the Oppression of the Northern Counties by the Scots,

1640.

Scots, during the time of Treaty, and withall find out some means for Redress. And so concluded his Speech, with desire that all reciprocal suspition might be removed.

That the King should call the Scots Rebels, was ill resented by many: Whereupon he took occasion to tell them, That he must needs call them Rebels, so long as they have an Army that do invade England.

The first Week was wholly taken up with sending Committees for Grievances, and in receiving Petitions, partly from Counties concerning Exorbitancies of Church and State; and partly from some private persons who had felt the Lash of the Star-Chamber, Council-Table, and High-Commission Court: Monopolies were Voted down. And more than that, all such Members as had received any benefit by them, were Ejected out of the House. A Proceeding judg'd by some to be an Innovation, and without President.

Monopolies Voted down.

November the tenth, Complaint was made in the House of Lords, That Sir William Beecher Clerk of the Council, had violated their Privileges, in searching the Earl of Warwicks, and the Lord Brook's Studies, Cabinets, and Pockets, upon the breaking up of the last Parliament: Whereupon he was committed to the Fleet-Prison, notwithstanding his alledging the Command of the Secretary of State for his so doing.

The Earl of Strafford is now in his Wane, him the Commons are resolv'd to Charge through and through with their Accusations; and Mr. Pym is sent to the House of Lords with an Impeachment of High-Treason against him; upon which he is Sequestred from the House, and also his intimate Friend Sir George Ratliff, is sent for out of Ireland, by a Serjeant at Arms. Strafford is committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, in order to his ensuing Tryall; yet obtains the Assignment of Council, and a Solicitor for the better managing of his Defence. In the mean time, the Bishop of Lincoln is set free from the Tower, and for a while becomes the great Favourite of both Houses of Parliament; and Mr. Prim and Mr. Burton are conducted into London, in great State and Triumph, and upon the third of December presented their Petition against their Prosecutors, to the House of Commons.

The Earl of Strafford Impeached of High-Treason, and Committed.

The Bishop of Lincoln released.

Pym and Burton brought to London in Triumph. Justice Howard stabb'd in Westminster-Hall.

But the Papists began to fear a Cloud, for Justice Howard was to deliver up a Catalogue of all Recusants within the Liberties of Westminster; to prevent which, he was stabbed by one Mr. John James in Westminster-Hall: for which Fact, the Assailant was Imprisoned in the Gate-house, in order to a more severe punishment.

But Sir Francis Windbank, Secretary of State, fearing to be called to an Account by the Parliament, for reprieving Jesuits and Priests, which he knew would be produced against him, if not worse matters, warily shifted over Sea into France.

December the seventh, the House of Commons Voted the Assessment of Ship-money, together with the Opinions of the Judges, and the Writs for it, and the Judgment of the Exchequer against Mr. Hamden, to be all illegal: and the Arguments of the two Justices, Crook, and Hutton, for the illegality thereof, to be Printed. As for the other eight Justices, a Committee was appointed to draw up a Charge of High-Treason against them, and to begin with the Lord-Keeper Finch.

December the eleventh, Alderman Pennington, with some hundreds at his Heels, presented to the House of Commons a Petition from the Citizens of London (subscribed by fifteen thousand) against the present Church Discipline, and Ceremonies, but that was for the time laid aside, and the Parliament animated by the Congruity of the peoples Inclinations, took the late Convocation and Canons into Debate; and upon the fifteenth of December Voted,

The Citizens present a Petition against Church-Ceremonies.

That the Clergy in a Synod, or Convocation, hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions, or Laws, to bind either Laity, or Clergy, without a Parliament. And next day it was Voted, That the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction, and Sedition.

The Earl of Strafford had already felt some Blows of the Parliaments Displeasure, the Archbishop of Canturbury turn is next, against whom a Committee is ordered to draw up a Charge, as principal Framer of the Canons, and for other Delinquencies. This Impeachment was brought up to the House by Mr. Holles, and seconded with another from the Scots Commissioners; upon which he was committed to the Black Rod, and ten Weeks after Voted guilty of High-Treason, and sent to the Tower.

The Archbishop of Canturbury committed to the Black Rod.

The Scots also prefer a Charge against the Earl of Strafford (then in durance), and desired Justice upon them both, as the great Incendiaries and Disturbers of the Church and State: And Sir George Ratliff, the Earls truly Achanis, was encountered with this Impeachment.

First, That he had conspired and joyned with the Earl of Strafford, to bring into Ireland an Arbitrary Government, and to subvert the Fundamental Laws.

Articles against Sir George Ratliff.

Secondly, To bring an Army from Ireland, to subdue the Subjects of England.

Thirdly, That he animated the Earl to use Regall Power, and to deprive the Subjects of their Liberties and Properties.

Fourthly, That he conspired with the Earl in taking out, Fourty thousand pounds out of the Exchequer in Ireland, wherewith they bought Tobacco, and converted the same profit to their own uses.

Fifthly, As also, in countenancing Papists, and building Monasteries, to alienate the Affections of the Irish Subjects from the subjection of England.

Sixthly, In drawing the Subjects of Scotland from the King.

Seventhly,

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Seventhly, That to preserve himself and the said Earl, he had laboured to subvert the Liberties and Privileges of Parliament in Ieland.

The Lord Keeper Finch was now the next man that should fall under their Censure, and therefore prepares to be before-hand with a set Speech in his own Vindication, and Courts them highly; but it would not avail, for even that very day he was Voiced a Traytor, upon these Accusments:

First, For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Weston, 4 Car. when the Parliament desired it.

Secondly, For soliciting, perswading, and threatening the Judges to deliver up their Opinions for levying of Ship-money.

Thirdly, For severall illegal Actions in Forrest-matters.

Fourthly, For ill Offices done, in moving the King to dissolve the late Parliament; and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be set forth. Next day he was accused before the Lords, but he wisely foresaw the Storm, and withdrew himself to the Harbour of Holland.

He flies over into Holland.

The Parliament having now removed their Enemies, and encreasing in Reputation, and sensible of their own Power, were modelling a Bill for a Triennial Parliament; for the promoting of which, Petitions came thick and threefold, one whereof, subscribed with above eight hundred Presbyters, was directly against Episcopacy; which the King took notice of, and doubting the Parliaments forwardness to entertain it, he calls both Houses together the three and twentieth of January, and tells them of their slow proceedings, and inconveniencies thereby, in maintaining two Armies in the Kingdome. After which, he told them of two Rocks which he would have them to avoid; the one concerning the Hierarchy of Bishops, which he was willing to reform, but not to alter: the other concerning frequent Parliaments, which he liked well, but not to give his Power to Sheriffs and Constables.

The Parliament expostulate with the King about the reviving of one Goodman a Priest.

About this time one Goodman a Priest having been condemned at the Sessions at London, was revivied by the King; upon which both Houses petitioned to be informed who were the Instruments of it: and receiving an unsatisfactory Answer, they Remonstrated against the Toleration of Papists, and the Pope's Nuncio Rosetti, and this Goodman, who they desired might be left to the Justice of the Law. The King makes answer, That the encrease of Popery and Papists in his Dominions, is extremely against his mind, and that he would use all possible means for the restraining of it.

As for the Pope's Nuncio Rosetti, he hath no Commission but only to preserve Correspondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was allowed her by the Articles of Marriage; notwithstanding he hath prevailed with her for his removal; and is content to remit the particular Cause of Goodman to both Houses.

Lords appointed to Treat with the Scots Commissioners, in order to a full Pacification.

Five Months had the Scots been quartered in England, during which, a Cessation had been concluded at Rippon, but the plenary Pacification was reserved for London; in pursuance of which, the former Lords (who treated at Rippon,) or any ten of them, were impowered, November the 23<sup>d</sup>, to Treat with the Scots Commissioners, being the Earls of Rothes, and Dunferling, the Lord Lowdon, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, William Drummond, John Smith Bayliff of Edinburgh, Alexander Wodderburn, Hugh Kennedy, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Johnson, or any seven of them, to consider of their Demands.

The Commissioners are on both parties; the Demands of the Scots, and the Answer thereto were as followeth. The Scots demand:

The Scots Demands, with the Answers to each Demand.

First, That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to Command, that the Acts of the late Parliament may be published in his Highnesses Name as our Sovereign Lord, with the consent of the Estates of Parliament, Convened by his Majesties Authority.

To this it is answered and agreed the 30. of December. 1640. That forasmuch as the King's Majesty in the humble desire of his Subjects, did call and Convoke a Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh the second of June 1640. wherein certain Acts were made and agreed upon, which Acts his Majesty is pleased to publish in his own Name, with the Consent of the Estates: and therefore commands that the said Acts, bearing date the second day of June 1640. be published with the Acts to be made in the next Session of this Parliament; and that all the said Acts, as well of the precedent as of the next Session, to be holden, have in all time coming the strength of the Laws, and to be obeyed by all the Subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland.

Secondly, That the Castle of Edinburgh, and other strengths of the Kingdom, should with the Advice of the States of Parliament, according to their first Foundation, be furnished and used for defence and security of the Kingdome.

(Answer) It is agreed unto.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly, That all Scottish men, within his Majesties Dominions of England and Ireland, may be freed from Censure for subscribing the Covenant, and be no more pressed with Oaths and Subscriptions, unwarranted by their Laws; and contrary to the National Oath and Covenant approved by his Majesty.

Answer, It is agreed December the 8. 1640. That all those who in his Majesties Dominions of England and Ireland, have been imprisoned or censured any way for subscribing of the Covenant, or for refusing to take any other Oath contrary to the same, shall be freed of these Censures, and shall be fully restored to their Liberties, Estates, and Possessions; and for time coming that the Subjects of Scotland, as Subjects of Scotland, shall not be constrained to any Oath, contrary to the Laws of that Kingdome, and the Religion there established; but such of the Kingdome of Scotland, as shall transport themselves into the Kingdome of England, or Ireland, and there be seiled Inhabitants, either by way of having Inheritance, or Freehold, or by way of seiled Trades, shall be subject to the Laws of England; or Ireland, and to the Oaths established by the Laws and Acts of Parliament in the said Kingdome respectively, wherein they live. And the English and Irish shall have the like Privileges in Scotland.

Fourthly, That his Majesty would be pleased to declare, That whosoever shall be found upon Tryal and Examination, by the Estates of either of the two Parliaments (they judging against the persons subject to their own Authority) to have been the Authors and Causers of the late and present Troubles and Combinations, whether by labouring to make and foment Division between the King and his People, or between the two Nations, or any other ways shall be liable to Censure of the said Parliaments respectively.

Answer, It is answered, Decemb. 11. 1640. That his Majesty believeth he hath no such about him; therefore concerning that Point, he can make no other Declaration, than that he is just, and that all his Courts of Justice are to be free and open to all men. Our Parliament in this Kingdome is now sitting, and the current Parliament of Scotland, near approaching the time of their Meeting: In either of which respectively, he doth not prohibit the Estates to proceed in trying and judging of whosoever his Subjects. And whereas it was further demanded, that none after the Sentence of the Parliament should have Access to his Majesty, or be maintained, or enjoy Places, or Offices, and have Credit or Authority, so inform or advise his Majesty. It is declared in his Majesties Name, Decemb. 30. 1640. That he will not employ any person or persons, in any Office or Place, that shall be judged incapable by Sentence of Parliament; nor will he make use of their Service, without the consent of Parliament, or grant them Access to his Person.

Fifthly, That their Ships and Goods, and all Damages thereof may be restored.

Answer, It is agreed January the 7. 1640. That all Ships taken and said, should be reciprocally restored on both sides. And that the Scottish Commissioners having informed, that about eight Ships of Scotland are yet staid in Ports, and are like to suffer much loss, if they shall not be delivered into some hands, who may have care of them: It is agreed, that Warrants shall be presently granted, for delivery of all their Ships; And that four thousand pounds be presently advanced for Calking, Sails, Cordage, and other Necessaries, for helping the present setting forth of the said Ships.

Sixthly, They desire from the Justice and the Kindness of the Kingdome of England, Reparations concerning the Losses, which the Kingdome of Scotland hath sustained, and the vast Charges they have been put unto, by occasion of the late Troubles.

Answer, That this House thinks fit, that a friendly Assistance and Relief shall be given towards supply of the loss of the Scots: And that the Parliament did declare, That they did conceive that the sum of three hundred thousand pounds is a fit proportion for this friendly Assistance and Relief, formerly thought fit to be given, towards supply of the loss and necessities of their Brethren of Scotland; and that the Houses would in due time, take into consideration the manner how, and the time when the same shall be raised.

Seventhly, That as his Majesty hath appointed the Acts of the late Parliament, wherein all such Declarations, Proclamations, Books, Libels, and Pamphlets, that have been made, written, and published, against his loyal and dutiful Subjects of Scotland, are recalled; and ordered to be suppressed, recalled, and forbidden in England and Ireland; and that the Loyalty, Integrity, and Faithfulness

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nefs of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, towards his Majesties Royal Person and Government, may at the closing of this Treaty of Peace, and at the time of Publick Thanksgiving for the same, be made known in all places, and all Parishes of his Majesties Dominions.

Answer, It is agreed upon the tenth of February, 1640. That all Declarations, Proclamations, Acts, Books, Libels and Pamphlets, that have been made and published against the Loyalty and Obedience of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland, shall be recalled, suppressed, and forbidden in England and Ireland; and it is to be reciprocal in Scotland, if any such have been made or published there, in prejudice of his Majesties Honour: And this upon diligent enquiry to be done, by Authority of Parliament next sitting in Scotland, of which the Commissioners of Scotland do promise to have an especial care And we do also agree, That when it shall please Almighty God to grant an happy Close of this Treaty of Peace, the Loyalty of his Majesties Subjects of Scotland shall be made known at the time of publick Thanksgiving in all places, and particularly in the Parishes-Churches of his Majesties Dominions.

That all Monuments, Tokens, and Shews of Hostility, upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms, may be taken away; That not only the Garisons of *Barnwick*, and *Carlisle*, may be removed, but that the Works may be slighted, and the places dismantled.

Answer, The House of Commons concur with their Lordships, That when a Peace shall be established, all things reciprocally be reduced in the terms they were before the Treaty. And do agree with their Lordships, that the Scottish Commissioners, shall set down all their particular Heads and Demands as once together, that so their eight Articles which they propound for establishing a Peace, may with all speed be concluded; that being done, this House shall willingly concur with their Lordships, to settle all things for their just satisfaction.

After which, the Scots brought in their 15 remaining Heads to their eight Demands, all for Privileges to their own Nation; and presented their great Account, which was five hundred, and fourteen thousand one hundred twenty and eight pounds, nine shillings, besides the loss of their Nation, to four hundred and forty thousand pounds. This Reckoning startled the English Commissioners, until the Scots told them, they did not give in that Account, with an intent to demand a total Reparation of their Charges and Losses; but were content, in some measure, to bear a Reckoning, hoping for the rest from the Justice and Kindness of England.

Some of the Commons allowed of their Demands; but Sir Benjamin Rudyerd was of another mind, and judged them altogether unreasonable, they being wholly contradictory to their own Remonstrance at their first coming in: wherein they professed, That they would take nothing of the English, but for Money or Security, whereas they had been hitherto defrauded, to the great impoverishing of *Northumberland*, *Newcastle*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*; which places would not recover what they lost in the space of 20 years. That the English had formerly established the Scots Reformation, and yet bore their own Charges; Whereas the Scots presumed to require a greater Sum, than ever was given to the King.

Many thought that Sir Benjamins Arguments were compleat and weighty; howsoever, Monies were raised for the present by way of Loan from the City of London, (for supply of both the Northern Armies) as once before this Parliament had done.

Some Overtures had been made by the Dutch Ambassadour, of a Match between William the young Prince of Orange, and the Princess Mary, the Kings eldest Daughter, which he well liked, and communicated it to the Parliament, with whom it found a general and unanimous Reception, in regard of the Alliance to be thereupon concluded with the Prince his Father; and the United Provinces, being of the same Protestant Religion with England; and so it was soon concluded.

But presently after four Members of the Commons delivered a Message to the Lords, of a Popish Design, of levying an Army of fifteen thousand in *Leicestershire*, and eight thousand in *Ireland*; the main Promoters whereof were the Earls of *Strafford* and *Worcester*; and Sir *Robert Barkley*, one of the Ship-money Judges, was accused in February of High-Treason, and committed Prisoner to the Black-Rod.

The Bill for a Triennial Parliament (which by a witty mistake was by one called the Tyrannical Parliament) was now perfected, and had passed both Houses, and nothing wanted to the Confirmation, but the Kings Assent, which was also granted upon the sixteenth of February; And the King, to let them know what value he put upon this his great Favour, told them, That hitherto they had gone on in those things which concerned Themselves; and now he looked that they should proceed to those things which did concern Him: And then he signed the Bill of Subsidies, and gave them such universal Content, that Sir *Edward Lintson* Lord-Keeper, was ordered

A Match proposed between the Prince of Orange, and the Lady Mary, approved by the Parliament.

The King gives his assent to the Bill for a Triennial Parliament.

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A ordered to return the humble Thanks of both Houses to his Majesty at *White-Hall*, with Bonfires, and Bells ringing throughout the City, as formerly at the granting of the Petition of Right.

February the twenty sixth, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was accused of High-Treason by the Commons, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower; but upon humble Suit, respited till the first of March; in the mean time, to be under the Black-Rod. And now Episcopacy it self was called in question; and although the Lord Digby made a witty and weighty Speech in defence of it, and the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh* being by them consulted about that and the Liturgy, had delivered his Judgment for the Moderation and Emendation, not Extirpation of them: yet the Wings of Episcopacy were awredly clipped; for the Commons, March the tenth, Voted, That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial Power in the Star-Chamber, nor bear any sway in Temporal Affairs; and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of Peace.

The Earl of *Strafford*s Tryal was next; which after various Debates was agreed to be tried in *Westminster-Hall*, on Monday the two and twentieth of March: the King, Queen, and Prince present; and the Commons to be present as a Committee, at the managing of their Accusation: The Earl of *Arundel* was Lord High-Steward, and the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord High-Constable: The Earl of *Strafford* (though he had but short warning yet) had gotten his Defence ready against the time: The Accusation was managed by Mr. *Pym*; the Articles and Replies were as followeth:

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* accused by the Commons of High-Treason, and ordered to the Tower. Bishops Votes in Parliament voided down.

The Earl of *Strafford* brought to his Tryal, The Articles against him, with his Reply to each.

The first Article was not insisted upon.

Secondly, That shortly after the obtaining of a Commission, dated the One and Twentieth of March, in the Eighth Year of his now Majesties Reign (to wit) the last Day of August then next following; he the said Earl, to bring his Majesties Liege-people into a dislike of his Majesty, and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing the Laws: (He the said Earl, being then President of the Kings Council in the Northern-parts of England, and Justice of Peace) did publicly, at the Assizes held for the County of *York*, in and upon the said last day of August, declare and publish, before the People there attending for the Administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, That some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should find, that the Kings little Finger should be heavier, then the Loyns of the Law.

Testified by Sir *David Fowles*, and others.

Reply, That Sir *David Fowles* was his profest Enemy; that his words were, clearly inverted; that his Expression was, That the little Finger of the Law (if not moderated by the Kings Gracious Clemency) was heavier then the Kings Loyns. That these were his words, he verified;

First, By the occasion of them, they being spoken to some whom Favour had then enlarged from Imprisonment at *York*, as a Motive of their Thankfulness to his Majesty.

Secondly, By Sir *William Pennyman*, a Member of the House, who was then present, and heard these words: which Sir *William* declaring to be true, the House of Commons required Justice of the Lords against him, because he had Voted the Articles as a Member of the House: Whereupon Sir *William* wept.

Thirdly, That the Realm of *Ireland*, having been time out of mind annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majesties Realm of England, and Governed by the same Laws: The said Earl being Lord-Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties Liege-people of that Kingdom likewise into dislike of his Majesties Government, and intending the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws, and seised Government of that Realm, and the Distraction of his Majesties Liege-people, there, did upon the Thirtieth day of September, in the Eleventh Year of his Majesties now Reign, in the City of *Dublin*, (the chief City of that Kingdom, where his Majesties Privy-Council, and Courts of Justice, do ordinarily reside; and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in publick Speech, before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Mayor, Aldermen,

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and Recorder, and many Citizens of Dublin, and other of his Majesties Liege-people, declare and publish, That Ireland was a Conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased. And speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of England made to that City; He further said, That their Charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further then he pleased.

Reply, That if he had been over liberal of his Tongue for want of Discretion, yet could not his words amount to Treason, unless they had been revealed within fourteen days, as he was informed. As to the Charge, he said, True it is, he said Ireland was a Conquered Nation, which no man can deny, and that the King is the Law-giver, in Matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, he conceived all Loyal Subjects would grant.

Fourthly, That Richard Earl of Cork, having sued out Processes in Court of Law, for recovery of his Possessions from which he was put, by colour of an Order made by the said Earl of Strafford, and the Council-Table, of the said Realm of Ireland: The said Earl of Strafford upon a Paper-Petition, without legal proceedings, did the twentieth day of February, in the eleventh year of his now Majesties Reign, threaten the said Earl of Cork (being then a Peer of the said Realm) to imprison him, unless he would surcease his Suit; and said, That he would have neither Law, nor Lawyers, dispute or question any of his Orders. And the twentieth of March, in the said eleventh year, the said Earl of Strafford speaking of an Order of the said Council-Table of that Realm, made in the time of King James, which concerned a Lease which he the said Earl of Cork claimed in certain Rectories, or Tithes, which he the said Earl of Cork alleadged to be of no force, said, That he would make the said Earl, and all Ireland know, so long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made, or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom, as an Act of Parliament: And did question the said Earl of Cork in the Castle-Chamber, upon pretence of breach of the said Order of Council-Table; and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions, by his words and speeches, arrogate to himself a Power above the Fundamental Laws and established Government of that Kingdom, and scorned the said Lawes and established Government.

Reply, It were hard measure for a man to lose his Honour and his Life, for an hasty word, or because he is no wiser than God hath made him: As for the words, he confessed them to be true, and thought he said no more then what became him, considering how much his Majesties Honour was concerned in him; that if a portionable Obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did Councils sit. And that he had done no more, than what former Deputies had done, and than what was agreeable to his Instructions for the Council-Table, which he produced. And if those words were Treason, they should have been revealed within fourteen dayes.

Fifthly, That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the said Earl of Strafford did use and exercise a power, above, and against, and to the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws, and established Government of the said Realm of Ireland, extending such his Power, to the Goods, Free-holds, Inheritances, Liberties, and Lives, of his Majesties Subjects of the said Realm, viz. The said Earl of Strafford, the twelfth Day of December, Anno Dom. 1635. in the time of full Peace, did in the said Realm of Ireland, give, and procure to be given against the Lord Mount Norris (then, and yet a Peer of Ireland, and then Vice-Treasurer, and Receiver-General of the Realm of Ireland, and one of the principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy-Signet of the said Kingdom) a Sentence of Death, by a Council of war, called together by the said Earl of Strafford, without any Warrant or Authority of Law, or Offence, deserving any such punishment. And he the said Earl did also at Dublin, within the said Realm of Ireland, in the Month of March, in the fourteenth year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal or due proceedings, or Tryal, give, or cause to be given, a Sentence of Death, against one of his Majesties Subjects, whose Name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to death, in Execution of the said Sentence.

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Reply, That there was then a standing Army in Ireland, and Armies cannot be Governed, but by Martial Law; That it hath been put in constant practice with former Deputies; That had the Sentence been given unjustly by him, the Crime could amount but to Felony at the most, for which he hoped he might as well expect pardon from his Majesty, as the Lord Conmy and Sir Jacob Astly had, for doing the like in the late Northern Army. That he neither gave Sentence, nor procured it against the Lord Mount Norris, but only desired Justice against the Lord for some Affront done to him, as he was Deputy of Ireland. That he the said Lord was judged by a Council of War, wherein he sat bare all the time, and gave no suffrage against him: That also to evidence himself a Party, he caused his Brother, Sir George Wentworth, in regard of the nearness of Blood, to decline all acting in the Process. Lastly, Though the Lord Mount Norris justly deserved to dye, yet he obtained his Pardon from the King.

Sixthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, without any legal Proceedings, and upon a Paper-petition of Richard Rolstone, did cause the said Lord Mount Norris to be disseised, and put out of possession of his Freehold and Inheritance of his Mannor of Tymore, in the County of Armagh, in the Kingdom of Ireland, the said Lord Mount Norris having been two years before in quiet possession thereof.

Reply, That he conceived the Lord Mount Norris was legally divested of his Possessions, there being a Suir long depending in Chancery, and the Plaintiff complaining of delay; he upon the Complainants Petition, called unto him the Master of the Rolls, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; and upon Proofs in Chancery, Decreed for the Plaintiff: Wherein he said, he did no more than what other Deputies had done before him.

Seventhly, The said Earl of Strafford in the Term of Holy Trinity, in the thirteenth year of his now Majesties Reign, did cause a Case, commonly called, the Case of Tenures, upon defective Titles, to be made and drawn up without any Jury, or Tryal, or other legal Process, and without the consent of Parties; and did then procure the Judges of the said Realm of Ireland, to deliver their Opinions and Resolutions to that Case, and by colour of such Opinions, did without any legal proceedings, cause Thomas Lord Dillon, a Peer of the said Realm of Ireland, to be put out of Possession of divers Lands and Tenements, being his Freeholds, in the County of Mago and Roscomer, in the said Kingdom; and divers others of his Majesties Subjects to be also put out of Possession, and disseised of their Freeholds, by colour of the same Resolution, without legal Proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

Reply, That the Lord Dillon, with others, producing his Patent according to Proclamation, on the behalf of his Majesty; the said Patent was questionable, upon which, a Case was drawn, and argued by Council, and the Judges declared their Opinions: But the Lord Dillon, or any other, was not bound thereby, nor put out of their Possessions, but might have traversed the Office; or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said Opinion.

Eighthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, upon a Petition exhibited in October, 1635. by Thomas Hibbotts against Dame Mary Hibbotts widow, to him the said Earl of Strafford, recommended the said Petition to the Council-Table of Ireland, where the most part of the Council gave their Vote and Opinion for the said Lady; but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an Order to be entred against the said Lady, and threatened her, That if she refused to submit thereunto, he would imprison her, and fine her five hundred pounds. That if she continued obstinate, he would continue her Imprisonment, and double her Fine every Month by Month; whereupon she was enforced to relinquish her Estate in the Land questioned in the said Petition, which shortly was conveyed to Sir Robert Mercedith, to the use of the said Earl of Strafford. And the said Earl in like manner did imprison divers others of his Majesties Subjects, upon pretence of disobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegal Commands by him made for pretended Debts, Titles

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Titles of Land, and other Causes, in an arbitrary and extrajudicial Course, upon Paper-petitions to him, preferred, and no other cause legally depending.

Reply, That true it is, he had Voted against the Lady Hibbotts, and he had reason to do so; the said Lady being discovered, by Fraud and Circumvention, to have bargained for Lands of a great Value, for a small Sum: And he denied that the said Lands were, after sold to his use, or that the major part of the Council-board Voted for the Lady; the contrary appearing, by the Sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Council; which being true, he might well threaten her with Commitment, in case she disobeyed the said Order. Lastly, Were it true, that he were Criminal therein, yet were the Offence but a Misdemeanour, no Treason.

Ninthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, the sixteenth day of February, in the year of his now Majesties Reign, assuming to himself a power above and against Law, took upon him by a general Warrant under his hand, to give power to the Lord Bishop of Down, and Conner his Chancellor, or Chancellors, and to their several Officers to be appointed, to Attach and Arrest the Bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort, who after Citation, should either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit, or deny to perform, or undergo all lawful Decrees, Sentences, and Orders issued, imposed, or given out against them; and them to commit and keep in the next Goal, untill they should either perform such Sentences, or put in sufficient Bail, to shew some reason before the Council-Table of such their contempt and neglect: And the said Earl, the day and year last mentioned, signed and issued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to send all other Bishops and their Chancellors in the said Realm of Ireland, to the same effect.

Reply, That such Writs had been usually granted by former Deputies to Bishops in Ireland; nevertheless, being not fully satisfied with the convenience thereof, he was sparing in granting of them, untill being informed, that divers in the Diocese of Down were somewhat refractory, he granted Warrants to that Bishops; and hearing of some Disorders in the Execution, he called them in again.

Tenthly, That the said Earl of Strafford being Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy of Ireland, procured the Customes of the Merchandize exported out of, and imported into that Realm, to be farmed to his own use. And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then Interest in the said Customs (to advance his own Gain and Lucre) he did cause and procure the Native Commodities of Ireland, to be rated in the Book of Rates for the Customes (according to which the Customes were usually gathered) at far greater value and prizes than in truth they were worth; (that is to say) Every Hide at twenty shillings, which in truth was worth but five; every Stone of wooll at thirteen shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings, at the utmost but nine shillings; by which means, the Custome which before was but a twentieth part of the true value of the Commodity, was enhanced sometimes to a fifth part, and sometimes to a third part of the true value, to the great Oppression of the Subjects, and delay of Merchandize.

Reply, That his Interests in the Customes of Ireland, accrued to him by the Assignment of a Lease from the Dutchess of Buckingham; That the Book of Rates by which the Customes were gathered, was the same which was established by the Lord Deputy Faulkland in 1628. Some years before he was employed thither. That as he hath been just and faithful to his Master the King, by encreasing his Revenue, so hath he also much bettered the Trade and Shipping.

Eleventhly, That he the said Earl in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, did by his own Will and Pleasure, and for his own Lucre, restrain the exportation of the Commodities of that Kingdom without his Licence; as namely, Pipe-staves, and other Commodities, and then raised great sums of Money for licensing of Exportation of those Commodities,

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modities, and dispensation of the said Restraints imposed on them, by which means, the Pipe-staves were raised from four pounds ten shillings or five pounds per thousand, to ten pounds, and sometimes eleven pounds per thousand; and other Commodities were enhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means, by him the said Earl.

Reply, That the Pipe-staves were prohibited in King James's time, and not exported, but by Licence, paying six shillings eight pence a thousand; and that he had not raised so much thereby to himself, as his Predecessors had done for such Licences.

Twelfthly, That the said Earl being Lord Deputy of Ireland, on the ninth day of January, in the thirteenth year of his Majesties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the Importation of Tobacco in the said Realm of Ireland, issue a Proclamation in his Majesties Name, prohibiting the Importation of Tobacco, without Licence of him and the Council there, from and after the first day of March, An. Dom. 1638. After which Restraint, the said Earl, notwithstanding the said Restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own use; and that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use, at their own price; and if the Owners refused to let them have the same at under values, then they were not permitted to vent the same: by which undue means, the said Earl having gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own Hands, he sold it at great and excessive prizes, such as he list to impose for his own profit.

And the more to assure the said Monopoly of Tobacco, he the said Earl, on the twenty third day of February, in the thirteenth year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation; Commanding, That none should put to sale any Tobacco by whole-Sale, from and after the last day of May then next following, but what should be made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two Seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll: And such as was not sealed, to be seized, and appointed six pence the pound for a Reward to such persons as should seize the same; and the Persons in whose Custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found, to be committed to Goal; which last Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining of the Sale of unwholsome Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the said Monopoly: Which Proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in execution, by seizing the Goods, Fining, Imprisoning, Whipping, and putting the Offenders against the same Proclamation on the Pillory; as namely, Barnaby Hubbard, Edward Coven, John Tumen, and divers others; and made the Officers of State, and Justices of Peace, and other Officers to serve him, in compassing and executing these unjust and undue Courses. By which Cruelties, and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised 100000 l. per annum Gain to himself: And he the said Earl, though he enhanced the Customes, where it concerned the Merchants in general, yet drew down the Impost formerly taken on Tobacco, from six pence the pound, to three pence the pound; it being for his own profit so to do. And the said Earl by the same, and other rigorous and undue means, raised several other Monopolies, and unlawful Exactions for his own Gain; Viz. On Starch, Iron, Pots, Glasses, Tobacco-pipes, and several other Commodities.

Reply, That before his time the King had but 10 or 20 l. per annum, for that Custome, which now yieldeth 20000 l. for the Proclamation, it was not set out by his means principally, or for his private Benefit, but by consent of the whole Council. And this he conceives cannot be made Treason, were all the Articles granted; but only a Monopoly, for which he was to be Fined.

Thirteenthly, That Flax being one of the principal and Native Commodities of that Kingdom of Ireland, the said Earl having got great quantities thereof into his Hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out several Proclamations; Viz. One dated the one and twentieth day of May, in the eleventh year of his Majesties Reign, and the other dated the one and twentieth day of January in the same year, thereby prescribing and enjoying the working of Flax into Tearn and Thread, and the ordering of the same in such wayes, wherein the Natives of that Kingdom were unpractised, and unskillful. Which Proclamations so issued, were by his Commands and Warrants to his Majesties Justices of the Peace, and other Officers, and by other rigorous means, put in Execution, and the Flax wrought and ordered in other manner than as the said Proclamation prescribed, was seized,

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and employed to the use of him and his Agents. And thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect, the sole sale of that Native Commodity.

Reply, That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen, rather than of Woollen, because the last would be the greater Detriment to England. That the Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor Loftus, and the Lord Mount Norris, all of the Council, and Subscribers of the Proclamation were as lyable to the Charge as himself. That the reducing of that Nation, by Orders of the Council-board, to the English Customs, from their Savage Usages, as drawing Horses by their Tayles, &c. had been of former practice. That the Project was of so ill Avail to him, as he was the worse for the Manufacture thirty thousand pounds at least, by the Loom he had set up at his own Charge.

The Fourteenth Article was not urged.

Fifteenthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford traiterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of Armes, in a War-like manner, to subdue the Subjects of the said Realm of Ireland, to bring them under tyrannical Power and will; and in pursuance of his wicked and traiterous Purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of Strafford in the eighth year of his Majesties Reign, did by his own Authority, without any Warrant, or colour of Law, Tax and Impose great sums of Money upon the Towns of Baltemore, Bandenbridge, Talow, and divers other Towns and Places in the said Realm of Ireland, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns, by Troops of Souldiers with Force and Armes, in a War-like manner. And on the ninth day of March, in the twelfth year of his now Majesties Reign, traiterously did give Authority unto Robert Savill, a Sergeant at Armes, and to the Captains of the Companies of Souldiers in several parts of that Realm, to send such numbers of Souldiers to lye on the Lands and Houses of such as would not conform to his Orders, untill they should render Obedience unto the said Orders and Warrants, and after such Submission (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons. And did also issue the like Warrants unto divers others, which Warrants were in War-like manner, with Force and Armes, put in Execution accordingly; and by such War-like means did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful Commands. And in the said twelfth year of his Majesties Reign, the said Earl of Strafford did traiterously cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot Armed, in War-like manner, and in War-like Array, with Force and Armes, to expel Richard Butler from the Possession of Castle-cumber, in the Territory of Idough, in the said Realm of Ireland; and did likewise in like War-like manner, expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their Houses, Families, and Possessions; as namely, Edward Brenman, Owen Oberman, Patrick Oberman, Sir Cyprian Horsfield, and divers others, to the number of about an hundred Families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them Prisoners to Dublin, and there detained them, untill they did yield up, surrender, and release their respective Estates and Rights. And he the said Earl in like War-like manner hath, during his Government of the said Kingdom of Ireland, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects to his will, and thereby, and by the means aforesaid, hath levied War within the said Realm against his Majesty, and his Liege-people of that Kingdom.

Testified, Serjeant Savil.

Reply, That nothing hath been more ordinary in Ireland, then for the Governours to put all manner of Sentences in execution by the help of Souldiers; that Grandison, Falkland, Chichester, and other Deputies, frequently did it: (Sir Arthur Teningham to this Point deposed, That in Falkland's time he knew twenty Souldiers assailed upon one man, for refusing to pay sixteen shillings;) That his Instructions for executing his Commission, were the same with those formerly given to the Lord Falkland, and that in both there is express Warrant for it. That no Testimony produced against him, doth evidently prove he gave any Warrant to that effect, and that Serjeant Savil shewed only a Copy of a Warrant, not the Original it self, which he conceived could not make Faith in case of Life and Death

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Death, in that High-Court, especially it being not averred upon Oath to agree with the Original, which should be upon Record. That he conceived, he was for an Irish Custome to be tryed by the Peers of that Kingdom.

Sixteenthly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, the two and twentieth of February, in the seventh year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of Ireland, did make a Proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an Allowance, That no Complaint of Injustice, or Oppression done in Ireland, should be received into England against any, unless it first appeared, that the Party made first his Addresses to him the said Earl: And the said Earl having by such usurped tyrannicall and exorbitant Power, expressed in the former Articles, destroyed the Peers, and other Subjects of that Kingdom of Ireland, in their Lives, Consciences, Lands, Liberties, and Estates; the said Earl to the intent the better to maintain and strengthen his Power, and to bring the People into disaffection of his Majesty as aforesaid, did use his Majesties Name in the Execution of his said Power. And to prevent the Subjects of that Realm of all means of Complaints to his Majesty, and of Redress against him and his Agents, did issue a Proclamation, bearing date the 17 day of September, in the eleventh year of his Majesties Reign; thereby commanding all the Nobility, Undertakers, and others, who held Estates and Offices in the said Kingdom (except such as were employed in his Majesties Service, or attending in England by his speciall Command), to make their personall Residence in the said Kingdom of Ireland, and not to depart thence without Licence of himself. And the said Earl hath since issued other Proclamations to the same purpose, by means whereof, the said Subjects of the said Realm are restrained from seeking Relief against the Oppressions of the said Earl, without his Licence: Which Proclamation, the said Earl hath by severall rigorous wayes, as by Fine, Imprisonment, and otherwise, put in Execution on his Majesties Subjects; as namely, one Parry, and others, who came over only to complain of the Exorbitancies and Oppressions of the said Earl.

Testified by the Earl of Desmond, the Lord Roch, Marcartee, and Parry.

Reply, That the Deputy Falkland had set out the same Proclamation, That the same Restraint was contained in the Statute of 25 Henry 6. upon which the Proclamation was founded. That he had the Kings express Warrant for the Proclamation. That he had also power to do it by the Commission granted him; and that the Lords of the Council, and their Justices, not only yielded, but pressed him unto it. That it was done upon just Cause, for had the Ports been open, divers would have taken Liberty to go to Spain, Down, Reimes, or St. Omers; which might have proved of mischievous Consequence to the State: That the Earl of Desmond stood, at the time of his Restraint, charged with Treason before the Council of Ireland, for practising against the Life of one Sir Valentine Coke. That the Lord Roch was then a Prisoner for Debt in the Castle of Dublin, and therefore incapable of a Licence. That Parry was not Fined for not coming without Licence, but for severall Contempts against the Council-board in Ireland, and that in his Sentence he had but only a Casting Voyce, as the Lord-keeper in the Star-Chamber.

The seventeenth and eighteenth Articles were not insisted on.

Nineteenthly, That the said Earl having Taxed and Levied the said Impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said Oppressions in his Majesties Name, and as by his Majesties Royall Command, he the said Earl, in May, the fifteenth year of his Majesties Reign, did of his own Authority contrive and frame a new and ununsual Oath, by the Purport whereof, among many other things, the Party taking the said Oath, was to swear, That he would not Protest against any of his Majesties Royall Commands, but submit themselves in all Obedience thereunto. Which Oath he so contrived, to enforce the same on the Subjects of the Scottish Nation inhabiting in Ireland, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a Discontent with his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said Subjects there to

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to take the said Oath, some he grievously Fined and Imprisoned, and others he destroyed, A and Exiled; and namely, the tenth of October, Anno Dom. 1639. he Fined Henry Steward and his wife, who refused to take the said Oath, five thousand pounds apiece, and their two Daughters, and James Gray three thousand pounds apiece, and Imprisoned them for not paying the said Fines: The said Henry Steward, wife, and Daughters, and James Gray, being the Kings Liege-people of the Scottish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner. And the said Earl upon that Occasion did Declare, That the said Oath did not only oblige them in point of Allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgment of his Supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church established, or to be established by his Majesties Royall Authority; and said, That the Refusers to obey, he would prosecute to the Blood.

Reply, That the Oath was not violently enjoined by him upon the Irish Scots, but framed in compliance with their own express Petition, which Petition is owned in the Proclamation as the main Impulsive to it. That the same Oath not long after was prescribed by the Council of England. That he had a Letter under his Majesties own hand, ordering it to be prescribed as a Touch-stone of their Fidelity. As to the greatness of the Fine imposed upon Steward, and others, he conceived it was not more then the hainousness of their Offence deserved; yet had they Petitioned, and submitted the next day, that would wholly have been remitted.

Twentiethly, That the said Earl in the fifteenth and sixteenth Years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, Laboured and endeavoured to leget in his Majesty an ill Opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the Scottish Nation; and divers and sundry times, and especially since the Pacification made by his Majesty with his said Subjects of Scotland in Summer, in the fifteenth Year of his Majesties Reign, he the said Earl did labour and endeavour to perswade, incite, and provoke his Majesty to an Offensive War, against his said Subjects of the Scottish Nation. And the said Earl by his Counsell, Actions, and Endeavours, hath been, and is a chief Incendiary of the War and Discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of England, and the said Subjects of Scotland; and hath declared, and advised his Majesty, That the Demands made by the Scots in this Parliament, were a sufficient cause of War against them: The said Earl having formerly expressed the height and rancour of his Mind towards his Subjects of the Scottish Nation; Viz. The tenth day of October, in the fifteenth year of his Majesties Reign, he said, That the Nation of the Scots were Rebels and Traytors: And he being then about to come into England, he then further said, That if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdome (meaning the Kingdome of Ireland) the Scottish Nation both Root and Branch. Some Lords, and others, who had taken the said Oath in the precedent Article, only excepted. And the said Earl hath caused divers of the said Ships and Goods of the Scots to be slayed, seised, and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

Reply, That he called all the Scottish Nation Traytors, and Rebels, no one proof is produced; and though he is hasty in Speech, yet was he never so defective of his Reason, as to speak so like a Mad-man; for he knew well his Majesty was a Native of that Kingdome, and was confident many of that Nation were of as Heroick Spirits, and as Faithfull and Loyall Subjects as any the King had. As to the other words of his rooting out the Scots Root and Branch, he conceives a short Reply may serve, they being proved by a single Testimony only, which can make no sufficient Faith in cause of Life. Again, the Witness was very much mistaken, if not worse, for he deposeth that these words were spoken the tenth day of October in Ireland, whereas he was able to evidence, he was at that time in England, and had been so near a Month before.

The One and Twentieth and Two and Twentieth Articles were not urged.

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Three and twentiethly, That upon the 13 day of April last, the Parliament of England met, and the Commons House (then being the Representative Body of all the Commons in the Kingdome) did according to the Trust reposed in them, enter into Debate and Consideration of the great Grievances of this Kingdome, both in respect of Religion, and the publick Liberties of the Kingdome: and his Majesty referring chiefly to the said Earl of Strafford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the ordering and disposing of all Matters concerning the Parliament; He the said Earl of Strafford, with the Assistance of the said Archbishop, did procure his Majesty, by sundry Speeches and Messages, to urge the said Commons House, to enter into some Resolution for his Majesties supply for Maintenance of his war against his Subjects of Scotland; before any course was taken for the relief of the great and pressing Grievances wherewith this Kingdome was then afflicted: Whereupon, a Demand was then made from his Majesty of twelve Subsidies, for the releafe of Ship-money only. And while the said Commons then Assembled (with expression of great Affection to his Majesty, and to his Service) were in Debate and Consideration of some Supply, before Resolution by them made: He the said Earl of Strafford, with the help and assistance of the said Archbishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament, upon the fifth day of May last; and upon the same day, he the said Earl of Strafford did treacherously, falsely, and maliciously, endeavour to incense his Majesty against his Loving and Faithfull Subjects, who had been Members of the House of Commons, by telling his Majesty they had denied to supply him. And afterward upon the same, did treacherously and wickedly Counsell and Advise his Majesty to this effect; Viz. That having tryed the Affections of his People, he was loose and absolved from all Rules of Government, and was to do every thing that Power would admit; and that his Majesty had tryed all ways, and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and Man; that he had an Army in Ireland, (meaning the Army above mentioned, consisting of Papists, his Dependents, as is aforesaid) which he might employ to reduce this Kingdome to Obedience.

Reply, That he was not the principal Cause of Dissolving the last Parliament; for before he came to the Council-Table, it was Voted by the Lords to demand Twelve Subsidies, and that Sir Henry Vane was ordered to demand no less; but he coming in the Interim, he perswades the Lords to Vote it again, Declaring to his Majesty (then present) and them, the danger of the Breach of Parliament: Whereupon it was again Voted, That if the Parliament would not grant Twelve Subsidies, Sir Henry would descend to Eight, and rather than fail, to Six. But Sir Henry not observing his Instructions, demanded Twelve only, without abatement, or going lower; that the height of this Demand, urged the Parliament to deny; and their Denial moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament: so that the chief occasion of the Breach thereof, was, as he conceived, Sir Henry Vane. He confesseth, that at the Council-Table he advised the King to an offensive War against the Scots; but it was not untill all fair means to prevent a War had been first attempted. Again, Others were as much for a Defensive War, and it might be as free to Vote one, or the other. Lastly, Votes at a Council-Board are but bare Opinions; and Opinions, if pertinaciously maintained, may make an Heretick, but never can a Traytor. And to Sir Henry Vane's Deposition, he said, It was only a single Testimony, and contradicted by four Lords of the Junto Tables Depositions; Viz. The Earl of Northumberland, the Marquess of Hamilton, the Bishop of London, and Lord Cottington, who all affirmed, That there was no question made of this Kingdome, which was then in Obedience, but of Scotland that was in Rebellion. And Sir Henry Vane being twice examined upon Oath, could not remember whether he said this, or that Kingdome; and the Notes after offered for more proof, were but the same thing, and added nothing to the Evidence to make it a double Testimony, or to make a Privy Councillor's Opinion, in a Debate at Council, High-Treason.

The Four and twentieth Article was not urged.

Five and twentiethly, That not long after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, (Viz. in the Months of May, and June) he the said Earl of Strafford did advise the King

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King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of severall Counties to be sent for for not levying the Ship-money, divers of which were threatened by him to be sued in the Star-Chamber; and afterwards by his advice were sued in the Star-Chamber for not levying the same; and divers of his Majesties loving Subjects were sent for and imprisoned by his Advice, about that and other illegall Payments. And a great Loan of an hundred thousand pounds was demanded of the City of London: and the Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs of the said City, were often sent for by his Advice to the Council-Table, to give an Account of their Proceedings, in raising of Ship-money, and furthering of that Loan; and were required to certify the Names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend: which they with much Humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of Strafford did use these, or the like Speeches; Viz. That they deserved to be put to Fine and Ransome, and that no good would be done with them, till an Example were made of them, and that they were laid by the Heels, and some of the Aldermen were hanged up.

Reply, That there was a present Necessity for money, that all the Council-board had Voted with, yea, before him. That there was then a Sentence in Star-Chamber upon the Opinion of all the Judges, for the Legality of the Tax of Ship-money, and he thought he might advise the King to take what the Judges had declared was by Law his own. He confessed, that upon refusal of so just a Service, the better to quicken the Citizens to the payment of Ship-money, he said, *They deserved to be Fined*; Which words might perhaps be incircumspectly delivered, but (conceives) cannot amount to Treason, especially when no ill consequence followed upon them: and it would render men in a sad Condition, if for every hasty Word, or Opinion given in Council, they should be sentenced as Traytors. But that he said, *It were well for the Kings Service, if some of the Aldermen were hanged up*, he utterly denieth. Nor is it proved by any, but Alderman Garway, who is at best but a single Testimony, and therefore of no sufficient Evidence in case of Life.

Six and twentiethly, That he the said Earl of Strafford, by his wicked Counsell having brought his Majesty into excessive Charges, without any just Cause; did in the Month of July last (for the support of the said great Charges) Counsell and Approve dangerous and wicked Projects; Viz. To seize upon the Bullion, and the Money in the Mint: And to imbase his Majesties Coyne with the Mixtures of Brass. And accordingly he procured 130000 l. which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchants, Strangers, and Others, to be seized on, and stayed to his Majesties use. And when divers Merchants of London, Owners of the said Bullion, came to his House, to let him understand the great Mischief that Course would produce here, and in other Parts, what Prejudice it would be to the Kingdome by discrediting the Mint, and hindring the Importation of Bullion: He the said Earl told them, That the City of London dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that they were more ready to help the Rebels, then to help his Majesty; and that if any Hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the Course of other Princes to make use of such Monies to serve their Occasions. And when in the same Month of July, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers Reasons against the Imbasing of the said Monies. He told them, That the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse, with Commission to search into mens Estates, and to peruse their Accounts, that so they may know what to levy of them by force, which they did accordingly levy: And turning to the Lord Corrington then present, said, That this was a Point worthy his Lordships Consideration.

Reply, That he expected some Proofs to Evidence the two first Particulars; but hears of none. For the following Words, he confessed, probably they might escape the Door of his Lips; Nor did he think it much amiss, considering their present posture, to call that Faction, Rebels. As for the last words objected against him in that Article, he said, That being in Conference with some of the Londoners, there came to his Hands at that instant a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, then in Paris, wherein were the Gazets enclosed, relating, that the Cardinal

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Cardinal had given order to levy money by Souldiers; this he only told the Lord Corrington standing by, but made not the least Application thereof to the English Affairs.

Seven and twentiethly, That in, or about the Month of August last, he was made Lieutenant-General of all his Majesties Forces in the Northern-parts against the Scots; and being at York, did in the Month of September, by his own Authority, and without any lawful Warrant, impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of York, of 8 d. per diem, for maintenance of every Souldier of the Trained-Bands of that County; which Sums of Money he caused to be levied by force. And to the end to compel his Majesties Subjects out of Fear and Terror, to yield to the payment of the same: He did declare, that he would commit them that refused the Payment thereof, and the Souldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than of High-Treason.

Reply, That at his Majesties coming to York, it was thought necessary, in regard the Enemy was upon the Borders, to keep the Trained-Bands on foot for Defence of the County; and therefore the King directed him to write to the Freeholders in Yorkshire, to declare what they would do for their own Defence. That they freely offered a Months Pay, nor did any man grudge against it. Again, it was twice propounded to the great Council of Peers at York, that the King approved it as a just and necessary Act, and none of the Council contracted it, which he conceived seemed a tacite Allowance of it. That though his Majesty had not given him special Order therein, nor the County had desired it, yet he conceived he had Power enough to impose that Tax, by vertue of his Commission. But he never said, that the Refusers should be guilty of little less than High-Treason, which being proved by Sir William Ingram, he was but a single Testimony, and one who had formerly mistaken himself in what he had deposed.

Eight and twentiethly, That in the Months of September and October last, he the said Earl of Strafford, being certified of the Scottish Army coming into the Kingdome: And he the said Earl of Strafford, being Lieutenant of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the Defence of the Town of Newcastle, as he ought to have done, but suffered the Town to be taken, so he might the more incense the English against the Scots, and for the more wicked purpose, and out of a malicious Desire to engage the Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a National and bloody war. He did write to the Lord Conway the General of the Horse, and under the said Earls Command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army, and the passage over the Tyne, which he should follow, notwithstanding that the Lord Conway had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army, under his Command, was not ordered to encounter the Scots, which Advice he did not comply to, till the Day of his Place, being his Majesties Army then under his Command, appeared at Bangor and Lifford.

Reply, That he admitted how in the third Article he being charged as an Incendiary against the Scots, is now in this Article made their Confederate, by betraying Newcastle into their hands. But to answer more particularly, he said, That Newcastle was taken the 24 of August, ten or twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, under the Command of the Lord Conway and Sir Jacob Astley, and that Sir Jacob had written to him concerning the Town of Newcastle, that it was fortified, which also was under his particular Care, and for the passage over the River of Tyne, his Majesty sent special Directions to the Lord Conway to ferry over, and therefore that Lord is more (as he conceives) responsible for that Betraying, than himself.

Ninth and twentiethly, That in the 7th of the said Majesties Reign: The Commons were resolved to procure him to the utmost, and therefore had procured the Parliament of Ireland to be called, that so they might the more incense the English against the Scots, and for the more wicked purpose, and out of a malicious Desire to engage the Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a National and bloody war. He did write to the Lord Conway the General of the Horse, and under the said Earls Command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army, and the passage over the Tyne, which he should follow, notwithstanding that the Lord Conway had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army, under his Command, was not ordered to encounter the Scots, which Advice he did not comply to, till the Day of his Place, being his Majesties Army then under his Command, appeared at Bangor and Lifford.

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The Confession of the Parliament of Ireland, produced against the Earl of Strafford.

1640.

The other Articles against him, with his Answers.

His Reply to Secretary Vane's Accusation.

He hath Council assigned him.

First, That he had withdrawn four and twenty thousand pounds, and sent from the Exchequer in Ireland, and converted them to his own use.

Secondly, That in the beginning of his Government, the Garrisons of Ireland had been maintained by the English Treasury.

Thirdly, That he had advanced Popish and Infamous Persons as the Bishop of Waterford, and others, to the prime Rooms in the Church of Ireland.

To which he gave these Answers:

First, That England was indebted to Ireland so much, which he took up upon his own Credit, and paid it in again, producing the Kings Authority and Letter for the same.

Secondly, That the Garrisons had been for many years sent to England, which he found, and had so improved the Kings Revenue there, that they were not burthenous at all.

Thirdly, That he never preferred any, but whom he conceived conscientious and honest, not being able to prophesie of mens future Conditions: And as for the Bishop of Waterford, he had satisfied the Law.

But besides all these, there were produced by Mr. Pym certain Notes which had been taken by Sir Henry Vane, being thought fit to be admitted into a Court of select Councillors, whom the King had chosen to consult about his second Expedition against the Scots: which Notes (to take off the Odium from himself) were pretended to have been surreptitiously taken out of his Chamber by his Son young Sir Henry, and communicated to Mr. Pym, out of which it was alleged against the Earl of Strafford, that he had then given the King Advice, to borrow of the City an hundred thousand pounds, to levy Ship money more grievously, and that his Majesty having tried the Affections of his People, was absolved and loosed from all Rules of Government, and might do what he would, and having an Army in Ireland, might employ it for the reducing of his Kingdoms, which he was sure could not hold out five Months, and London being full of the Nobility, the Commission of Array was to be put on, and all Opposers thereof to smart for it.

The Earl replied, That he conceived it lawful for a Privy Councillor, to have freedom of Voting with others, and as to the matter of the English Army, he thought that the single Testimony of one man (Secretary Vane) was not of validity in Law in a Cause of Death, much less in Life and Death, and that the position of Secretary Vane was dubious, as appeared at his several Examinations, and that there were present at the Debate but eight Privy Councillors, whereof two were not to be produced, and four others declared upon their Oaths, that they never heard him speak those words, or any like them. And lastly, That if he had spoken them (which he never granted nor) that the word (Army) could not imply England (the Debate being concerning Ireland) and there being no least intention of Landing the Irish Army in England. And lastly, concluded his Defence, with telling the Lords, that he was accused as guilty of Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land; but it seemed strange to him, that this should be Treason together, which was not Treason in any part. And lastly, Desired the Lords to consider how their own Privileges, and other Ministers of State, would suffer by his Condemnation. The Commons must now justify their Charge by Law; to which end they produced the Statute annexed to the Statute of 25 of Edward the Third, the words were these, That if any particular Treason could not be tried, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treason in time to come, should be punished as Treason. And thus the Statute was to be the Ground-work of the Bill of Attainder.

The Statute being put upon a Point of Law, moved for Council, which after three days canvassing, was granted to him; And April the 17, the Earl by his Council (which were Mr. Lane the Prince's Attorney, Mr. Gifford Recorder of the Court of Common Pleas, and Mr. Lightfoot) answered, That the Statute which they cited, was but a Declaration, and a penal Law, and would neither bind the King, nor his Successors, and his Successors, and that the Statute was repealed by a Statute of Parliament, made in the first of Henry the Fourth, and so the Bill of Attainder, without pressing any time of meeting for the Commons fell to speaking their Bill of Attainder, and April the 19, Voted the Earl guilty of High Treason.

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The Commons pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. And send up to the Lords for their concurrence.

The Commons petition against Papiests. With the Kings Answer.

upon Evidence of Secretary Vane, and his Notes. And upon the 25 day of the same Month, they read the Bill engrossed, and after that went to the Poll, and carried that way, notwithstanding the dissenting of the Lord Digby, and divers others; and that very Afternoon transmitted the Bill to the Lords, to whom it seemed so perplex a Business, that the Commons were fain to send Mr. St. John, the Kings Solicitor, to confer with them about it, who gave them such satisfaction, that thence forward they shewed greater propensity to the Earls Condemnation.

In the mean time, the Commons petitioned the King;

- First, For removing of all Papiests from Court.
- Secondly, For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.
- Thirdly, For disbanding the Irish Army.

The Kings Answer was;

First, They all knew what Legal Trust the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing, to assure them that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just Cause of Scandal.

As for the second, He is content it shall be done by Law.

And for the last, He had entered into Consultation about it, finding many difficulties therein; and doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he did conjure them speedily and heartily to join with him in disbanding those two here, Scots and English.

It will not be amiss here, to set down a Copy of the Bill of Attainder, which was read in presence of the Earl at the Bar.

Whereas the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, of the House of Commons, in this present Parliament Assembled, have in the Name of themselves, and of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas Earl of Strafford, of High Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the ancient Fundamental Laws and Government of his Majesties Realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government against Law, in the said Kingdoms; and for exercising a tyrannous and exorbitant Power over, and against the Laws of the said Kingdoms, over the Liberties, Estates, and Laws of his Majesties Subjects; And likewise for having by his own Authority, commanded the laying and assessing of Soldiers upon his Majesties Subjects in Ireland, against their consent, to compell them to obey his unlawful Commands and Orders, made upon Paper-Petitions, in Causes between Party and Party, which accordingly was executed upon divers of his Majesties Subjects in a Warlike manner, within the said Realm of Ireland; and in so doing, did levy War against the Kings Majesty, and his Liegepeople in that Kingdom.

And also, for that he upon the unhappy Dissolution of the last Parliament, did slander the House of Commons to his Majesty, and did counsel and advise his Majesty, that he was loosed and absolved from Rules of Government, and that he had an Army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom; For which he deserves to undergo the pains and Forfeitures of High Treason.

And the said Earl had been also an Incendiary of the Wars, between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland: All which Offences, have been sufficiently proved against the said Earl upon his Impeachment.

Be it therefore Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons, in this present Parliament Assembled, and by Authority of the same, That the said Earl of Strafford, for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforesaid, stand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and shall suffer such pain of Death, and incur the Forfeitures of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and Estate of Freehold, or Inheritance, in the said Kingdoms of England and Ireland, which the said Earl, or any other to his Use, or in Trust for him, have, or had at the day of the first sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since.

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Provided, That no Judge, or Judges, Justice, or Justices whatsoever, shall ad- judge, or interpret any Act, or Thing to be Treason; nor hear, nor determine any Treason for in any other manner then he, or they should, or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been had or made, preserving a ways unto all and singular Persons and Bodies Politick and Corporate, their Heirs and Successors (others than the said Earls and his Heirs, and such as claim by, from, or under him) all such Right, Title, and Interest, of, in, and to all and singular such of the said Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them had, before the first day of this present Parliament, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided, that the passing of this present Act, and his Majesties Assent thereunto, shall not be any determination of this present Sessions of Parliament, and all Bills and Matters whatsoever depending in Parliament, and not fully Enacted and determined, And all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which have their continuance until the end of this present Session of Parliament, shall remain, continue, and be in force, as if this Act had not been.

The King fearing the Conclusion, and willing to do some good Office to the Lord Lieutenant, calls both Houses together, *May* the first, and makes a Speech to them, telling them,

*That he had been present at the hearing of that great Cause; and that in his Conscience positively, he could not condemn him of High-Treason; And yet could not clear him of Misdemeanors; but hoped a way might be found out to satisfy Justice, and their Fear, without oppressing his Conscience. And so dismissed them with their great Discontent.*

*May* the second, the Prince of Orange (who had tarried here ever since the 20th of April) married the Princess Mary at White-Hall, with all the Solemnities appertaining to that Ceremony.

The Parliament had taken offence at the Kings last Speech in Defence of the Earl of Strafford, and this Dislike was now propagated so far, that *May* the Third, the Citizens, to the number of five thousand, most armed with Swords, Cudgels, and Staves, came thronging down to Westminster, crying out for Justice against the Earl of Strafford, specially applying themselves to the Earl of Manchester then Lord Chamberlain, by whose persuasions and promises their Heat was somewhat stayed. But yet they posted upon the Gate of Westminster a Catalogue of Names of those who would have acquitted the Earl, and these they styled *Straffordians*.

The Parliament upon Information given, that some Endeavours were used to breed a Dislike of their Proceedings in the English Northern Army, framed and took a National Protestation to maintain and defend with Life, Power, and Estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations: this was ordered to be printed and dispersed over all England.

*May* the fifth, the Lords certified the Commons, that they thought it the safest course to lay aside the Bill of Attainder, because it brought the King in for Judge; And the next day they fell upon the several Articles of his Impeachment, and voted the Earl guilty of High-Treason upon two of them, viz. the Fifteenth, for levying of Monies in Ireland by force in a Warlike manner; And the Nineteenth, for imposing an Oath upon the Subjects in Ireland.

The House of Commons had been busy about a Bill, for the Continuation of the Parliament, which by this time was completed; and being approved by the Lords, was tendered to the King to be signed together with the Bill of Attainder; who answered, That on Monday following he would satisfy them. Sunday following, the King spent the whole day in Consultation about the Earl of Straffords Case, with the Judges, and Bishops. The Judges told him, that in point of Law, (according to the Oath made by Sir Henry Vane of the Earls Advice, to raise Horse to awe this Nation) the Earl was guilty of Treason; but when he would have had them descend to the particulars of this Accusation, he found them shy in it; and all that he could get from them was, that upon the whole matter he was guilty. In the Evening, the five Bishops of Armagh, London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, were called in to the King, to satisfy his Conscience about the thing; all which agreed, that the King might shew mercy without any scruple, and that he could not condemn the Earl, if he did not conceive him guilty: And this as to matter of Fact; but as for matter of Law, he was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges.

At the Close of this Conference it was observed, that the Bishop of Lincoln conveyed a Paper into the Kings Hands, which what it did contain the rest knew not; but some have since believed it to be the Paper-promise which the King had formerly passed under his Hand to the Earl, to save him by his Prerogative; for Bishop Williams was observed to tamper with the Lieutenant of the Tower, and some other Persons, about the Earl;

The Kings Speech to both Houses, in behalf of the Earl.

The Prince of Orange married to the Princess Mary.

Petitioners against the Earl of Strafford, throng to Westminster.

The Parliaments Protestation, to defend the Protestant Religion.

The King consults with the Judges, about the Case of the Earl of Strafford, as to Matter of Law, and with the Bishop, as to matter of Conscience.

That

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That they should tell the Lordships, that the King did believe him guilty of High Treason; but yet he bound by his Conscience, from condemning him by a Promise made to him, (which indeed the King, in his former Speech, had made to the Commons) to hold his Life upon no other Merit then a bare Promise; and thus the King drew back to about the King from his Promise by Letter, and to part with the Earl, who was then delivered into his most Dangerous and Closest Enemy, the Bishop of London, by whom it was delivered to the King.

Monday the sixth, the King attended the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Treasurer, and others, for the passing of the two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament, and the other for the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford; and the same Day he sent Sir William Brouncker, Secretary of State, to acquaint the Earl with what was done, and the Kings intention, whereat he was greatly astonished, but the next Day the King being troubled with the Earl, who had written with his own Hands, and sent it by his own僕人, to the King, telling them, that whereas Justice had been satisfied in his Conscience, that he was not guilty of High Treason, yet he was now bound by his Promise, to condemn him; and that he might be desired to fulfill the Natural Court of Law, to release him from his Imprisonment, (requested by a Publick Act, provided however, that he should not be allowed to leave the Tower, but should be kept in Prison till Saturday; but nothing could be obtained in Favour of him, so that this, Thus the Lords said their purpose, was not to be done, but that the King should be desired to release him, and if himself had made any Provision for them, that the same should be done.

The Design he laid to have been laid for the Earls Delivery, as that Captain Bullock should have been received into the Tower with a Hundred Men, for the better Securing that place; as was pretended, but indeed to have conveyed the Earl into some habitable Region; for which purpose, his Brothers Ship was then in Readiness, not far off. As also that the Lord Deputy had agreed to give his Daughter in Marriage, with Twenty Thousand Pounds Portion, to Sir William Brouncker Son, upon Condition, That he being then Lieutenant of the Tower, would assent to his Escape: But Bullock, being Opposed by Sir William, and all other, endeavours proving fruitless, *May* the Twelfth, the Earl of Strafford was conveyed from the Tower, by a Guard, consisting of the Trained Bands, Matchless Men, Sheriff Officers, Wardens of the Tower; before him, went his Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, then followed he himself, with the Arch-Bishop of Armagh, and others. As he went to the place of his Execution, passing by the Arch-Bishop of Cambray, Lodging, and spying him in the Window, he called to him for his Prayers, and his blessing; but the Bishop at the sight of him in that Condition was so Dismaid, that for a good while he could not recollect himself; but being told of it, and reprehended by his Friends, as one who had shewed him if Guilty of an undecent Pusillanimity, he Replyed, That he could not but when that bitter Cup should come to his turn, he should taste it with a most Christian Courage.

The Earl being come to the Scaffold, Addressed his Speech to the Arch-Bishop of Armagh to

*That he was come to pay the last Debt he owed to Sin, with a good hope of rising again to himself; that he died willingly, forgave all, and submitted to Justice; but promised himself to give us to the Matter for which he died: He wished all Prosperity to the King and People, and acquitted him from the Guile of his Death, as having acted therein otherwise then as constrained; Advised his Adversaries to Repent of their violent Proceeding against him, with all telling them, that he thought it a strange way to write to the King, the Reformation and Settlement of the Kingdom; however he wished, that the Church of England, for whose Happiness he Prayed, and so Concluded that his last Speech, with increasing the Standers by, To pray for him: After he had ended, he knelt down to Prayer, and then rising up again, he took his last Leave of all his Friends, and particularly of his Brother Sir George Wentworth, by whom he left his Love to his Wife, and his Blessing to his Children, with a most strict Instruction to his only Son William Wentworth, Never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church. And then giving the Token to the Executioner, had his Head severed from his Body at the first stroke. After his Death, this Petition of his was found directed to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, wherein he thank't them for their good will to his Children, manifested in their fore-mentioned Answer to the Kings Letter.*

A design laid for the Earls escape out of the Tower.

The Earl of Strafford beheaded at Tower-Hill.

That

1641.

## The Humble Petition of Thomas late Earl of Strafford,

Sheweth,

The Copy of his Petition to the Lords.

THAT seeing it is the good Will and Pleasure of God, that your Petitioner is shortly to pay that Duty which we all owe to our frail Nature; he shall in all Christian Patience and Charity conform and submit himself to your Justice, in the Comfortable Assurance of the great Hope laid up for us in the Mercy and Merits of our Saviour, blessed for Ever. Only he humbly craves to return your Lordships most humble Thanks, for your noble Compassion toward those innocent Children, who now with his late Blessing, he must commit to the Protection of Almighty God, beseeching your Lordships to finish your Pious Intentions towards them: and Desiring that the Reward thereof may be fulfilled in you by him that is able to give above all that we are able either to ask or think.

Wherein I trust the Honourable House of Commons will afford their Christian Assistance, and for beseeching your Lordships Charity to forgive all his Omissions and Infirmities; he doth very heartily and truly recommend your Lordships to the Mercies of your Heavenly Father, and that for his goodness may perfect you in every good Work.

This was the end of that great and able Minister of State, who is reported, when he heard the King had signed the Bill of Attainder, to have lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and clapping his Hand upon his Heart, to have Grieved out (perhaps in imitation of Cardinal Wolsey's Complaint) *Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men; For in them is no Salvation.* And certainly he had heard measure to be made Guilty of High-Treason, by a Bill fram'd on purpose to that Effect, without former President, inasmuch, that the manner of his Condemnation hath given the apparent Suspicion of design upon his Life: and that which renders the Matter the more strange is, that from the Supreme Court of Judicature, which is call'd together for the rectifying of Law and Justice, an Act should proceed of the Justice, whereof so little satisfaction was given to the World: For as for his Majesty's Consent, it is most certain, That it was in a manner Extorted, and, as it were, by a fatal Necessity and Constraint.

The Death of this powerful Man so started the other great Officers of State, that hoping for more security in retirements, many of them resigned their Places; the Lord Cottington, Master of the Wards, to the Lord Say; and Bishop Juxon, Lord Treasurer, to five Commissioners; the Earl of Leicester was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and Marquis Hertford was made Governor of the Prince, and the Earl of Essex Lord Chamberlain of the Kings House-hold instead of the Earls of Newcastle and Pembroke.

In the mean time Discontents arose between the Parliament and the English Army in the North, and that upon this occasion. The Chief Commanders and Field Officers being at Whitehall, and Members of either Houses, Sir Jacob Ashley had the Command of the Army. It was Voted the Nineteenth of June, That the Scots should receive one hundred thousand Pounds (of their three hundred thousand Pounds) at Midsummer next, 1642, and the rest at Midsummer 1643, but they pretending present Wants, required by Writing Twenty-Five Thousand Pounds (Ten Thousand Pounds more then was in readiness for them); whereupon the Parliament deducted Ten Thousand Pounds (out of the Fifty Thousand Pounds which was designed for the English Army) to be sent unto them, to the great Discontent of the Lord Percy, Commissary General of the North, and Colonel Ashburnham (Officers of the English Army, and then Members of the House) to that William openly said, That if such Papers of the Scots could produce Monies, he doubted not but the Officers of the English Army would soon do the like: but notwithstanding the Parliament continued in their Resolutions, and the English Army thinking themselves neglected, constantly affirmed, That the Parliament had disobliged them. The forenamed Officers combining together, and swearing mutual Secrecy, made up a kind of a Juncto among themselves, drawing up a Petition to King and Parliament.

First, For Money for the Army.

Secondly, For not Disbanding before the Scots.

Thirdly, For preserving Bishops Votes and Functions.

And fourthly, For settling the Kings Revenue.

The Army, whose Minds and Affections were not Different from this Juncto, Met at Burrough Bridge, and drew up a Petitionary Letter to this Effect.

That all good men ought to thank God, for directing the Kings Heart to satisfy the Desires of his Parliament, by delivering up into their Hands the chiefest of his Councillours and Servants, and many other things, to gratify them, never done by any of his Ancestors; by Petition of Right,

Triennial

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A Triennial Parliament, and such like; yet that some turbulent Spirits, backt by rude and tumultuous Mechanics, seemed not to be satisfied without the total subversion of the Government of State, &c. That therefore the Army, so orderly Governed, though without Martial Law, no Payment, and few Officers, might be called to attend the safety of the King's Person, and Parliaments Security, or that both Armies should be Disbanded for the Ease of the Kingdom; with a desire, to procure the Officers Hands therunto, the chief Actors, Sir James Ashley, Sir John Corbett, Sir Faulk Hunkes, Colonel Vavasor, Chudleigh, William Legg, Oudal, and others, were all examined about it: but none suffered for it: Jermin was thought to have had a hand in this Business, but he was conveyed over Sea.

The payment of Tunnage and Poundage had been stomached ever since the year 1628. (at what time a sharp Remonstrance was drawn up against it) but now the King, at the Request of the House of Commons, was content to relinquish his Claim to it, and after that, passed the Three Bills, the one for Imposing the Tax of Poll-Money upon the People; and the other two for Putting down the Courts of the Star-Chamber and High-Commission; the first he did willingly, the other two not without such reluctance, as produced some dayes delay.

The Queen-Mother of France having stay'd here in England as long as she conveniently could, takes Leave, and is conveyed over into Holland by the Earl of Arundell; who being a Roman Catholic, and finding his own Country too hot for such, procured himself that Employment, together with leave to remain beyond Seas during his own Pleasure; from Holland, they came at length to Callen in Germany, where both the Earl, and that unfortunate aged Princess ended their Lives.

This year the King, with consent of Parliament, published a Manifesto in favour of the Prince Electour Palatine Cause, and entrusted it to his Ambassadour Sir Thomas Roe, whom he sent over into Germany to assist his Nephew at the Diet of Ratisbon.

And now comes the times for the Delivery of the Northern Counties, the Parliament agreeing to Disband both Armies there; wherefore in February it was Agreed, That the Scots Ships taken since that War should be restored, and Four thousand Pounds given towards a Supply of the Loffes and Necessities of their Dear (or rather Dear) Brethren of Scotland; for all which the Scots return Thanks, but especially for the Honour and Title of Brethren which the Parliament had given them; notwithstanding all this Gate taken such Occasions intervened, that they stay'd in England till there was an Agreement to them of an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds over and above the foresaid sum; and then, August the sixth, both Armies were Disbanded, but the Scots better payed, and for present they escaped (as we say) Scotfree; but afterwards they made Amends for all and payed a sufficient Reckoning.

During the twenty eighth last past, Doctor Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Dean of the Kings Chappell, had been Charged with Treasonable Misdemeanours in his Diocess; And July the fifth, his Charge was perfected against him by the Committee; and reported to the House of Commons, who thereupon Voted him unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any Office or Dignity in the Church or Common-Wealth; and moreover, desired the Lords to joyn with them, to Request the King for his Removal from his Service, and so he was Committed to the Tower; and the five Ship-Money Judges, Judge Bramston, Baron Treasurer, Baron Wylton, Baron Davenport, and Judge Crawley, were now Questioned for their several Opinions about that Business, but to Judge Barkly, Charge was laid High-Treason.

About this time Sir Robert Harlow was Employed by the House of Commons for the putting down and defacing all scandalous Pictures, Croffes and Figure; within the Churches, and upon Signs and Sign-posts: A worthy Reformation!

Peace being made with the Scots, the King resolved to ingratiate himself with that Nation, and (if possible) to make himself some Friends there; which might be useful to him, in case a Breach should happen at home; and therefore gave notice to the Houses of his Intention to Journey to Scotland, and to set out upon the tenth of August, which he did, having first passed the Bill for Knight-hood, and free-making of Salt-Peter and Gunpowder, and for the Earl of Essex to be General of all his Forces on this side Trent, with Power to raise Souldiers in case of Necessity; but Pembroke and Salisbury could not obtain their desired Places of high Steward and Treasurer. And because the great Affairs of State necessarily required to speedily a passing of some Bills, as would no admit of tarrying his Return; he therefore Committed the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Lindsey, Essex, Dorset, and Bath, to sign Bills in his Absence. The day before his Journey, the Parliament was taken up with such important Business, that they were Necessitated to sit all Sunday from Morning to Night; but to shew that they meant it not for a President, they published in Print, That for many urgent Occasions they thought it Necessary to sit, and did declare so much, that no inferior Court or Council, or any person, may draw this into Example, for their Encouragement in neglecting the due observation of the Sabbath; and then adjourned till the twentieth of October, appointing a Committee of fifty Commons.

This year was unlucky to the King, for in it were the seeds of our unparrelled intestine War sown; and the Irish Rebellion commenced, though designed some years before, as we shall come to relate.

Sir William Parsons and Sir John Berkeley had been made Lords Justices of Ireland, upon the Imprisonment of the Earl of Strafford, late Lord Lieutenant; and the Death of Mr. Wandesford his Deputy.

These

The Queen-Mother departs out of England,

The King sent Sir Thomas Roe to the Diet at Ratisbon to assist his Nephew,

Both Armies are disbanded by the Parliament.

Bishop Wren committed to the Tower, together with the five Judges that were for Ship-Money.

Sir Robert Harlow appointed to pull down Superstitious Pictures.

The King takes a Journey into Scotland.

Lords Justices manage the Affairs of Ireland.

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A bloody Re-  
bellion break-  
forth in Ireland.

These applied themselves to give contentment to the Irish by all gentle means, incouraging the Parliament then sitting there, to increase the Redrawing of their Grievances, and particularly they granted the Subsidies from Forty Thousand Pounds (as they were in *Stafford's* time) to Twelve Thousand Pounds; and also were content by Act of Parliament, to settle all Estates of Land in the Kingdom, which had been quietly enjoyed for the space of sixteen years; and to resignish certain the English and Title which the King had to the four Counties in *Connacht*; and some other Territories in *Monaghan*, and the County of *Clare*; Acting wholly by advice of the Council, without admitting any Papers, Petitions, or Bills in civil Causes. But the Irish plainly shewed by their subsequent courses, the baseness and Turbulence of their Natures, which were not to be gained upon by sweetness and Lenity; for towards the latter end of *October*, they had concerted themselves to suddenly, and so handled their Matters, that all was ready to burst into a flame; and they had almost made themselves Masters of the greatest part of the Kingdom before the Lords Justices were aware of it. And the Castle of *Dublin* it self should have been seized upon, on the twenty third of *October*, 1641, upon which day this Horrid Rebellion broke forth. Sir *William Coole* had before suspected some such thing, and therefore had written to the Lords Justices, certifying the great reform made to Sir *Phelim O'Neale* in the County of *Tirone*, and to the Lord *Mac Guire* in the County of *Foranagha*, and that *Mac Guire* had been frequently with the English Catholics of the English pale, and was ever busied in Letters and Dispatches. The same Sir *William* also acquainted the Lords Justices, *October* the 1. of the Design to Murder the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, and thereof the Protestants there, to seize upon the Castle and City of *Dublin*, and then upon all the other places of strength in the Kingdom.

But this Intelligence came not to their Hands, not any other, till the Evening of the day of Rebellion. That day the Conspirators met at *Dublin* in the *Eden-Tavern*, where they consulted about their Plot, and that Heildis upon their knees to the good Success of it; but while they were so Jovial and Confident, *Owen O'Conally*, a Gentleman of a meek Irish Family, but a Royalist to Sir *John Clonworthy*, discovers their Rebellion to the Lord Justice *Parsons* about nine of the Clock at Night, but in such a broken manner, that little could be gathered out of his Relation; whereupon he was sent back to learn from *Mac Mahon* (with whom he had been before) something further about it; where he so played his part, that he returns (though with a great deal of Hazard) with sufficient Instructions: but the double diligence of the Watch had like to have marred all, for *Conally* was coming back, they seized him, and would have lodged him in the Prison that Night, had he not been rescued by one of the Lord Justice *Parsons* servants, who was purposely sent out to what might be the Reason of his carrying longer than his prefixed time.

Being admitted into the presence of the Lord Justice, and Sir *Thomas Rotham*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* (for the Lord Justice *Parsons* after he had heard his first News, had ordered strong Guards in every Corner, and had sent for the two last, who were Members of the Council to see him at the Lord Justice *Parsons* House) he gave in this Account upon Oath.

O'Conally's relation concerning the Plot.

That being at *Monimore*, in the County of *Londonderry*, on Thursday last, he received a Letter from Colonel *Hugh Oge Mac Mahon*, desiring him to come to *Connacht*, in the County of *Monaghan*, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this Examinant, came to *Connacht* on Wednesday night last, and finding the said *Hugh* come to *Dublin*, followed him thither. He came about six of the Clock in the Evening, and forthwith went to the Lodging of the said *Hugh*, to the House near the Boat *Oxman Town*, and there he found the said *Hugh*, and came with the said *Hugh* into the Town, near the Pillory, to the Lodging of the Lord *Mac Guire*, where they found not the Lord within, and there they drank a Cup of Beer, and then went back again to the said *Hugh* his Lodging. He saith, That at the Lord *Mac Guire* his Lodging, the said *Hugh* told him, That there were, and would be this Night great numbers of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Irish Papists from all the parts of the Kingdom in this Town, who with himself had determined to take the Castle of *Dublin*, and possess themselves of all his Majesty's Ammunition there to Morrow Morning, being Saturday; and that they intended first to batter the Chimnies of the said Town, and if the City would not yield, then to batter down the Houses, and to cut off all the Protestants that would not join with them. He further saith, That the said *Hugh* then told him, That the Irish had prepared Men in all parts of the Kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to Morrow Morning by ten of the Clock; and that in all the Sea-Ports, and other Towns in the Kingdom, all the Protestants should be killed this Night, and that all the Posts that could be, could not prevent it: And further saith, That he moved the said *Hugh* to forbear executing of that Business, and to discover it to the State, for the saving of his own Estate; who said he could not help it. But said, That they did owe their Allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his Rights, but that they did this for the tyrannical Government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a Privilege by that course.

1641.

Mac Guire, and  
Mac Mahon  
said op.

And he further saith, When he was with the said *Hugh* in his Lodging the second time, the said *Hugh* swore that he should not go out of his Lodging that Night, but told him, that he should go with him the next morning to the Castle; and said, If this matter were discovered, some body should dye for it. Whereupon this Examinant feigned some necessity for his Easement, went down out of the Chamber, and left his Sword in Pawn; and the said *Hugh* sent his Man down with him; and when this Examinant came down into the Yard, and found an opportunity, he this Examinant leaped over a Wall and two Pales, and so came to the Lord Justice *Parsons*.

This was a seasonable Discovery; for the greatest part of the Conspirators were then gotten into the City, and should have had for their assistance Twenty from each County in *Ireland*; and all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom that were Papists were engaged in the Plot; so now it was high time for the Lords Justices to look about them, whereupon they set a Watch privately upon the Lodgings of *Mac Guire* and *Mac Mahon*, and sat up all that Night in Consultation, and early the next Morning came to them several others of the Privy Council. The first thing was to seize upon *Mac Mahon* and his Man; *Hugh* without much difficulty acknowledged the whole matter; telling them, That upon that very day all the Forts and strong places in *Ireland* would be taken, and that it was impossible to be prevented; and however they used him now in their Power, his Blood would be revenged.

Then order was taken for apprehending the Lord *Mac Guire* and others then in the City; to the number of Thirty, the rest being befriended by the Citizens, escaped over the River, among whom were *Hugh Birn*, and *Roger More*, and *Plunket*, and *Fox*. The next day the Lords Justices and Council (who had for better Security removed into the Castle) proclaimed the Discovery of this Notorious Plot, requiring all good Subjects to prepare for Defence, and give them Advertisement of all Passages happening in their respective Counties, and to take care that no Levies be made under pretence of foreign Service, nor any suffered to March upon any such Account. And to close the day, the Lord *Blaney* comes to *Dublin*, and brings News that the Rebels were already risen in *Monaghan*, and had surprized his House with his Wife and Children; and next day Sir *Arthur Teringham* gives them Notice of the taking of the *Nemry*; after which, Messengers upon Messengers bring Relations of the increase of the Rebels in *Ulster*, and their horrible Massacres of the English in all Places where they came. *Dublin* it self began now to tremble for fear of them, which was increased by false Rumours spread abroad, (some through mistakes, others on purpose,) of their Multitudes and near Approaches to the City; the Council therefore first makes Sir *Francis Willoughby* Governour of the Castle, and then took into their Consideration how they were provided of Money, Arms, and Munition: For the first, it was soon found that there was no Money in the Exchequer; but for Arms and Munition, the Stores were indifferently furnished at this time, there being Arms near for Ten Thousand men, Fifteen Hundred Barrells of Powder, with Match and Lead proportionably, besides several Pieces of Artillery of divers sorts.

The whole standing Army in *Ireland* consisting onely of 41 Companies of Foot, each Company containing 44 Souldiers; and 14 Troops of Horse, each Troop containing Fifty eight Troopers, only the Lord Lieutenant and the Earl of *Ormond* had one hundred and seventeen apiece. The Forces were so dispersed up and down the Land in Garrisons so remote from one another, that it was impossible to draw a considerable number together without apparent danger of their being intercepted by the Rebels before they could unite with one another. Yet invincible necessity forced the Council to send for some Companies and Troops to march up from their several Quarters, to the Defence of the City of *Dublin*. And having to done, then sent away Dispatches to the King (then in *Scotland*) by Sir *Henry Spotswood*; and to the Lord Lieutenant then in *London*, by *Owen O'Conally*; certifying them of the Rebellion and ill state of the Kingdom, and that they depended on the assistance of God and the old English Pale, and of help from *England*; and how they were necessitated to prorogue the Parliament, and Adjourn the Term. They also requested, that *Owen O'Conally* might be nobly Rewarded for his faithful Service in discovering the Plot.

The Earl of *Ormond* lying at his House at *Carick*, was sent for with all hast to repair to *Dublin* with his Troop and the Viscounts of *Clandeboy* and *Ardes*, and Sir *William Stewart*, and Sir *Robert Stewart*, and other Gentlemen of Quality in the North, had Commissions sent them by Sea for raising the Scots there inhabiting, with Power either to destroy the Enemy, or receive them to Mercy.

The Lords of the English Pale at the Council Board made great Protestations of their Faith and Loyalty to the King, and of what they would do for him in this War: yet some of them being Papists, came thither two or three dayes after, and told the Lords Justices and the Council, That they thought those words in the late Proclamation of the Discovery, *Viz.* That Conspiracy of evil affected Irish Papists, did reflect upon them: wherefore they required that those Words might be better explained for their Satisfaction, and that by Proclamation, Which was accordingly done, to remove all pretence of Quarrell.

Forces raised  
to go against  
the Rebels.The Earl of  
Ormond and  
others receive  
Commission to  
raise more  
Forces.

1641.

The Chief  
Heads of this  
Rebellion.

All Ulster (except the Cities London-Derry and Coleraine; and the Town and Castle of Eniskillen) was by this time gotten into the hands of the Rebels, whose chief Commanders were these; Sir Phelim O Neale (the chief of that Sect, and nearest Heir of the late rebellious Earl of Tyrone,) Turbott O Neale his Brother, Rommy Mac Guire Brother to the Lord Mac Guire, Phil-Tyrone, Turbott O Neale his Brother, Sir Cahir Mac Gormley, Cahir Mac Briam, and Mac Mahon, Sir Philip O Neale was Generalissimo, a Man of the same parts with Phocas the Tyrannicall Emperor of Constantinople, neither Valiant nor Merciful, a bloody minded man, and false of his word; for whosoever yielded to him though upon promise of fair quarter, were surely murdered in cold blood. With the Scotch Planters he colluded, till the English were extirpated out of the Province, and then marched towards their chief Plantation near Lisnagarry, and utterly destroyed it. He had left sufficient Forces to fall upon Dandalka in the County of Louth with the Pale, and took it; yet long they stayed not there, but pierced further into Louth, coming within seven Miles of Tredagh.

The Lord Moore  
keeps Tredagh  
against the  
Rebels.

Here was the first Check given to the Rebels; hitherto all places had yielded to them, and so might Tredagh have been compelled to have done, had not the Lord Viscount Moore (hearing of the News of the Surprissal of his Sister the Lady Blaney and her Children) retired thither for safety with his Troop of Horse, and two Companies of Foot at midnight. Being there, he joynts in Council with the Major, to prevent Mischief both from abroad and within; for even there also was Danger; for besides sundry ill affected Persons in the Town, Sir John Nettleton who commanded one of the fore-named Companies, had a Design to begin a Mutiny that Night he was to be upon the Watch; but was prevented by his Lordships Prudence. The old Pieces were drawn out and scowred, and planted at several Gates, and four others were heaved out of a Marchants Ship of the Harbour, with some Powder. The Lord Moore makes a Journey to Dublin, where he declares the weak Condition of the Town, and the disloyalty of the Inhabitants, to the Lords Justices: Whereupon it was resolved, That a Regiment should be raised for the relief of the Town: In the mean time the place was greatly distressed by the Rebels, who after taking of Ardee, Droghda, and other Holds thereabouts, were come nearer unto it.

A Solemn Fast is therfore kept, after which some Forces make a stout Salley upon a party of the Rebels whom they routed; and brought away with them many Plundered Goods and Cows, with two hundred and eighty prisoners; and made a Shift to defend themselves till Sir Henry Tichborne came from Dublin with a Commission to be Governour of the Town, who brought with him an Hundred Horse and a Thousand Foot, which had been raised there at the instance of the Lord Moore, and that by a happy Opportunity of the Vice-Treasurers having Three Thousand pounds in readines in his hands at that time, which was to have been sent over into England for the satisfaction of a Publick Engagement there: And soon after this, the State added three Companies of Foot more, so that besides the Town Arms, they were compleat (the Lord Moors Forces being reckoned in) Fifteen hundred Foot, and a hundred and sixty Horse, which was but cold comfort to Sir Phelim O Neale and his Complices. The Rebels were at first so confident of Success, that they had framed a Declaration, which should have been published after they had done the Work: In it, after a great Profession of their constant Allegiance to the King and his Successors, they fall foul upon the Parliament of England; which, as they said, had designed the Ruine both of the King and them.

First, Of the King, by drawing his Prerogative out of his hand.  
Secondly, Of the Irish, by plotting to extinguish their Religion, Jew, and to raze the Name of Catholics and Irish out of the whole Kingdome, by sending over the Scottish Army into Ireland; wherupon they the said Irish resolved to perfect the Advancement of Truth and Safety of their Country, and to favour the Regaining of his Majesties Prerogative. This Declaration was found in Tredagh dropped in the Street in the Night-time.

At Dublin the Lords Justices and Councell gave a Commission to Sir Charles Coote, to raise a compleat Regiment of a Thousand Men, which in a short time they did; the greatest part of them were Those who came up from the North stripped and spoiled by the Rebels, and lifted themselves out of a desire of Revenge.

November the fifth, the Lords and Councell of Ireland sent their second Letter to the King in Scotland, and to the Parliament and Councell and Lord Lieutenant in England; so that now both King and Parliament had received two Dispatches from them concerning the Originall and Growth of this Rebellion.

The first arrived at London the last of October, and was that evening delivered, and next Morning were conducted down from the House of Lords to the House of Commons by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, Lord high Chamberlain, Lord Admirall, Lord Marshall, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Bath, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Leicester, Earl of Holland, Earl of Berke, Earl of Bristol, Lord Vicount Sny, Lord Mandevill, Lord Goring, Lord Wilmot, all of them being of the Kings Privy Councill. Chaires were provided for these Lords to sit while the Letters were read, and then giving what Information they could concerning the Irish Affairs, they departed, leaving the Commons to consider further of them, who instantly Ordered,

That the House be presently resolved into a Committee, to take into Consideration the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in Ireland: As likewise, To provide for the safety of the Kingdome of England. And then falling into a serious Debate, Voted,

The Parliament  
take Care  
to send over  
Money and men  
into Ireland.

1642.

That Fifty thousand Pounds be forthwith provided.  
That the Lords be moved, that Members of both Houses may declare to the City of London that they have received Fifty thousand pounds to be bestowed by Act of Parliament.  
That a Committee of both Houses consider of the affairs of Ireland.  
That Owen O Connally, the Defender, shall have Fifty thousand pounds presently, and two hundred pounds per annum for his Life, and provision of Land of inheritance of a greater Estate.  
That the Persons of all Papists of Quality in England be secured.  
That no Person (except such as shall be in Ireland without a Certificate from the said Committee) shall be admitted into England.

To all which the Lords Consented.

Then the House of Commons Voted, Twenty thousand pounds for present supply, to be delivered in manner of Ships for supplying the Sea-Coasts of Ireland.  
That Sir John Nettleton, and Sir Philip O Neale, and other Rebels, be forthwith raised for Ireland, and Officers to be appointed over them.  
That Negotiations of Rebels be forthwith sent to West, Chertsey, to be sent to Dublin, as occasion shall require.  
That the Lord Justices in Castle do forthwith sit over to Knock-Fergus in Ireland.  
That the King Councill consider of a provision for Rewards to such as shall do service in Ireland, and for a Reward to such Rebels as shall submit within a time, and of a Sum of Money for Rewards to bring in the Heads of the principal Rebels.  
That Letters be sent to the Lords Justices there.  
That the Committee do consider (both And in what manner, to make use of Scotland here).  
And a Bill to be prepared for Pressing of Soldiers for Ireland.  
An Ordinance passed, For the better supply of Ireland, to raise Three thousand more Militia Foot, and the hundred Horse, and not to press our dear brethren of Scotland further then for the Irish and not to pass from Scotland to the North of Ireland; And Arms to be delivered out by the Master of the Ordnance out of the store for Ireland for Eight thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse.

This was the Effect of the first Letter.

Upon which the Parliament Voted Two hundred thousand pounds, and passed the following Ordinance:  
The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, having a due regard to the good affections of the City of London, expressed upon sumary occasions, by the Advancing and Lending of great Sums of Money for the Service of the Common Wealth; and particularly the Sum of 20000 L. Lent for the Irish Affairs, and the Sum of 50000 L. more Lent by the said City, unto the Lords attending his Majesty in the Northern parts, before the beginning of this present Parliament, which are not yett payed, or otherwise paid, shall be fully furnished and repayed unto the said City of London, with interest of 8 L. per Cent. for one year, out of such monies as are or shall be raised by authority of Parliament. And for that purpose, an Act of Parliament to be passed with all expedition, Provided always, That this present Ordinance shall not in any wise be prejudiciall to any Members of the said House of Commons, who have formerly Lent any Sums of Money to this Parliament, nor to the Northern Counties, nor to any persons, whatsoever, to whom both Houses of Parliament, or the said House of Commons have formerly Ordered the payment of any Sums of Money, nor any Security given to them, before the making of this Ordinance.

In which the Lords Justices and Councill were very careful about Visiting the Castle of Dublin, and issued out Commissions of Martiall Law to take all persons of Quality, though Papists, delivering them Arms and Ammunition, as the Lord Vicount Goring, and others, whom they would not trust to suspect, hoping thereby to oblige them to be faithful: yet in vain, for they appeared afterwards not only actual Abettors of the Rebellion, but also Principall Officers of it. Yet were they for the present impowred, to use Fire and Sword for the destruction of

The Lords  
Justices issue  
out Commissions  
of Martiall Law.

1641.

Dublin in some  
fear of Sur-  
prizall.

of the Rebels and their Adherents, and also to preserve the Lives of any of them, and to receive any of them into his Majesty's Mercy and Favour.

Dublin it self was about this time endangered, by reason that Four hundred Irish Soldiers, under the Command of Colonel John Barry, lay imbarqued within the Harbour of Dublin, under pretence of setting sail for the King of Spain's Service. These Men should have been assistant at the Surprizall of the City and Cattle; which failing, they still continued hovering there, to the great Terror of the Protestants within the City; and their Vignalls being now sent, they desired leave to land, to get Provision; which was at length granted to them, but both they and all other suspected persons were forbidden to come to Dublin, or continue there without just and necessary Cause. The City by this time was indifferently well strengthened with the Regiments of Sir Charles Coote and the Lord Lambert, and the Troops of the Earl of Ormonde, Sir Thomas Lucas, Captain Armstrong, and Captain Turner. and care was taken for the raising of a Regiment which was to be Commanded by Colonel Cranford a Scottish-man who was recommended to them by the Prince Electour.

The Parlia-  
ment of Ireland  
sit, but pre-  
sently adjourn.

The private  
defence of the  
Popish Lords.

November the 17. the Parliament of Ireland sat, and made a Prohibition against the Catholics; whom the Popish Members would not endure to sit. Rebels; scarcely giving way, that they should be called ill affected to the Peace, and men who traytelously and Rebeliously had raised Arms. And it was ordered, they should be treated with but their growing proud with their Northern Successes, contemptuously tore the Order and better of the Parliament, and sent back a most insolent Answer; and after two dayes Session, this Parliament was Adjourned.

The Lord Dillon of Castle, and the Lord Ruff had been deputed by the Parliament Lords to carry over to the King their Advice concerning the readiest means for Quenching the Irish Flames. They had also some other Instructions (more private) from the Popish Lords to Negotiate the stopping of those Forces which were to be sent out of England; In their Passage a Storm took them, and drove them into Scotland, from whence they posted towards London. But for all their Cunning and Spectious Artifice, the Parliament had gotten some intelling of their Treachery, and therefore caused their Papers to be seized at Dover, and their Persons to be committed; yet afterwards (dissension arising between the King and Parliament) they found means to escape, and with one Burk who came over for the same purpose followed the Court at York; where insinuating into the Kings Favour, they perswaded him to hope for great matters from the Irish, and to think better of them.

The Lords  
Justices send  
an account of  
the Irish Af-  
fairs to the  
Earl of Lei-  
cesters, Lord  
Deputy, with  
his Answer.

The Earl of Leicester, as we have elsewhere said, was after Strafford's death made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; To him the Lords Justices and Council having lately made Sir Charles Coote Governor of Dublin, send now more particular account of the Irish Affairs: Who Adverseth them, that he had acquainted the King at Edinburgh with all their Dispatches, and that the Parliament by order from the King had undertaken the Charge and Management of the War; and had appointed three several Ports of England, Viz. Bristol, West-Christen, and one other in Cumberland, for Magazines and Store-Houses for several parts of Ireland; and that they would hasten their Succours, and likewise intreat his Majesty to encourage all such as shall upon their own Charges advance any Forces for the Service, by rewarding them honourably with Lands of Inheritance; and that the Heads of the principal Traytors might be Prized.

The Earl of  
Ormonde is made  
Lieutenant  
General of the  
Forces there.

After this, the Lord Lieutenant, yet not willing to go to his Government in Ireland, Committed the Earl of Ormonde to be Lieutenant General of the Forces there; which Charge was committed to him by the King in Scotland; and for his greater Encouragement Twenty Thousand pounds were sent over to him.

The Lord  
Moor's constan-  
cy exasperated  
the Rebels  
against him.

November the 21. Sir Henry Tichburn, Governor of Tredagh, sent an Express to Dublin, to give Notice that the Rebels were within sight of the Town, by whom he expected a present Siege. The Irish sent one Captain Stapley and the County Sheriff as Commissioners to Treat with the Town, as was pretended, but indeed to spy their Actions; yet were they received for protracting the time till Returns came from Dublin. Their coming to the Lord Moor, made large expressions of the Generall affection which the Catholics bore to him, Countessing him to retreat to his House Malleson, proffering to make him General of all Munster and Leinster, and to make him and his Tenants for all Damages received upon Condition that he would side with them; which yet he nobly refused, and having intelligence of the Treachery of some of the Lords of the Pale, prevented about a Thousand Arms in their way, which were directed to them by the Lords Justices, who were ignorant of their Projects, and Five hundred Arms which had been granted to the Lord Gormonston upon his Petition being way laid by the Enemy were returned by the Lord Malleson, and brought into Tredagh; with a Fortnight's pay for the Regiments; after which the Lord Moor came to Dublin, and offered to raise Six hundred men with Cloath and pay all Supplies from England; upon condition that Four Companies in Tredagh would be long to any certain Regiments, might be added to his, to complete the number of a Thou- sand.

These Passages of his so enraged the Rebels, that they presently sent a party of Thirteen hundred Foot to Malleson, who after a pretty tough Resistance from fifteen Troopers, and four, and twenty Musketeers, and the loss of a hundred and forty of their Men, mastered the House, which they plundered and defaced; to the loss of Two thousand pounds, murdered an Old Gentleman of Eighty years of Age and a blind Man, and stripped the Women and so departed. And when the Parliament sent to Treat with them, their Conditions were so high and insolent, as shewed that they

A. they had no thoughts of Peace, desiring among other things, That they might have a Deputy of their own Nation.

The Rumour of the O'Relys Rising in the County of Caran, and advancing towards Tredagh, joined with the consideration of Sir Henry Tichburns late Letters, so wrought upon the Council of Dublin, that the designed Supplies were halted, being six hundred Foot commanded by Major Rooper, and fifty Horse of the Earl of Ormonde's Troop, commanded by Sir Patrick Weames, who making less speed then was convenient, both mist the opportunity of meeting with Sir Henry Tichburn, (who was marched out of Tredagh to secure their march) and by reason of a Fog stumbled upon two thousand of the Enemy near Gillingston Bridge, whom they descreyed not till they were within Muskett shot. Sir Patrick Weames not trusting to the carriage of the new raised and inexperienced Foot, and perceiving the Enemies to be treble their number, wheeled about with his party of Horse, and came safe to Tredagh; but Major Rooper fought, and was overpowered, yet he and one Captain Moor escaped thither also with a hundred of their men. This Victory so much bragg'd of, was achieved by the Rebels, under the Conduct of Roger Moor, Hugh Birn, and Philip O'Rely upon the 29 of November.

Unto the Lords of the Pale had pretended great Loyalty and Affection to the Kings Service; but now they begin to shew themselves open Correspondents with the Irish, Gormonston summons the County to a General Meeting at Dulke, and after to the Hill of Crossly, where all the Lords and Gentry met to the number of a thousand, and spending two or three hours in Consultation, there came towards them Colonel Mahon, Philip O'Rely, Hugh Boy-Rich, Roger Moor, Hugh Birn, and Captain Ege, attended on with a Guard of Musketeers, who in the Names of the Northern Irish, entered into an Association with them, to live and die in the same Cause. And after this they met again at the Hill of Tredagh, where they deliberated about answering the Summons sent them from Dublin, for their appearance there. And thus was the Confederation perfected, which had been long hammered between the Lord Gormonston, and Roger Moor. The Northern Rebels encamped within the River of Boyne, and from all enterprize between Tredagh and Dublin; so that the City being greatly distressed, the Council assembled and sent to the Lords of the Pale, to desire them to repair thither, to confer about the present State of the Kingdom, and its safety. But the Lord of Gormonston, in the name of the rest, returns this Answer:

1641.  
A party of the  
English, who  
to the worst by  
the Rebels.

The Lords of  
the Pale prove  
false.

The Lords Ju-  
stices Message  
to the Lords  
of the Pale.  
(With the Lord  
Gormonstons  
Answer.

That understanding Sir Charles Coote the Governour, had declared his Intention at the Council Board, to execute a general Massacre upon those of their Religion, they were constrained to stand upon their Guard, for they knew Sir Charles's mind, by his late Cruelties at Wicklow and Santry.

Indeed Sir Charles, about the time of Gillingston Fight, had marched into the County of Wicklow, against the Birnes and the Tooles (who had committed several Outrages upon the English Inhabitants, and possessed themselves of the chief Forts, and Places of strength thereabouts.) And cutting the Town of Wicklow, executed some few Men, and one Woman, for Murders proved upon them; and in his return, beat Luke Toole, who with a thousand Irish, would have intercepted him. And the Buifness of Santry was this;

The Officers of the Army were informed of a certain Robbery, committed by some of the Rebels within five miles of the City; and of the Murder of one Mr. Derrick Huberth a Dutch Merchant; whereupon two Officers, with forty Foot, were commanded out against those Rebels, having the Informer for their Guide, who led them directly to Santry, where finding some Strangers with Weapons, lodged in suspicious places, they flew out of them; and this was termed a Massacre.

The Lord Gormonston having sent in the fore-mentioned Answer to the Lords Justices, the General of the Pale assembled in Arms, and gathered great Numbers of Men unto them, the Command of whom was conferred upon Luke Nutterville, second Son to the Lord Nutterville, who presently quarters his Souldiers at Smorrah, within six miles of Dublin; the Lords of the Council issued out an Order, December 9. for their separating, with a Command, that Nine of the principal of them, should repair to them by Ten of the Clock the next day.

These Summons they not only refused to obey, but also threatened to come down and encamp at Clonsilla, a little Village standing upon the very Harbour of Dublin, most commodious for the blocking it up, and stopping all Relief from England from coming to that City. By these Actions, the incination of the Pale was manifested; so now the Maske is taken off. The Lord Gormonston is declared General of the Forces within the Pale, Hugh Birn Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of Fringale General of the Horse; and all things there tend to the forming of a considerable Army.

About the time of the Kings return from Scotland, the Lords Justices sent fresh Advertisements of their Condition, and of the daily increase of the Rebels, to the Lord-Lieutenant; with their Desire, That seeing Scotland had been lately in Arms, and consequently was well provided for War, Ten Thousand Men might be sent from thence to their Relief.

Those of the  
Pale are in-  
creased, by ad-  
ditional For-  
ces, under the  
Command of  
Luke Nutterville.

They refuse  
the Lords Ju-  
stices Sum-  
mons, and  
form an Army.

The Lords Ju-  
stices desire  
10000 Men to  
be sent them  
out of Scotland.

1640.

Which at length is resolved on.

The Supplies for Ireland hindered by the Differences that arose between King and Parliament.

The Rebels increased in Strength.

They besiege Tredagh.

They are repulsed by the Governor falling out upon them.

Their Summons with the Governors Answer.

The Copy of an Oath taken by the Catholics.

Commissioners out of Scotland came to London, to treat with the Parliament about it, who made an Offer of Ten Thousand Men, upon condition of Thirty Thousand pounds advance Money. Ships for their Transportation, and a hundred Horse to be ready to join with every thousand Foot of theirs at their landing, and to obey the Order of the Scottish General.

These Propositions were readily assented unto by the House of Commons, and by them sent up to the House of Lords, who were content to agree to them; provided that the House of Commons would give Assurance for the lending over Ten Thousand English at the same time. This took up some Debate between the two Houses; but in conclusion, the Lords yielded to the Desires of the Commons; and great hopes there was, that Succour should have been seasonably sent into Ireland, when on a sudden all was dashed, by quarrels arising between King and Parliament about privileges. By these means, many who had hitherto kept themselves Neuters, were incouraged to declare for the Rebels; and about the middle of December, the whole Province of Munster revolted, and began to spoil the English; and although a party of them had been routed near Waterford by the Lord President, yet he having no other Forces at Command, than his own Troop, and some few Country Gentlemen that sided with him, was not able to hinder their joyning again in greater Bodies; so that now they grew more formidable, and made themselves Masters of all the Province, excepting only Cork, Longhall, Kingsale, and some few other places. Thus were the Rebels strengthened, by the accession of Leinster and Munster, and Dublin left greatly distressed. Luke Nelligan with his undisciplined Regiment, had removed his quarters from Swords to Ballyneary, near Dublin, and another party of them was come within two miles of it to Englas, with great boast and threats of what they would do: but Nelligan was beaten back to Swords by Sir Charles Coote, and the others were dislodged by Colonel Owsen. Yet the City continued slowly fortified and surrounded on every side by the Enemy; nor had they any considerable help from England, till the last day of December; and then Sir Simon Harcourt being by the Parliament assigned Governour of Dublin, arrived there with his Regiment. The Rebels Army consisted of 20000, besides straggling parties which infested the Country in all places where the English had any thing to do; and now they filled themselves the Catholic Army.

The main Body sits down before Tredagh, blocking it up on all sides: hereupon the Governor bestirs himself, increases the Fortifications of the Town, and to orders all things, that the Irish had little or no hope of taking it otherwise than by famishing: Long they staid not, before they had occasion to make trial of one anothers merities; for the Town having sent out some Carriages for Corn from the green Hills, half a mile off, three hundred and fifty Foot, and two Troops of Horse, were ordered to rally; but for the security of them; these were encountered in the middle way, by three thousand Irish; at whose sight and shout the Horse were so dismayed, that they instantly fell back to the Gates, leaving the Foot to shift for themselves, where they had all perished, but that the Governour Tichburn courageously led out a party himself to their succour, who had already stood two charges of the Enemy with great Resolution; and now the Governour coming on to their rescue, the Rebels betake themselves to their heels, with the loss of two hundred men, and the English had the chase for a mile or more within sight of the Town Walls, and took a competent Booty of Money, Cloths, and Arms.

After this, the Enemy sent Father Darcy a Fryer, lately a Prisoner, as their Ambassador to the Town, to require an absolute surrender of it: But the Governour told him, that they were better able to keep the Town, than the Country was to keep them; and that neither their Spirits, nor their Power, was so meane as to entertain so unworthy thoughts. With this Answer, the Fryer takes leave, leaving with them, for their greater Terror, the Copy of an Oath taken by the Lords of the Pale, and the rest of the Papists English and Irish.

**I A. B. In the presence of Almighty God, and all the Angels and Saints in Heaven, Promise, Vow, Swear, and Protest, to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the publick and true Exercise of the true Catholick Roman Religion, against all Persons that shall oppose the same.**

**I further Swear, That I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles, his Heirs and Successors, and that I will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, against all such Persons, as shall attempt any thing against their Royal Persons, Honours, Estates, and Dignities, and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their Royal Prerogatives, or do any Act or Acts contrary to Royal Government; As also the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Right and Priviledges of the Subject;**

and

**and every person that makes that Vow, Oath, and Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same.**

**And to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty, and Estate, all such as shall either by force or practice, Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise, do or attempt any thing to the contrary of any Article, Clause, or anything in this present Vow, Oath, and Protestation contained. So help me God.**

This Oath of the Catholics induced the Governour and Council to fall upon a Protestation and Oath, to this effect.

**Whereas we are beset with such who pretend their attempts, in taking of this Town, to be for the Advancement of his Majesties Service (which notwithstanding is but a pretext to delude the Vulgar) we the Governour and Captains, for the further Manifestation and Approbation of our Loyalty and Faith to his Majesty, by whose immediate Command we are charged for the Defence of his Royal Title in it, do likewise hereby unanimously make this following Protestation and Oath: To defend this Town, against all outward and inward Attempts whatsoever, for his Majesties Service: And to discover any Plot, Conspiracy, or Combination, which may or shall come to my knowledge from without or within, which may be any way intended to the prejudice of the whole Town, or Governours and Council: Nor consent, that the Town shall be given up upon any pretence or cause whatsoever, without the Consent of the Governour and Officers; or without special Command from his Majesty, or chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom.**

The Mayor and Aldermen of the Town refused this Oath, as fearing thereby to hazard the favour of fair quarter; and some of the Aldermens Wives hired a Boy to advertize the Enemy of an opportunity of coming unexpectedly upon the Town by night-time, by reason that the River Boyne was frozen hard enough for their passage; but the Enemies diffidence to the Womens Advice, and the suddain thawing of the River, was the cause that this Plot took no effect; and the Souldiers no whit daunted in their Resolutions, upon New-years day agreed amongst themselves, to beat up some quarters Northwards: But the Gates were so frozen, as not to be conveniently opened; yet one Company got over the Walls, killed fifteen Irish, and a Centinel, fired a Village, and returned; and a week after, a great party of three hundred Foot, and eighty Horse, made another successful Sally, killed an hundred, and forced as many into the River, where they were drowned, and among them **Arie Ro Mac Mooghan** a principal Ring-leader; and so returned safe, with the acquit of fifty Arms, some Cows, and other pillage. Yet these small GAMES, could not keep the Town from being in distress, Provision now growing short, and Souldiers and Townsmen beginning to droop in their Spirits: But just then, as it were at the last gasp, comes Relief to the Town in some small Vessels, laden with Biskets and Munition, which put the poor Belieged into such a fit of Jollity, as was like to have cost them dear. For the Souldiers out of joy gave themselves so liberally that night to drink strong Ale, which the Popish Aldermen, out of a Design invited them to, that Watches, Centinels, and all became less serviceable, in case of Invasion from the Enemy; who receiving Advice from their secret Friends within, took the offered opportunity, and early that morning made a Breach in the Wall, at which five hundred of the chief Commanders entered (who looked upon it as a great piece of Gallantry, nor doubting Success) these for an hour and half passed undeterred, till giving their accustomed Shout, as a Token to their Companies, the Governour himself perceived the danger, and hastning to his own Company, which then was the Main-Guard, and causing the Drums to beat, he put his Forces into as good a posture as the suddenness of the Alarm would permit; and so marching against the Enemy, gave so fierce a charge upon them, that they began presently to shrink: by this time, the Lord Moir came in with fifteen Horse, and assisted the Governour in chasing the Irish up the Hill.

Aaa z

Thus

1641.

The Protestation and Oath of the Governour and Council.

Some Women within give secret Intelligence to the Enemy.

The Souldiers make several Sallies out of the Town with success.

The Enemy make a strong Attempt upon the Town, but are repulsed.

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Thus was the Town cleared, and the Irish who made rock-furd of their Enterprize, were repelled, With the loss of two hundred slain, and much a number taken, as glutted the Pillions.

The Besieged waxing more careful, now sent out an Ambuscade for more Requisition, and meditating Revenge upon the Irish for their late Attempt, made three several successful Sallies, in which they routed divers parties of the Enemy, brought in some Store of Corn, and other necessary Provisions, and other Prisoners and Appen, and some Pilgrims.

General O'Neal was come to the Siege from the North, and resolves upon storming the Town, but just the day before, being Sunday, two Windmills, the Suburbs, three Bridges, and a small lopy, arrived lately from Dublin within the Walls, bringing with them three hundred Prisoners, and a Prize taken from the Rebels laden with Herring, besides four Companies of Irish men sent for the completing of the Lord Moor's Regiment, so that now they feared not any undertakings of their Adversaries.

General O'Neal following O'Neal falls to storming, and having applied his Scaling Ladders to the Wall near St. Lawrence Gate, the Irish began to climb, and (the Centinel singing fife) got up to the Top, whence he knocked them down with the But-end of his Musket, and then calling for more help, they were glad to fly, leaving thirteen Scaling Ladders behind them.

The next thing done in Tredagh, was the publishing a Proclamation from the State, brought with the Relief from Dublin, wherein the Heads of the chief Rebels were priced, O'Neal at a thousand pounds, others at eight hundred, and others at four hundred pounds, each according to their quality.

Many sick were cured by the Rebels, for the redemption of the Lord Mac Guire, and the change of the Lady Blaney, and her Children and Sisters, and all their prisoners in Ulster, for him and two other prisoners, Dublin. But whether the Lords Justices, and Council, durst not take such perilous Dealers, or whatever was the matter, the money did not come to effect. The Prisoners which brought the Life Supply, were sent back again for more, yet left such Courage in the Rebels, that they would needs go out, and try the temper of their Enemies Weapons. Hereupon two hundred and twenty Foot, and an hundred and twenty Horse, issued out, and marched to Smiths-Town, burning Dunmurry in their way: Here they met with five Companies of the Irish, whom they charged and vanquished, killing three hundred, and taking two Colonels, and an hundred and sixty Cows, Preston himself being hard put to it by Sir Patrick Wynn, left his Baggage and good Horses, and fled; and here were Letters taken, by which divers Lords of the English Pale were discovered to be Traytors.

The Lord Moor and the Governour, finding the success of this Sally to be so good, made another with four Companies, and met with two Companies of the Rebels, routed them, slew thirteen, took a Captain of O'Neal's prisoners, compelled the rest to fly to Slane, took the Castle of Calpe, and put four and twenty therein to the Sword.

After this they made many other bold Attempts upon the Enemy; among which, that of the Lord Moors upon Mac Brian at Tallagh Hallon, deserves to be mentioned: He had but four hundred Foot, and eighty Horse, the Enemy thrice in number, yet wanting in valour what they exceeded in multitude, were easily put to flight, and Moyle Mac Moogham carried prisoner to Tredagh.

These and other fortunate Achievements, together with the great Store of Corn which they brought in daily, and fresh Provisions by Sea, so heartened the English, and amazed the Spirits of the Besiegers, that General O'Neal, despairing of taking the Town, privately raised his Siege, and retired to Dundalk; and then the Governour opened the Gates, and marched out, firing and pillaging round about where ever the Enemy had any thing to do. And thus was Tredagh delivered March the twentieth. After which the Market was abundantly increased (to the great satisfaction of the Souldiers) by the coming of the Country people with Provisions.

Lieutenant-General Ormond had now gotten together a considerable Army of three thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, with which he sets forward to find out the Enemy, burning the County of Meath, and to comes to Tredagh, the Irish dispersing all the way before him: There he calls a Council of War, where it was resolved, That the Rebels should be pursued and unknelt from their lurking Holes; but the Earl of Ormond's preference could not be spared so long from Dublin, wherefore he returns, and leaves the performance of that Exploit to the Lord Moor, and the Governour Tichburn.

The first of these marches out with a thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, and finds the Enemy in two Divisions, near a Town called Abderde, each Division consisting of twelve hundred men: between these and the Town a party of Horse placed themselves, and another gets between them and a Bog, to hinder their escape that way: In the mean while, a Forlorn of an hundred scours the Ditches, beats out the Ambuscado which was laid for them; and then the English falling upon their Body, discomfit them, and kill four hundred.

And now these two noble Commanders bend themselves to the attempting of Dundalk, it self their Receptacle and Magazine, well fortified with double Walls, double Ditches, Marshes on the one side, and the Sea on the other. The cowardly Irish presently clasp up the Protestant prisoners close, meaning, if the Town came to hazard, to sacrifice all those poor Soules to their Revenge.

O'Neal comes to the Siege of Tredagh, which is relieved with Men and Provision from Dublin.

O'Neal storm the Town, but is beaten back with loss.

The Heads of the chief Rebels prized by Proclamation.

Several other successful Sallies upon the Enemy.

The Siege of Tredagh raised.

The Lord Moor defeats the Enemy near Abderde.

He and Tichburn besiege Dundalk.

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The English come on, their forlorn gives fire at the Gate, yet could not enter till Lieutenant Colonel Waman with three hundred men pick-axed the Wall, and forced his passage through the breach, and made way for the Horse, and on they go; but coming against three brass Pieces, maintained by five hundred men, they were said to retire, and take another way; so firing the Houses about the Castle, by advantage of the (moak) got underfired under the Walls to the very Gate, which they blew open, and entered at it into the Castle, and made themselves Masters off; and leaving a sufficient number of Musqueteers to Man the Streets, drew up the Ordnance against the inner Gate, and discharged them in such a manner, that the Enemy astonished at their hardy Resolution, betook themselves to their heels, leaving their Guns laden.

General O'Neal seeing all in Confusion, steals away over the River, while Sir Henry Tichburne and the Lord Moor enter at several wayes, and take possession of the Town, with the death of an hundred Papists, and of their own side but fourteen, viz. Ensign Fortescue, eldest Son to Sir Faithful Fortescue, and three other Officers, and ten common Souldiers, all slain by shot from the Castle. O'Neal in his flight, out of Revenge, burns Bally Maccomilens, a Castle of the Lord Moors, who in requital for his Losses, and for his good Services, is by the Lords Justices Commissioned to be Governour of Dundalk. And thus the Protestants becoming Masters of the Field in those parts, the Action between Papists and Protestants in Ireland took end for this year.

During the Kings abode in Scotland, the two Marquisses of Hamilton and Argyle being informed that there were some Plots upon their Persons, for some dayes forbore their appearance in Parliament, and absented themselves from Edinburgh. This coming to the knowledge of the Parliament in England, wrought in them such Jealousies and Fears of the Kings Designs, that immediately the Committee, during the recess, and afterwards the Houses, took order for a Guard for the defence of London, Westminster, and the Parliament. In this discontented humour, the King finds appearance of satisfaction among them; that at his departure from them, it is said to have been their common expression, That he went a contented King from a contented People; but a very short time produced far other kind of Effects, than one would have thought should have proceeded from the satisfaction they pretended; his Majesty being return'd, the Citizens feast him Magnificently, and at Hampton Court are Banqueted by him, and divers Aldermen Knighted, but neither here likewise did this outward Calm and smooth aspect of Affairs long continue.

December the Second, the King Summons both Houses together, and tells them;

That he had tarried in Scotland longer than was expected, yet not fruitlessly; for he had given full satisfaction to that Nation, but cannot chuse but take notice of, and wonder at the unexpected Distractions which he finds at Home.

Lastly, He commends to them the State of Ireland, minds them of their slow-ness in sending Relief thither, and desires them to appoint a Committee to confer with two Scottish Commissioners, whom he had brought along with him to treat with the Parliament about transporting Auxiliaries out of Scotland, as was desired by the Lords Justices of Ireland.

The next thing the King did, was to publish a Proclamation for Obedience to the Laws (then in force) concerning Religion, and the performance of Divine Service, without Innovation or abolishing of Rites and Ceremonies.

Then he issues such a Command, That all Members of both Houses of Parliament should meet him at or before the Twentieth of January; and they accordingly meeting, upon the Fourteenth of December, he reminds them of the Irish Affairs, and Conjures them by all that is or can be dear to them or him, to hasten that Business with all possible Speed; by which, let the World Judge whether he were so great a Friend to the Rebels as some have say'd him; but withall he takes notice of a Bill for pressing Souldiers for Ireland, depending in the House of Lords; in Reference to which, because some Dispute had been started concerning Bounds of Prerogative therein, he was content for avoiding such Debates, that the Bill should pass, so it were with a Salvo Jure, both for King and People.

This provisionall Item caused a Conference between both Houses; wherein it was agreed, That a Petition should be presented to his Majesty, to acquaint him with the disgust of his Parliament, at the breach of their Privilege in taking notice of the forementioned Bill for impress, which he ought not to have done otherwise than by their Information; and for putting in that provisionall Clause of Salvo Jure: before it was presented; desiring to know the Names of those who had so unduly given him such Information, that they might be brought to condigne Punishment.

The Petition was presented by the King, yet they resolved not to dissent till they had obtained a satisfactory Answer, whereupon a select Committee was ordered to draw up another Petition and Remonstrance for the further prosecution of the Business. The Petition was thus presented by him.

Speech, and draw up a Petition and Remonstrance to be presented by him.

The Parliament enter into Jealousies of the Kings designs.

The Kings returns from Scotland.

He causeth the two Houses to appear before him, to consult about several Affairs.

The Parliament take exceptions at some things to the Kings Speech, and draw up a Petition and Remonstrance to be presented by him.

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Most Gracious Sovereign,

Y Our Majesties most humble and Faithful Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament, do with Joy acknowledge the Favour of God in your safe return into England, when the Dangers, and Distempers of the State have caused them to desire your Presence and Authority to your Parliament, for preventing of eminent Ruine and Destruction to your Kingdoms of England and Scotland, fomented by a Malignant Party, for alteration of Religion and Government; the increase of Popery by the practice of Jesuits, and other Engines and Factors of Rome, corrupting the Bishops and Privy Council. They being the cause of the late Scottish War, and the Irish Rebellion: now for prevention, they pray that your Majesty would concur with your Parliament, to deprive the Bishops of their Votes, To take away Oppression in Religion, Church Government, and Discipline: To purge your Councils of such as are Promoters of these Corruptions, and not alienate any Church Lands in Ireland, by reason of the Rebellion. And these being granted, they will make him happy.

After this comes out the Remonstrance very long, and prolix, setting down all the Mistakes and Misfortunes, and what they term'd Pressures, which had happened since the beginning of his Reign,

The Substance  
of the Parli-  
aments Remon-  
strance.

First, The Root and Ground of these Dangers and Evils;  
Secondly, Their Maturity and Ripeness;  
Thirdly, The effectual means used for their extirpation, and the progress therein made;  
Fourthly, The Obstructions and Oppositions interrupting; And  
Fifthly, The best means for removing these Obstacles, and for accomplishing the Parliaments good Intentions, for the restoring of this Nation to its ancient Repourne.

The Actors and Promoters of these Evils were described to be;

First, The Jesuit Papiſt;  
Secondly, The Bishops and corrupted Clergy; And  
Thirdly, Interested Councillors and Courtiers.  
The root of the Mischief was the Malignant Party, whose practices were branched into four particulars.

First, To foment Differences and Discontents between King and People about Prerogative and Privilege, for their own principal Advantages;  
Secondly, To suppress the purity and power of Religion;  
Thirdly, To unite and enjoy Papiſts, Arminians, and Libertines; and out of them all, to compass a Body sufficient for the carrying on of their Designs; And  
Fourthly, To elude the King to the Parliament by Slanders, and by putting him upon other ways of Supply than Parliamentary Subsidies; And that the ends of these Malignants were to subvert the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government.

Then the Remonstrance charges this Malignant Party more particularly, as main Causes of the dissolution of three several Parliaments, without Relief of Grievances, imprisoning and fining some of the Members; raising great sums of Money by Loan, Privy Seals, and Excise; and blaspheming the Position of Right.

Successless Attempts upon Spain and France, and Peace made with the former without consent of Parliament. The loss of *Rebel*, occasioned by the Loan of part of our Fleet to the French King. The deterring the Palgrave Cause: Charging the Kingdom with billeted Soldiers, and the carrying of *German* Home to inslave this Nation to Arbitrary Contributions.

And then the Remonstrance falls upon Scandalous Declarations published against the Parliament, injustice, oppression, violence, illegal enlargements of Forests, Coat and Conduct Money, corrupt Councils and Designs, Monopolies, and Misactions of Courts of Judicature, and Council Table; Then it charged the Bishops with many Enormities, particularly for contributing towards the raising of an Army, for the constraining of the *Scott* to a conformity with their Superstitious Ceremonies; And Lastly, mentions

What they had done for the Reformation of the said Abuses.

To their Petition, the King returns this Answer,

The Kings  
Answer to the  
Petition.

That he knows not any wicked or malignant Persons whom he doth either Countenance or Employ;

That he would concur with his People in a Parliament any way against all Popish Designs, but would not consent to the depriving of the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament;

That he Judged the power of the Clergy sufficiently moderated by the taking away of the High-Commission Court, so needing no further abridgement.

That

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That he was willing to concur with them for the removal of any innovations in Religion by a National Synod.

That he had no Councillors, or Ministers of State, whom he would not at any time expose to trial, and leave to the Law; but cannot agree that any others should have the Choice of them but himself.

That he concurs with them for the not altering the forfeited Lands in Ireland, but thinks it not seasonable to resolve before the Event of War be seen. And doubts not of their loyal Endeavours, for the support of his Royal Estate.

In Answer to the Remonstrance, the King issues out a Declaration to his Subjects, the Sum of which was,

His Answer to  
the Remon-  
strance.

That he thought he had given sufficient Satisfaction to his Peoples Fears and Jealousies concerning Religion, Liberty, and Civil Interests by the Bills which he had passed this Parliament, desiring that misunderstandings might be removed on either side, and that the bleeding Condition of Ireland might persuade them to Unity, for the Relief of that unhappy Kingdome.

Soon after this, happened the insolent Mutiny of the London Apprentices, who in a tumultuary manner resorted to *White Hall* and *Westminster*, to the great affrightment of the King, who thereupon commanded the Mayor and Common-Council to take order for a double Watch and Guard to keep the Diabolical Rabble in better order for the future, and especially the ensuing Christmas Holy-days.

The tumultu-  
ous Concourse  
of the London Ap-  
prentices.

December the Twenty Eighth, the Kings sends a Message to the House of Lords, to signify to them that he would raise ten thousand Volunteers for the Succour of Ireland, if the Commons would undertake to pay them; and upon New-year's day comes out a Proclamation of the Irish Rebellion, wherein the Irish (then in Armes) with all their Adherents and Abettors, were denounced Rebels and Traitors.

The Irish pro-  
claimed Rebels  
and Traitors.

But two dayes after, the King upon Information given, that the Lord Kimbolton, and five Members of the House of Commons, viz. Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Sturges, had designed a Correspondence with the Scots, and countenanced the late City Tumults; Ordered Sir William Killigrew and Sir William Fleming to Seal up their Trunks, Studies and Chambers; and to seize their persons; for the latter, they were prevented; for the Members having timely Notice of it, had conveyed themselves away; the former was done, and their Trunks and Papers seized. Against which the House the same day Voted;

The Kings pro-  
ceedings a-  
gainst the five  
Members.

That if any Persons should attempt to seize the Persons or Papers of any Parliament men; such Members shall require the Aid of the Constable, to secure such Persons, till further order of the House; and that it is lawful for any Person to assist the said Members, and that the said Members may stand upon their Guard, and make resistance according to the Protestation, for Defence of the Privileges of Parliament.

The King upon this, sends these Articles against the five Members, and the Lord Kimbolton.

First, That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of this Kingdom, and deprive the King of his Legal Powers, and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.

Secondly, That they have endeavoured by many foul Aspersions upon his Majesty and his Government, to alienate the Affections of his people, and to make his Majesty odious unto them.

Thirdly, That they have endeavoured to draw his Majesties late Army to Disobedience to his Majesties Commands, and to side with them in their traiterous Designs.

Fourthly, That they have traiterously invited and encouraged a Foreign Power to invade his Majesties Kingdom of England.

Fifthly, That they have traiterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Being of Parliament.

Sixthly,

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Sixthly, That for compleating of their traitorous Designs, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous Designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.

Seventhly, That they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied war against the King.

The King comes to the House of Commons with a company of armed Men, to Arrest the five Members.

The House very much distressed at this Act, adjourned, and publish a Declaration concerning it.

The next day the King attended with his Guard of Pensioners, and some Courtiers, almost five hundred, went to the House of Commons to Arrest the Five Members; at whose entrance the Speaker arises, and the King sits down, views the House round, and perceives that the Birds he looked for, were all flown; for, being forewarned, they had withdrawn themselves into London; hereupon he tells them, That he came to look for those Members whom he had accused of High-Treason, and was resolved to have them wheresoever he found them, and expected to have them sent to him as soon as they should come to the House; but would not have them think that this Act of his was any Violation of Parliament.

And so failing of his purpose, departed, leaving the House so extremely distast at his Proceeding, that the very next day, January the fifth, they Voted it a Breach of Privilege, and adjourned till Tuesday following, appointing in the mean time a Committee to sit at Guildhall, to consider of the most effectual means for their Vindication and Security, with power to advise with any person or persons, and to send for Parties, Witnesses, Papers and Records.

It was also Ordered, That the Committee for the Irish Affairs should meet in the same Place at what Time they should think best; and both Committees to report their Results to the House.

And then they publish their Declaration.

That whosoever shall arrest any Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King only, is Guilty of the Breach of Privileges of the Parliament; and likewise that all those who attended the King when he came to demand the Five Members, were guilty of a traitorous Design against the King and Parliament; That the Proclamation for apprehending and imprisoning the said Members, was false, scandalous, and illegal, and not of validity enough to hinder them from attending the House; and that the publishing of several Articles of High-Treason was a Breach of Privileges: wherefore they intreat his Majesty to discover the Names of those Informers and evil Counsellours, declaring all such Persons to be public Enemies to the State.

The Londoners throng to Westminister, with Petitions, and were very loud in their Tongues, bitterly inveighing against several Peers, whom they judged bad Advisers to the King; but more especially against the Bishops, whom some of them affronted going to and coming from the House, which put them into such a fright, that they sequestered themselves from the Parliament, and drew up an inconsiderate Protestation against all Laws, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which had passed or should pass during the time of their forced absence, desiring that their Protestation might be entered by the Clerk of the House of Peers.

Twelve Bishops absent themselves from the House, and protest against their Actions.

They are charged with Treason, and committed, ten of them to the Tower, two to the Black Rod.

The Parliament Petition the King for a Guard. And are back out of the City.

This was signed by Twelve of them, and proved afterwards a vain Break-neck of Episcopacy in England; for presently upon it at a Conference between both Houses, it was agreed, That this Protestation of the twelve Bishops was extending to the deep trenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliament.

And not long after they were accused of High-Treason, seized, and brought on their knees to the Lords Bar, Ten of them committed to the Tower, and the other Two in regard of their age, to the Black Rod.

The House of Commons, upon suspicion of some Designs upon their Persons, Petition the King for a Guard to be commanded by the Earl of Essex; which the King denied, as not willing to have them too strong; Yet promised to take such care for their Security from violence, as he would for the Preservation of Himself and Children.

But that Answer being unsatisfactory, the City join with them, and in their Common-Council drew up a Petition, wherein they Complain;

That the Trade of the City was decayed, to the utter Ruine of the Protestant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects; by the designs of Papists, Forraigners, and Drugg-masters, more particularly their fomenting the Irish Rebellion; by changing the Constable of the Tower, and making preparation there; by the fortifying of Whitehall, and his Majesties late Invasion of the House of Commons; whereupon they pray, That by the Parliaments advice the Protestants in Ireland may be relieved, the Tower be put in the hands of Persons of Trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament, and that the Five Members may not be restrained, nor proceeded against, but by the Privileges of Parliament.

Before

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Before this, the King riding in his Coach into the City, Citizens by heaps flocked to his Coach side as he passed along the Street, beseeching him to agree with his Parliament, and not to violate their Privileges.

To their Petition the King returned Answer,

That he could not express a greater Sense of his Duty than he had done, that he was sorry to satisfy the City he had removed a worthy Person from the charge of the Tower, and that the late Petition had caused him to forsake White-Hall for the safety of his own Person.

That his going to the House of Commons was to apprehend those Five Members for Treason, to which the Privileges of Parliament could not extend, and that yet he would proceed against them no otherwise then Legally.

Soon after this, the County of Buckingham Petition the King for Mr. John Hampden their Knight of the Shire.

That he and the other Knights of the County, may enjoy their just Privileges.

And now such increase and numbers of ordinary people gathered together in a tumultuous manner about White-Hall and Westminster, that the King withdrawing their Lordships, and leaving some danger from them, thought good to retire to Hampton-Court, taking with him the Queen, Prince and Duke of York, where he had his Regime and Guard quickly increased by the Accession of divers of the Gentry. But the next day the Five Members were triumphantly guarded to Westminster by Water by a great number of Citizens and Sea-men, with Hundreds of Boats and Barges with Guns in them, Braving and Threatning as they passed by White-Hall; and making large Protestations at Westminster, of their constant Fidelity and Adherence to the Parliament.

The King now at Hampton-Court, gives the like Answer to the Buckingham Petition, as he had given to the City; but in the mean time, the Parliament receives information, that the Lord Digby, and Colonel Lunford were gathering some Troops of horse at Kingston, where the County Magazine was lodged: Whereupon they order, That the County Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and the Trained Bands shall take care to secure the Counties and their Magazines, and to suppress all unlawful Assemblies: And so Lunford was apprehended and committed to the Tower, but Digby escaped over Sea. The Court removing now to Kingston, the Attorney General Sir Edward Herbert is summoned to appear at the Lords Bar, to answer concerning the Articles against the Five Members, where it had gone hard with him, if the King at his earnest Supplication had not taken him off by his Letter to the Lord Keeper Lincolne (who succeeded Finch) wherein he clears the Attorney General, and takes the whole business upon himself. Yet concludes, That finding cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the Persons accused, he had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same. And so this Breach between King and Parliament was for a while stitched up.

January the 20. the King by a Message to the Parliament, propoeth unto them the Concernments of his own Just Rights and Regal Authority, advising them to digest into one Body all the Grievances of the Kingdom, and so send them to him; promising, that in his Favourable Assent to those Means which should be found most effectual for Redress, he would not only equall, but exceed the most Indulgent Princes.

The Scots having a fair Interest in their British Plantations in Ireland, offered to Transport two Thousand five hundred Soldiers thither: upon these Articles:

First, That Provisions of Munnals be presently sent to Carrick Fergus to be sold to the Scots Souldiers, answerable to their pay.

Secondly, To have Ships of Convoys.

Thirdly, They to have the Command of that Castle and Town, to remain there, or to enlarge their own Quarters into the Country.

Fourthly, That Match, Powder, and Ball be sent from hence; but what Arms, Ammunition, or Artillery shall go from Scotland with their Forces, the same shall be supplied into Scotland out of England.

Fifthly, That a part of the Brotherly Assistance (Thirty thousand Pounds) be advanced to them presently, which though in proportion came but to Seven thousand and five Hundred Pounds, yet they crave Ten thousand pounds for their Encouragement.

Sixthly, That their pay which was condescended to commence from the Eight of December last, may be advanced to the Eight of February next, when they hoped to March: And,

Seventhly,

The Kings Answer to the Petition.

The County of Buckingham Petition in behalf of Mr. Hampden.

The King removes to Hampton-Court.

Colonel Lunford apprehended for raising Forces at Kingston.

The Lord Digby escapes beyond Sea.

The Attorney General questioned by the Lords, but cleared by the King.

The Kings Message to the Parliament.

The Scots Proposals about sending over Soldiers to Ireland.

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Seventhly, That all this may be done without prejudice to their Treaty, January the 4. Four and twentieth.

The Scots Commissioners mediate a Reconciliation between the King and Parliament.

The Commons Petition that the King should have the Militia put into their Hand: Which he denies.

These Propositions were accepted by the Houses, and at length consented to by the King, though at first he made some exceptions against the Third Article, as somewhat prejudicial to the Crown of England. And then the Scots Commissioners interposed Mediation between the King and Parliament, for reconciliation of those differences which were now grown up to some height between them; for which Mr. Pym was Ordered to return them the Thanks of the House.

The House of Commons gave the Lords to sayn with them in petitioning for the Militia, and the Command of the Tower; but they not complying, the Commons singly of themselves importune the King to put those things into the hands of the Parliament, as the only available means for the remoyall of their Fears and Jealousies.

But the King not willing to part with the Principall Jewells of his Crown, signified to them;

That he thought the Militia to be lawfully subject to no Command but his own, and therefore would not let it out of his hands. That he had preferred to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, a Person of known Fortune and unquestionable Reputation; and that he would prefer none but such to the Command of his Forts and Castles; yet would not intrust the power of conferring those Places and Dignities from himself, being derived to him from his Ancestors by the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome.

Yet would not the Commons desist, but again Petitioned, and were again refused. After this divers Petitions were delivered to the Parliament against the Votes of Popish Lords and Bishops in the House of Peers; as one from the County of Suffolk to the number of 1500; another from the Tradesmen about London to the number of 2000; and a Third from the City Dames; All which were bestowed. That the House of Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their requests, and shall so continue, till redress be obtained; and accordingly they so managed the Business, that shortly after, the Lords passed the Bill for disabling all Persons in holy Orders to have any Place or Vote in Parliament, or to exercise any temporall Jurisdiction. But not to let the King take breath, they Petition him again for the Militia, and for the clearing of Kimbolton and the Five Members: By his Answer to both which, they perceived his resolution not to intrust the former out of himself, or otherwise to clear the latter, but inclusively by a general Pardon; which was refused.

The King sends for the Bails of Essex and Holland; but they refusing to come, are put out of their places at Court. The Lord Digby's Letters intercepted.

The King at Hampton-Court thought good to send for all his Domestick Servants of either House, but more particularly for the Bails of Essex and Holland; but they refused to come, excusing themselves with the necessity of performing their Duties in Parliament, and discharging the Trust reposed in them. For which those two Lords were put from their Places at Court, the one of Chamberlain of the Kings Household, the other of the Bed-Chamber.

The Lord Digby about this time sent three Letters from Middleburgh in Zealand, (where he was fled out of England) one to the Queen, and two others to Secretary Nicholls, and Sir Lewis Dives, signifying, That if the King would openly declare his Mind, and betake himself to some place of Security, that he might come freely to him, he doubted not but he should do him some acceptable Service. These Letters were intercepted by the Parliament, and by them after Perusal sent to the King, with their Intreaties to him, That he would perswade the Queen not to correspond with Digby or any others whom his Great Council had proclaimed Traytors.

There was a Rumour spread abroad, That the Parliament had an Intent to accuse the Queen of High Treason, as one that had so much power with the King as to misadvise him: This Report the Parliament excused as a publike Scandall upon them; which She in her mildly accepted, but yet provides against the Danger; and therefore, the King being now pressed by the States Ambassador, to send the Princess Mary into Holland to her late betrothed Spouse the young Prince of Orange, she takes this opportunity, and prevails with her Husband for leave to accompany her Daughter thither; and withall, carries with her all the Kings and her own Jewels, together with those which were intailed to the Crown; therewith, and some other assistance, to raise a Party sufficient to maintain the King and his Regalities against the Parliament.

The Queen accompanies the Princess Mary into Holland.

Mr. Pym complains of the flocking of Papists into Ireland.

In the mean time, Mr. Pym at a Conference complaining of the General flocking of Papists into Ireland; affirmed, That since the Lieutenant had ordered a stop upon the Ports against all Irish Papists, many of the chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels, had been Licensed to passe thither by his Majesties immediate Warrant.

The King was highly distressed at this Speech, which he signified to the House; who in their Answer to his Message, justified Mr. Pym's words to be the Sence of the House, and that they had yet

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A yet in the Custody of the Lord Dillwyn, Sir George Hamilton, Colonel Butler, Brother to the Lord Ashburnham, now in Rebellion, and one of the Lord Newville Sons.

To which the King Replies;

That he thought Mr. Pym's Speech was not so well grounded as it ought to have been, and that the forementioned persons had their Passes granted before he knew of the Parliament's Order of Restraining; and therefore expected their Declaration for his Vindication from the same Calumnies of Conspiring or under-hand favouring that Ashburnham and Sir John Comers placed in his room.

For the next thing the Parliament did, was to move the King to the turning out of Sir John Bryan from his Lieutenancy of the Tower, in whose place Sir John Comers at their nomination succeeded; and to they proceed to the naming of fit persons for Trust of the Militia in the several Counties, and by Act of Parliament disable all Clergy-men for exercising temporall Jurisdiction. And then comes a Message to them from the King, wherein he offers by Proclamation to require all Statutes concerning Recusants to be put in Execution; That the Seven condemned Priests shall be banished, and all Romish Priests within Twenty dayes shall depart the Kingdome. That he refers the Consideration of Government and Liturgy of the Church wholly to the Houses. And offers himself in Person to the Irish War. But the Parliament were now busied about a Petition concerning the Vindication of their Five Members, wherein they desire the King to send them the Informers against the said Members, (or otherwise, to desert their prosecution,) would not suffice, because the whole Parliament was concerned in their Charge. And then they proceeded to ordain the power of the Militia for the Defence of the Parliament, Tower and City of London, under the Command of Sergeant Major Generall Skippon, an approved Commander, whose Valour and Conduct had been experimented in the Low-Country Wars. The King had deferred his Answer to their Petition (for the settling of the Trust of the Militia of the severall Counties according to their nomination) till his return from Dover, where he took leave of his Wife and Daughter (whom he had conducted thither,) and so returned to Greenwich. Thence he sends to Hampton-Court for his two eldest Sons to come to him; against the mind of the Parliament, who would have dissuaded him from it.

The Parliament moved place Major General Skippon over the City Militia.

And now the Parliament thought fit to consider of the reducing of Ireland, and Order;

First, That Two Millions and a half of those Acres to be Confiscate, of Rebels Lands in Four Provinces, may be allotted to such Persons as will disburse Money for managing that war, according to the rate of One thousand Acres in Ulster, two Hundred pounds in Connaght, three hundred pounds; in Munster, Four hundred and Fifty pounds; and in Lemster Six hundred pounds: and all this besides Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains.

The Parliament considered of a way for the reducing of Ireland.

Secondly, That there be reserved a constant Rent to the Crown of England, out of each Acre thereof in Ulster one penny; Connaght one penny half penny; Munster two pence farthing; Lemster three pence.

Thirdly, That for erecting Mannors, creating Corporations, and regulating of Plantations, Commissioners shall be empowered by Parliament.

Fourthly, All undertakers to subscribe before severall dayes previous in reference to the distance of abode from London.

Fifthly, Their Monies to be payed into the Chamber of London at four payments, Viz. a Fourth part in ten dayes after subscribing, and the Third payment at three Months.

Sixthly, At subscribing to pay down the twentieth part of his totall Sum, and if he fail of his residue of the first fourth part within ten dayes, he shall forfeit the twentieth part of the totall deposited; and so much more of this fourth payment, to be added thereto, as shall make up the one fourth of the said first payment. And if he fail in any other of the three payments, he shall then forfeit his entire first fourth part, and all his Subscription to accrue to the common Benefit of the rest of the Undertakers. Which the King confirms, February 26.

And the Committee of the Irish Affairs issue out their Warrants to the severall Parishes for the sending a Certificate of what Sums of Money they collected, and for the bringing of the said Monies



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The Parliament oppose the Kings Designs for the raising of a Guard, and seizing the Magazine of Hull. Sir Jo. Hotham is sent down to keep Hull for the Parliament.

The Parliament disallow of the Kings Intensions, to go in Person into Ireland.

The King demands entrance into Hull, and being denied, proclaims Sir John Hotham Traitor.

The King denies to sign the Bill for the Militia. The Parliament justifies Sir J. Hotham's keeping the King out of Hull.

The King summons the County of Yorkshire to his Assistance.

The Parliament, who did all along mistrust the Kings Journey *Northwards*, to be out of an Intention of seizing the Magazine at *Hull*, took upon them to oppose his purpose, not concealing their suspicion of his going about to raise an Army; and therefore very early the Magazine might be removed from thence to the Tower of *London*, as a place of more safety, and easier Transport for *Ireland*. And that the Reprieve for the six Priests in *Newgate* may be taken away, and they executed: And to make the suter Work, Sir John Hotham, a Member of the House of Commons, is sent down to take upon him the Government of that place, who coming thither, sooner than he was expected, excluded the Earl of *Newcastle*, to whom the King intended that Prefecture, where at he being irritated, sends a sharp expostulating Letter to them about it, to know the Reason why they should presume to make themselves their own Carvers, and to let things in such a manner without his privacy: yet in the end of it he leaves the six Priests to Justice, the time of their Reprieve being expired; but continues his Resolution for a Personal Voyage into *Ireland*. To put him off from which, they petition him not to hazard his own Person, whose Absence would greatly interrupt the proceedings of Parliament here. That they must suppress all Levies otherwise, rather, than they should advise and direct, and could not submit to any Commissioners, but such as should govern by Consent of Parliament, till his Return.

This was ill taken, and the King tells them; That though he regards them as his great Council, yet they must know, they were called together by his Writ and Authority, and not to command him, who was now Dejected of any Right he had before their Sitting; That their Reasons did not satisfy him, nor their Menacing Advice deter him from his settled Determinations. Which coming to the Knowledge of the Lords Justices, *Barfons* and *Burleigh*, and the Council of *Ireland*, they returned him their Humble Thanks, to the great Discontent of the Parliament.

The King encouraged by a Petition from the County of *York*, that the Magazine might not be removed from *Hull*, taking with him his Guard, mostly consisting of Lords and Gentlemen, came thither in person the twenty third of *April*, where he finds the Gates shut upon him, and the Bridges drawn up. But from the Wall *Hotham* appears, and upon his Knees, entrears his Majesty not to Command that, to which, without the Breach of his Trust, he could not yield Obedience: Whereupon the King finding his Entrance prevented, caused *Hotham* instantly to be proclaimed Traitor, and sent up to the Parliament to demand Justice against him; and commanded the Mayor and Fraternity of *Kingston upon Hull*; and the Garrison therein, not to adhere to *Hotham*; nor permit any part of that Ammunition to be removed without his Assent. Then approaching the Assault, he again demands Justice upon *Hotham* from the Parliament, and the delivery of the Town and Magazine; till both which be done he would intend no other Business. But receiving no Answer, Scouts are said to intercept Letters and Messengers between *Hull* and the Parliament, which they Voted to be a high Breach of their Privileges, and ordered the Sheriffs and Justices of the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, to suppress all Forces that should be levied against *Hull*.

The Bill of the Militia was now passed in Parliament, and presented to the King, who refused absolutely to sign it, because of some alterations in it, from what he had designed to be done by his Council.

The next thing by them done was, to answer the Kings Message concerning *Hotham*, whose Commission and Action they justified, as necessarily occasioned by the desperate Designs of Papists, and other Jealousies, grounded upon the Lord *Digbys* intercepted Letters, and the Suspitions of the coming of Captain *Leg*, the Earl of *Newcastle*, and the King himself to that Town; concluding it a Breach of Privilege, in proclaiming *Hotham* Traitor, without a Legal Form, and resolving to send a Committee of Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing *Hull*, and Him.

*Hotham* had already a thousand in Garrison; yet the Parliament doubting that Number would not be sufficient for the Defence of the Place, Au horise him to increase his Strength by the Counties Trained-Bands, or other Levies; whereupon he issues out his Warrants: In obedience to which, divers of them march thither with their Arms, some of whom he retains, others he dismisses and sends back: the King declares these proceedings of the Parliament, and *Hotham*, utterly illegal, and commands the High-Sheriffs, to take care that no Soldiers, or Trained-Bands, muster or march without his immediate Warrant.

And forthwith he summons the Knights and Gentry of the County of *York*, to whom he declares some Reasons, why it was necessary for him to increase his Guard, and thoroughly persuaded them of it, that they were willing to contribute their best Assistance thereunto; whereby the King had pretty well strengthened himself, and more had done, had not those Members of Parliament (who came with the last Message to the King to *York*, and did still reside there in Quality of a Committee) prevailed with some of the Free-holders to protest against it. And the Parliament declare, That the Subjects, unless bound to it by special Service, could not without Transgression of the Laws attend him at his pleasure; but if they did, were Disturbers of the Peace, and ought to be suppressed by the Sheriff, with the Power of the County.

In the mean time, Sir *Thomas Gardner*, who had been Recorder of *London* for six years, being Impeached by the Parliament, and in danger of Hanging, was glad to shift for himself, and by flight escaped to the King; who using all ways and means of his Prerogative, for adjourning the

next

1642

The Parliament publish another Declaration.

Which is answered by the King.

The Kings Letter to the Council in *Scotland*. With their answer, persuading him to adhere to his Parliament.

The Parliament Protestation.

The Earl of *Bristol* labours to bring about an Accommodation between the King and Parliament.

Much clashing between the King and Parliament, by Declarations, Orders, and Counter-commands.

Divers of the Lords and Commons withdraw themselves to the King.

A next Term to *York*, was obstructed by the Parliament, who Voted it illegal, and forbade the Lord Keeper to issue out Writs, or Seal any Proclamations to that end.

About this time the Parliament began to put the people into a Military posture, requiring all persons in Authority, to put their late Ordinance of the *Aditia* in Execution, which the King by Edit forbids. But for the peoples satisfaction, the Parliament publish a scurrilous Declaration to the same effect, with their former Remonstrance; only one thing was added, viz. That the King at his being in *Scotland*, had countenanced the *Irish* in their Rebellious Designs, and that his Connivance was manifested by his tedious with-holding the Proclamation (whereby they were declared Traitors) till the second of *January* (being almost a quarter of a year after the breaking out of the Rebellion) and then had appointed but for ty Copies to be printed, and none of them to be published, without his pleasure signified; Whereas his Proclamations against the *Scots* had been dispersed throughout all the Kingdom, with publick Prayers and Execrations.

The King makes Answer speedily to it, not much differing from what he had said before; yet tells them, That as to the Business of the *Irish*, that his Council in *Ireland* had desired the Proclamation no sooner, nor to many Copies by twenty, as he had signed and sent them.

His Majesty had written a Letter to his Privy-Council in *Scotland*, to take away from them all Suspicion of those Imputations, so frequently laid to him at Home; as namely, to be Popishly affected, to be guilty of the Blood shed in *Ireland*, to bring in Foreign Forces, Wherewith they seemed to be to be satisfied, that they returned a most respectful Answer, and forthwith interposed their Mediation, to heal the Breach before it grew deeper; humbly desiring the King to hearken to his Parliament, as his greatest, his best, and most unparallelled Council; and discouraging Him from any personal Journey into *Ireland*: And with this Message was sent the Earl of *London*, Chancellor of *Scotland*; and after this, the *Scots* Petition to the Kings Privy-Council there, not to meddle with any Verbal, nor Real Engagement for the King against the Parliament of *England*.

Hereupon the English Parliament publish a Protestation, wherein they vindicate their own Proceedings, and declare the great Sense they had of the Affection of their *Scottish* Brethren, manifested unto them in so many particulars, and more especially in the late mentioned Petition.

The Earl of *Bristol*, an old experienced States-man, prudently fore-saw, that such unlucky Beginnings must necessarily come to no less than an unlucky Issue, and therefore was willing and ready to labour a timely Accommodation; and to that end, states the Case to the Lords, and lays down the Offers of the King on the one side, and the Professions of the Parliament on the other side; and shews them the Effects of a Civil War (then likely to ensue) by the Example of *Germany*; and the late Expensive Troubles with *Scotland*. And to he proceeds to propose some ways for prevention of the Dangers imminent.

First, A select Committee of Parliament, to state the Matters in Difference, with the most probable ways of reconciling them.

Secondly, To descend into the Particulars which may be expected, either in point of supporting the King, or relieving his People.

And lastly, How these Conditions agreed upon may be secured.

And to shew the Necessity of this Course, he turns up these Reasons; The deplorable Estate of *Ireland*; The Debts and Necessities of the Crown; The Distractions likely to produce Confusion of Religion, most dangerous and destructive to a State; besides the general Distraction of the subjects, who between Commands and Countermans, know not whom to obey.

This was admitted, as good and solid Reason; but Divine Justice would not so permit the Sins of the English Nation to go unpunished; and *Bristols* Speech, though well received, yet proved ineffectual.

In the mean time, the Kings Guard encreases at *York*, which the House Voted a preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of his Government; and that all such as serve him there, are Traitors to the Laws of the Kingdom, 1 *Rich. 2.* and 1 *Hen.* After this, the Parliament publish another Remonstrance or Declaration of the Kings Mis-actions, and their own Privileges, which the King answers, and they again Reply to: And receiving Answer from the King, they Ord in *May* the 28th, That all High-Sheriffs, Justices, &c. within an hundred and fifty miles of the City of *York*, do make stay of all Arms and Ammunition, that should be conveyed at any time to *York*; and that the person so conveying be apprehended: And likewise, that all Sheriffs within the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, shall by the Power of the Counties, suppress all Forces of Horse and Foot, coming together by the Kings Commission or Warrant; and all people, of what Rank soever, are to be aiding to their Suppression; and that this should be published in all Market-Towns and Churches. The King cries Quit with them, forbidding all his people belonging to the Trained Bands, or Militia of the Kingdom, to obey any Order or Ordinance of any of the Houses, according to a Statute 7 *Ed. 1.* And forthwith he requires all Ministers, Free-holders, Farmers, and substantial Copy-holders of the County of *York*, to meet at *Hay-warth Moor* near *York*, upon *Friday* n *Whitsun-Week*, by Nine in the Morning, to the Sheriff of the County of *York*, Which the Parliament declared to be against Law, and of none effect, and command all people to disobey it; for so doing, the Parliament will protect them.

1642.

Divers Members of the Commons, as well as of the Lords, disliked of those proceedings of Parliament, and therefore withdrew themselves to the King; which the House observing, Ordered, That all such as did not make their personal appearance by the 16th Day of June ensuing, should be Fined one hundred pounds towards the Irish Wars; such onely excepted, as were employed by the Parliament.

The Parliament declare against pawning the Crown Jewels.  
XIX. Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King.

They knew that the Queen had pawned the Crown Jewels in Holland, for Money to be transported to the King; which to prevent him of, they Order, That whosoever hath, or shall pay, lend, send, or bring any Money in specie into this Kingdom, for, or upon those Jewels, or accept of any Bill hereafter, shall be an Enemy to the State.

June the second, the Parliament sent to the King Nineteen Propositions.

I. That all the Kings Privy-Council, great Officers, and Ministers of State, may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve; and that an Oath be tender'd them.

II. That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such Matters as are transferred by them to the Privy-Council, and to be concluded by the major part of the Nobility under their Hands; the full number not to exceed five and twenty, nor to be under fifteen: If any Place fall void in the Interval of Parliament, then that the major part of the Council choose one to be confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.

III. That all the great Officers of the Kingdom, shall be chosen with Approbation of Parliament; and in the Interval, &c. as before said.

IV. That the Government and Education of the Kings Children, be by the Appointment of Parliament, &c. *ut supra*.

V. That their Marriages be Treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.

VI. That the Laws against Papists, Priests, and others, be executed, without Toleration or Dispensation, except by Parliament.

VII. That no Popish Lord or Peer have Vote in Parliament, and that their Children be Educated in the Protestant Faith.

VIII. That Church-Government be Reformed, as the Parliament shall Advise.

IX. That the Militia be settled, as the Parliament have Ordered, and that the King recall all his Declarations, published against their Ordinances therein.

X. That all Privy-Councillors and Judges, take an Oath for the maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes, which shall be made this Parliament, &c.

XI. That all Officers placed by Parliament hold their Places, *Quam diu bene se gesserint*.

XII. That all Members of Parliament put out, during this time, be restored again.

XIII. That the Justice of Parliament pass upon all Delinquents, and that they appear, or abide their Censure.

XIV. That the General Pardon pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall Advise.

XV. That all Forts and Castles of this Kingdom be disposed of by Parliament, *ut supra*.

XVI. That the King discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not raise any other, but in case of Actual Rebellion.

XVII.

1642.

XVII. That the King enter into strict Alliance with all Reformed States, for their Assistance, to recover the Rights of his Sister, and her Primogeniture, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.

XVIII. That the Lord Kimbolton, and the Five Members be cleared by Act of Parliament.

XIX. That no Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their Consent.

These Propositions were by the King rejected, as inconsistent with his Majesty. So that now Men began to despair of any good Issue of the Business. The King for his part Careless of the County of York, and Declares to the Commons the Reasons of his Summoning the Gentry (and not them) together with his Intentions of Protecting them against all Oppositions, and to ease the Charge of Bille-money, and to put the Trained Bands of the Kingdom under Persons of Honour and Loyalty.

The Parliament on the other side, Order June the Fourth, That all the Deputy-Lieutenants of England and Wales, that be not Members of the House of Commons, be present at the severall Counties and Places of Training and Mustering the Counties: And all Lords-Lieutenants be Ordered to dispatch their Warrants and Commissions accordingly; and that some Members of both Houses shall be sent down to be present, and to Countenance the Service.

This Order was vigorously put in Execution, and six days after, June the Tenth, comes our another for bringing in of Money or Plate, to maintain Horse, Foot-men, and Armes: For the publick Peace and Defence of the King, and both Houses of Parliament.

In the mean time, the Kings Agents in Holland are busie in getting Armes and Ammunition for him, upon Pawn of the Crown Jewels, whilst he himself sends abroad his Letters, with Commissions of Array, beginning with the County of Leicester, Directing it to the Earls of Huntingdon and Devon, Authorizing them to Muster all the ancient Trained Bands, and Freehold Bands of the County, and over them to appoint Colonels, Captains, and Officers; and to Issue Warrants for Assembling the people for discharge of that Service. This Commission was Declared by the Parliament to be against the Law, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject; and the Actors therein to be Disturbers of the Peace, and Betrayers of the Subjects Liberty.

The Lord Keeper Littleton, having delivered the Great Seal to one Elliot, whom the King had sent to him for that purpose, durst not stay behind, for fear of being questioned about it, but shifted away to the King to York, as likewise many of the Peers had done, whose Names we find thus Recorded:

The Duke of Richmond, Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Lindsey, Camberland, Huntingdon, Bath, Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Cambridge, Bristol, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Arundel, Rivers, Newcastle, Dover, Carnarvan, Newport, the Lord of Monmouth, Barkshire, Malmesbury, Wiltshire, Ebury, Rich, Howard of Carlisle, Newark, Paget, Chandos, Faulkebridge, Paulth, Lovelace, Savile, Coventry, Malmesbury, Dunsford, Seymore, Gray of Ruthen, Capell, Falkland, Master Controller, Secretary Nicholas, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, chief Justice Banks.

These Noblemen and the privy Council were by the King summoned, to whom he Declares and Protests, That he would not usurp any illegal Authority over them, but is ready to maintain them against all others that would; And that he would Defend them from all Votes and Orders of Parliament, together with the true Protestant Religion, the lawfull Liberty of the Subject, and the just Privileges of the three Estates of Parliament: Nor will he engage them in any War, but what shall be for the necessary Defence of his and their Rights. Whereupon they all engaged to him their Duty and Allegiance in a most solemn Protestation: Sir Richard Gurney was then Lord Mayor of London, to whom, and his Brethren the Aldermen, and Sheriffs of London, the King sends his Letters, forbidding them (upon Perill of having their Charter questioned) to levy Armes, or raise Money, upon pretence of a Guard for the Parliament, or any other Account, excepting onely the Relief of Ireland, or the payment of the Scots Subjects.

And now comes out the Kings general Declaration, wherein he Descants upon all the Parliaments Declarations for the last seven Months, and especially upon the last; professes, That henceforward he expects they should break out into disloyal Actions, Declains against their making the Defence of the King to be the pretence for their raising Forces, Protests his own constant Resolution for the preserving of Peace, Religion, the Laws and Subjects Liberties: And expects all his Subjects to assist him against the Trayterous Attempts of such men as would destroy his Person, Honour, and Estate, and bring on a Civil War; engaging, that whosoever should bring upon him Money, or Ammunition, Horse, or Armes, should receive Eight pounds per Cent. Consideration, and have good Assurance of both Principal and Interest upon his Forest Lands, Parks, and Houses.

They were rejected by the King.

Both sides makes preparations for War.

The King issues out the Commissions of Array.

The Lord Littleton Res to York with the Great Seal.

Also divers of the Peers.

The Kings Protestation to them.

The King forbids the Lord Mayor of London to raise Armes or Money.

The Kings general Declaration.

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**The Kings  
Proclamation,  
forbidding all  
Levites, except  
by his Order.**

In the mean time the Lords Subsign a Protestation, wherein they disallow all Meanings of War against the *Parliament*, and affirm their Endeavours only to tend to the maintaining of the Protestant Religion, the Laws of Peace, and Prosperity of the Kingdom.

About this time the King, by public Proclamation, forbade all Levies of Forces, and all Contributions to such Levies, without his express pleasure; grounding his Prohibition upon sundry Statutes, as 7 of *Ed. 1.* 2 *Ed. 3.* 11 *Rich. 2.* and the Earl of *Sherburne's* Case, in the Reign of *Hen. 8.* Then he minds them of their Oath of Allegiance, by which they were bound to be faithful not to the King only, as King, but to his Person as King *Charles*, contrary to the *Parliamentary* Distinction betwix his Person and his Authority; his Person at *Tork.* his Authority in *Parliament.*

Lastly, Concludes with a Justification of his Commissions of Array, which by this time, were issued into the several Counties of England and Wales: To this the Parliament Reply, and the King again to them, which was followed by several Messages to and fro: All which Messages rather exasperated, than allayed the Difference: And now began England to be divided (as once in Italy into *Gulphs* and *Gibellines*) into *Royalists* and *Parliamentarians*, *Cavaliers* and *Round-heads*.

The King takes a Journey into *Nottinghamshire* and *Lincolnshire*, to visit the places to his party. The Kings Resolution to reduce *Hull*.

The Earl of  
Warwick made  
Admiral by  
the Parliament,  
Sir John Per-  
rington by the  
King. The Parlia-  
ment became  
Masters of the  
Navy.

An Army raised by the Parliament under the Command of the Earl of Essex.  
The Parliaments Petition refused by the King.

The King furnished with Money from the Queen, and from divers Lords and Gentlemen.

The Earl of  
Stamford pro-  
claimed Tray-  
tor by the  
King.

**A Regiment to be raised for Prince Charles, under the Command of the Earl of Cumberland.**

The Commis-  
sioners of Ar-  
ray proclaimed  
Troyats by  
the Parliament.

The King to strengthen his own party, makes a Progress from York into Nottinghamshire, and summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of that County to Newark, Caresse them with the most Obliging Expressions, imaginable, for their Forwardness and Affections to him, Declaring his Resolutions of Acting according to the Protestation at York: The like he did to those of Lincolnshire, at Lincoln, and then July the Eleventh, sends a Message to the Parliament, to certify them of his Intentions, to reduce Hull by Force, if notwithstanding delivered to him, which if they should do, he would then admit of their future Addresses, and return such Propositions as may best conduce to prevent the Inguent War: together with the Message, he drew them a Copy of that Proclamation, which he published against Sir John Hotham, wherein he Complaineth of the Affront done to his Person by Sir John, and of the Parliaments justifying that Action by their Votes and Orders, That Hotham having Fortified the Town, and Browne'd the Country, had also set out a Pinnace at Sea, which had intercept ed his Packet-Boat with the Queens Letters, and that the Earl of Warwick, contrary to the Kings Commands, had taken upon him the Command of the Fleet: for which Reasons, the King was resolv'd to punish Hotham, and all other his Assistants. Indeed the Earl of Warwick had been by the Parliament commended to the King, as the fittest man for Admiral, the Earl of Northumberland being then sick, but he was Rejected by the King, who conferred that place upon Sir John Pennington: yet afterwards the Parliament conceiving it necessary to get the Fleet into their Hands, the Earl of Warwick, by their desired Admiral, who found such means, that in a short time, notwithstanding all the Opposition of Pennington, and his Adherents; he drew the Sea-men to his side, and completing his Design, Exauctorated the Captains of the opposite Party, and put in Others in their stead: Soon after which, a good Ship, called the Lyon, Laden with Armes and Ammunition for the King, from Holland, being ignorant of these last Passages, fell in amongst them, which was by Warwick taken, and sent up to the Parliament.

The Parliament now thought fit to Arm, and therefore Resolve, That an Army shall be raised for Defence (as was given out) of King and Parliament, and the Earl of Essex to be Captain-General, and the Earl of Bedford to Command the Horse.

The Earl of *Holland*, Sir John *Holland*, and Sir *William Stapleton* were Ordered to carry a Petition to the King then at *Beverly*; the Effect whereof was, To pray him to Disband all his Forces, to recall his Commissions of Array, to dismiss his Guards, and return to the *Parliament*: All which the King refused. The *Parliament* consider of raising Moneys, and so Declare for *Henry* upon Public Faith, to promote which the Endeavours of the Ministers were not a little Serviceable unto their self, whereby in a small time a very considerable Mass of Moneys, Plate, and Ammunition was brought in; the King was pretty well furnished with Moneys from the Queen upon his pawned Jewells, and some Contribution from such Lords, and Gentlemen as adhered to his Majesty, besides a liberal Loan from the University of *Oxford*: From *Beverly* the King removes to *Lincolne*, and carelesse the Inhabitants of that County in like manner, as he had done to those of *Nottinghamshire* and *Lincolnshire*; onely the Earl of *Stamford* was proclaimed Traitor, for removing the County Magazine from the Town, to his own House at *Bradgate*, and setting a Guard over it; but shortly after the *Parliament* (whose Lord-Lieutenant he was for that County) Vindicated him by a publick Declaration.

August the First, the King comes back to *Tork-shire*. Informs the Gentlemen there of the Parliaments forwardness to a War; desires then to spare him some A. m. i. e. s. and so Compleats Prince Charles his Regiment, for the Guard of his Person, under the Command of the Earl of *Cambridge* land.

Nor was the *Parliament* slack in their Business, but Declare for the raising of all their Power and Force against all Traitors which disturbed the State, and the Peace of the Kingdom, the Principall of which were Declared to be the Commissioners of Array, &c. Of the Northern Countie, the Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Dunsmore*, Lord *Willoughby of Erbery*, Some of the Earl of *Lindsie*, *Henry Hastings*, and others, of the Countie of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Oxfordshire*: And for the Western Countie, the Marquis *Harford*, the Lord *Pauli*.

And, *Paulley, Lord Seymour, Sir John Stowell, Sir Ralph Mynors, and John Blythe*, and others in, the County of *Somerset*; *Townshend*, in the *Parliament* to authorize their *General Writ*, and appoint also their Lieutenants in the several Counties; *Writ*, The Lordship of *Queens*, the *Bar*, of *Peiborough* of *Northampton*; *Lord Wharton* of *Bedfordshire*; *Earl* of *Sunderland* of *Northumberland*; *Earl* of *Arundel* of *Wiltshire*; *Earl* of *Bedford* of *Somersetshire*; and *Thomas* of *Brook* of *Warwick*; *Lord Chamberlain* of *Dorsetshire*; *Lord Willoughby* of *Parham* of *Lincolnshire*; *Dumfries* of the *City* and *County* of *Bedford*.

The King dealing with their Commanders, as they did with his, and Proclamations, General Orders, with all his Colonels and Officers, which would not instantly lay down Arms, to be Rebels and Traytors : And to Counterplot their Designs of lending some Forces Northward against himself, and others Westward, &c. at Portsmouth, he Commands Colonel Goring, the Governor thereof, to oppose them, and orders William Marquis of Hertford, his Lieutenant-General of his Force, to march into the Countie of Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Gloucester, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembrokeshire, Cardigan, the Cities of Exeter, Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford, Bath and Wells, The Town and County of Poole, Southampton and Haveringport, and of all the Trained Bands and other Volunteers, to Match against the said Party of Rebels, and his Complements, and themselves, who shall take special care to maintaine the Town of Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and Southampton.

¶ *Againe* the Twelfth, his Majesty publishes his Proclamation, requiring all his Subjects on the *Northside of Trent*, and twenty Miles *Southward*, to Appear and Assist him; and to that end, to meet him on the twenty second of that Month; with Armes and Furniture at *Nottingham*, where, and when he intended to Erect his Standard; and promises to repay what Money and Armes they shall think fit to lend him.

August the Twelfth, the King publishes his Grand Declaration, which will be too tedious to be here repeated: wherein he sets forth his own Greivances, and how ready he is to call this *Parliament* before the meeting of the *Peerie at York*; accuses them of Partiality, in expelling divers Members upon an Account of Monopolies; and yet Conning at Sir *Henry Mildmay* and Mr. *Lanfranco Whitaker*; then he reckons up his several Acts of Greivance, *Viz.* His passing a Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*, putting down *Scots Charters*, and *High-Commission Courts*; relinquishing Ship-Money; and the Banquets of Knighthood; and easing the Subjects in Matters of Forest Lands, and regulating the *Stannary Courts*; and the Clerk of the Market. And lastly, His passing the Act for the Continuance of this *Parliament*, untill the Peace of *England and Scotland*, and all their Desires in reference therunto, were provided for: That he Accuseth them for Not supplying his Wants; Making their own private Advantages of Offices, and Places of Profit; Keeping up the *Scots Army* for their own Ends, Voting down Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, Devying false Reports of Designs, and dangerous Plots against them; Erecting and Countenancing Unlearned and Seditious Lecturers; Their publishing Profanations, Declarations; and Remonstrances; Charging him with all the Mishaps and Misfortunes during his Reign, purposely to render him Odious to his Subjects; Their changing and unsettling the *Militia*, Encouraging Tumults and Tumultuary Meetings, whereby such Members of either House as disliked the Violence of their Proceedings, were terrified into a Compliance, and himself constrained for his own Security, to remove further off the City: Next he complains of the Business of *Holly* and *Boham*, their feising his Goods and Money, their Calumniating him, as intending to levy War, Voting his Actions Illegally, and Issuing out Warrants for the Apprehension of all the Great Officers of State, which referred to him, their feising his Navy, and making the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral, raising an Army, and making the Earl of *Essex* General: Making Forage and Poundage without his Consent, and converting the Money destined to the Relief of *Ireland*, and the discharge of the Kingdomes Debts, to serve their Turn to War against himself, besides the Insolent Speeches of divers Members, *Viz.* Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Martin*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, and others, in the House hitherto unopposed: Next he takes notice of the unworthy Carriage of the Earl of *Warwick*, who was so ashamed to require a Confirmation of the Letter Office to him for three Lives, at the same time that he complained of as a Monopoly, and without the alteration of any Circumstance for the ease of the Subject, and with so much Greediness and Authority, that whilst it was complained of as a Monopoly, he procured an Assignment to be made of it to him, from the person complained of, after he had by his Interest stopped the Proceedings of the Committee, for five Months before the Assignment made to him, upon pretence that he was concerned in it, and desired to be heard.

Lastly, He justifies his own Proceedings against the Lord *Kimbleton*, and the five Members, whom together with Mr. *Martin*, *Sibbels*, *Ludlow*, *Pennington*, and *Caprain Pen*, he offers to prove Guilty of High-Treason; of which Crime likewise he had especially just Ground of Indictment upon the Statute of this 3d. Ed. 3. against the Earls of *Warwick*, *Essex*, and *Stamford*, Lord *Brooke*, Sir *John Rotham*, Major-General *Skippin*; and these who should therefore have exercised the *Militia*, by virtue of the Ordinance; And finally That his Quarrel is not against the Parliament, but against the fore-named particular men, and concludes with an Offer of a general Pardon *such* that shall desire it, the above-mentioned Persons only excepted.

1642

Lieutenants of several Countries constituted by the Parliament.

The Earl of  
Essex and the  
rest of the  
Parliament's  
Commanders  
proclaimed  
Traitors by  
the King.  
The Marquis  
of Hertford or-  
dered to march  
against the  
Earl of Essex.

**The King  
summons in  
the Country.**

The substance  
of the Kings.  
Grand Decla-  
ration.

1642.

The King's  
men, who  
money, and  
for Ireland  
to their  
and Justice  
to the King.

The King sets  
up his Stan-  
dard at Nor-  
tingham; and  
He sends to  
Treat with the  
Parliament.

Which they  
deny, unless he  
forfake his evil  
Councillors.

The Parlia-  
ment go about  
to borrow Mo-  
ney upon the Pub-  
lick Faith.  
The Lord  
Straunge Im-  
peached of  
Treason by the  
Parliament;  
Mr. Hunt, Mr.  
Nichols, and Mr.  
Macworth pre-  
sented Petitions  
against the King.

The Parliament had before it a Petition for raising of four hundred thousand pounds, for Relief of A  
Ireland: And when Money was to be lent them One hundred thousand pounds of it  
upon the Publick Faith: Whereupon the King remembers them of the Act of Parliament, That  
no part of that Money should be employed to any other purpose than the reducing of those Re-  
bels; and therefore charges them to retract their Order, which they refuse upon him as a high  
breach of Privilege; and Accuse his Counsellors of raising the Irish Rebellion: to suppress  
which they had a Design to raise a Militia of Money, and to send thither five thousand Foot,  
and five hundred Horse, under the Lord Straunge, for Relief of Munster, all which they fail, and  
dash by the Kings with-drawing to the North besides that his Forces Quartering in and about  
the Common Roads to which had been a great Provision of Arms, Ammunition, and Bag-  
gage, had been directed towards Chester for their Service: As likewise, that he had recalled two Ships  
appointed for the Guard of those Seas by which the Rebels had Opportunity to strengthen  
themselves, and that they were forced to have the Fortification of Sully to supply the present di-  
ficiencies of the Army, which all these Nobility had compelled them to raise for Defence of King  
and Kingdom: And now of the forwarding of their Forces, the Parliament Order their Deputy-  
Lieutenants in the Northern Counties, to put in Execution the Ordinance of the Militia, with  
other particular Advices and Orders; and further they promise the Gentry of the Counties, That  
what Damage they sustained from the Cavaliers (for so those that Adhere to his Majesty are now  
generally called by a Title inferiour from dishonourable, however intended) by Plundering and  
Pillaging, shall be fully repaid out of the Estates of those persons who shall persist in this for the  
King against the Parliament.

It was the twenty second, the King comes to Nottingham, and there Erects his Standard, to  
which some Numbers resort, but far short of what he expected, so three Dayes afterward he  
sends a Message to the Parliament, to propose a Treaty, the Messengers were the Earls of San-  
tamper and Dorset, Sir John Culpeper, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir William Udall; none  
of which were suffered to enter the House, for to deliver their Errand, wherefore it was sent in by  
the Utter of the Black Rod, to which the Parliament made this Answer:

“That until his Majesty shall recall his Proclamations and Declarations of Treason against the Earl of Essex, and them; and their Adherents; And unless the Kings Standard be set up in pursuance thereof, be taken down, they cannot by the Fundamental Privileges of Parliament, give his Majesty another Answer.”

The King Replies, That he never intended to Declare the Parlia-  
ment Traitors, or set up his Standard against them; but if they shall re-  
solve to Treat, either Party shall revoke their Declarations against all  
Persons as Traitors, and the same day to take down his Standard.

To this they Answer, That the Differences could not any wayes be concluded,  
unless he would forfake his evil Counsellors, and return to his Parliament. And  
accordingly September the Sixth, they Order and Declare, That the Armes which  
they have, or shall take up for the Parliament, Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the  
Kingdom, shall not be layd down, untill the King with-draw his Protection  
from such Persons as are and shall be Voted Delinquents, and shall leave them  
to Justice, to the end, that their Estates may discharge the Debts and Loan-  
money of the Commonwealth.

The War being now begun, the new-raised Souldiers began to commit sundry Out-rages upon  
the Country-people, which both King and Parliament, upon Complaint, laboured to rectifie, Sir  
Thomas Barrington and Mr. Grimston being sent down into Essex by the Parliament; upon that busi-  
ness, seized Sir John Lucas and his Lady at Gloucester, and committed them to the Jail, and soon  
after, Lucas is proclaimed Traitor by the Parliament, and brought up to London, and Committed  
to the Gatehouse; in Essex one Mr. Newcombe was likewise Imprisoned, both of them to be brought  
to a speedy Trial: The Parliament had formerly Voted, That Money should be borrowed upon  
the Publick Faith; but because the People might look for some Assurance for the re-payment of  
such Loans, they now Declared, That all such persons as shall Assist them by Moneys, or othe-  
wise, at their own Charges, shall receive satisfaction out of the Estates of those men which are, or  
shall be Voted Delinquents; of whom James Lord Straunge, Son and Heir to the Earl of Derby,  
was not the least, who was Impeached of High-Treason by the Parliament, for summoning the  
Lancashire men on the fifteen day of July last past, to Manchester, to Support and Aye the King  
against the Parliament, and for raising of Forces, by some of whom, one Richard Percival, a Linnen  
Webster, was killed. The King at Shrewsbury, by Advice of Judge Hewitt, Adjourned Richard  
Mansel Term, and hearing of the Proceedings against the Lord Straunge at Bridgenorth, he proclaims  
Thomas Nicholls, Humphrey Macworth, and Thomas Hunt, Esquires, (notable Sticklers for the  
Parliament) to be Traitors.

September

1642.

The Lord Fair-  
fax concludes  
Articles of  
Neutrality  
with Mr. R. Ha-  
vis, at which the  
Parliament is  
displeased.  
The Parlia-  
ment hearing  
of the prepa-  
ration made in  
Holland for the  
Kings supply,  
sent over Mr.  
Strickland with  
a Declaration.

September 29. The Lord Fairfax for the Parliament, and Mr. Bellasis for the King, had con-  
cluded Articles of Neutrality for Yorkshire, at which the Parliament take Exceptions, Declared  
October 16. the Lord Fairfax and his Party not bound to observe the Articles, but to Assist the  
Parliament in Defence of the Common Cause.

The Queen was very Active in Holland to promote her Husbands Affairs, and by her Interest  
with the Prince of Orange, and the Industry of the Lord Digby, had procured from the States of  
the United Provinces, some Experienced Officers, with Arms and Ammunition, to be sent over  
to the Kings Army; which coming to the Parliaments knowledge, they presently send over Mr.  
Walter Strickland, a Member of the House of Commons, their Residentiary there to present them  
in their Names, with this ensuing Declaration:

WE the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, taking into se-  
rious Consideration, the Means of Composing the great Distempers  
and Combustions begun in this Kingdome, which threaten the Destruction and  
Ruine, and of all other Protestant Princes and States, have thought good to  
make this Declaration to the high and mighty Lords, the States of the United  
Provinces; That we understand, by a Letter of the Lord Digby, a Person fled  
out of this Kingdome for High-Treason: That as he often endeavoured by his  
wicked and malicious Councils to make Division between his Majesty and the  
Parliament, and hath been in great part the Cause of that miserable and unna-  
tural War, which is made against us by his Majesty, so he hath laboured by  
all means in the United Provinces to provide Arms, Powder, and Ammunition,  
for the Fomenting of that War, and making it more dangerous to the King-  
dome; and for this purpose did Address himself to the Prince of Orange, by  
whose Countenance and Help (as we are informed by the Lord Digby's Letters)  
he hath made Provision for great quantities of Ordnance, Powder, Arms, and  
divers other sorts of Warlike Provision.

And we are further informed by credible Advertisement, That the Prince  
of Orange in Favour of the Lord Digby, and those other wicked Councillors,  
and Incendiaries, who being joyned together in these mischievous Practices  
against the Peace of this Kingdome, hath not only Licensed (but the better to  
encourage divers Commanders, experienced Officers and Souldiers, to resort  
into this Kingdome, in Ayde of them against the Parliament) hath promised  
to reserve their Places for them in their Absence, and doth cause other Pro-  
vision of the same kind to be made, and prepared to be sent over for their Sup-  
ply, to the great hurt of this Kingdome, and the danger of the interrupting  
the most necessary, profitable, and long continued Amity between the two  
States.

We further desire to let them know, That we cannot believe that this is  
done by any Authority or Direction from their Lordships, considering the great  
help that they have received from this Kingdome, when heretofore they lay  
under the heavy Oppression of their Princes; and how conducible the Friend-  
ship of this Nation, (concurring with the Wisdom, Valour, and Industry of  
their own people) hath been to the present Greatness and Power which they  
now enjoy: Neither can we think, that they will be forward to help to make  
us Slaves, who have been useful and assistant in making them Free-men. Or  
that they will forget that our Troubles and Dangers issue from the same Foun-  
tain with their Own: And that those who are set awork to undermine Reli-  
gion, and Liberty in the Kingdome, are the same, which by open force did seek  
to bereave them of both. It cannot be unknown to that wise State, That it is  
the Jealous Faction here, that hath corrupted the Councils of our King, the  
Conscience of a great part of our Clergy, which have plotted so many mi-  
chievous Designs to destroy the Parliament, and still endeavour to divide Ire-  
land from this Kingdome, by a most wicked and cruell Rebellion there, and to  
divide the King from the Parliament here, and by false Slanders and Imputations  
of things never done, nor intended by us, hath incensed his Majesty, so as that  
after many bitter Invectives published against us, without any just Cause given;  
He hath now at last resolved to set up his Royal Standard, and to draw his Sword  
for the Destruction of his most faithful and obedient People, whom by the Laws  
and Constitutions of this Kingdome, he is bound to preserve and protect. The  
Cases

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Cafes and Fortunes of both Estates being so Involved and United, we cannot expect to be hindered by them in our Just Defence: Or that they will do any thing to aggravate the Miseries and Troubles of this Kingdome, in the Peace and Happiness whereof they have found much Advantage, and by such unfriendly and unseasonable Supplies of our common Enemies, make way to their own as well as our Ruine.

We therefore desire they may betimes look into this Mischief, and having searched it into the bottom, to stop the further progress of it: That they will not suffer more Ordnance, Armour, or any other Warlike Provision to be brought over to strengthen those, who as soon as they shall prevail against the Parliament (according to their Principles and Interests by which they are guided) will use that strength to the ruine of those, from whom they have had it. We desire they would not send over any Country-men to further our Destruction, who were sent to them for their Preservation: That they will not anticipate the spilling of English Blood in an unnatural Civil War, which hath been so cheerfully, and plentifully hazarded and spent, in that Just and Honourable War, by which they have been so long preserved, and to which the Blood of those persons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdome, is still in a manner Dedicated; but rather that they would cashier and discharge from their Employment those that will presume to come over for that purpose: And in satisfying these our reasonable and necessary Desires, they shall thereby not only secure us; but themselves, yea, they shall most of all advantage his Majesty, for whose Service those things are pretended to be done. The Question between his Majesty and the Parliament, is not, Whether he shall enjoy the same Prerogative and Power which hath belonged to our former Kings, his Majesties Royall Predecessors; but, Whether that Prerogative and Power should be employed for our Defence, or to our Ruine? We expect nothing from him but Security, and protection from those mischievous Designs, which have been so often multiplied and renewed against us, though hitherto (through Gods Providence) as often frustrated. It cannot be denied by those, who look indifferently into our Proceedings and Affairs, but that it will be more Honour, and Wealth, Safety and Greatness to his Majesty, in concurring with his Parliament, then in the course in which he now is: but so unhappy hath his Majesty been in those who have the greatest influence upon his Councils, that they look more upon the prevailing of their own party, then upon any those great Advantages both to his Crown, and Royal Person, which he might obtain by joyning with his People: And so cunning are those Factors for Popery, in prosecution of their own Aymes, that they can put on a counterfeit Visage of Honour, Peace, and Greatness, upon those Courses and Counsels which have no truth and reality: but of Weakness, Dishonour, and Miseries to his Majesty and whole Kingdome. We have lately expressed our earnest Inclinations to that Nationall Love and Amity with the United Provinces, which is nourished and confirmed by so many Civill Respects, and Mutual Interests, as makes it so naturall to us, that we have, this Parliament, in our humble Petition to his Majesty, desired we might be joyned with that State, in a more near and strict League and Union: And we cannot but expect some Returns from them of the like Expressions; and that they will be so far from blowing the Fire which begins to kindle amongst us, that they will rather endeavour to quench it by strengthening and encouraging us, who have no other Design, but to preserve our Religion, save our selves, and the other Reformed Churches of Christendome, from the Massacres and Extirpations, with which the Principles of the Popish Religion, do threaten us and them, which are begun to be Acted in Ireland, and in the Hopes, Endeavours, and Intentions of that Party, had long since been Executed upon us, if the Mercy, Blessing, and Favour of Almighty God had not superabounded, and prevented the Subtlety and Malignity of Cruell, Wicked, and Blood-thirsty men. A notable subtle and well-penn'd Declaration, and carrying in it a very fair appearance of Loyalty and Sincerity.

And now we enter upon Military Effects, the King himself is Generalissimo over his Own, his Captain Generall was first the Marquess of Herford, and afterward the Earl of Lindsey: and the Earl of Essex of the Parliamentarians.

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The King returning to York, divers of his Forces were Quartered to near Hull, that it seemed as if they had some Design upon the Town: Upon this, Sir John Hotham (who perform'd the first Act of Hostility against his Majesty, and how he was rewarded by the Parliament that employ'd him, will hereafter appear) and his Assailant Sir John Meldrum, with a small Party, made a suddain Ensignion; and thence surprizing them, forced them to shift for themselves, killed some, took others, and so returned Victors: and shortly after receiving a Supply to the number of Five hundred from London, sallied out again upon the Royall Party, whom they compelled to a disorderly Retreat, killed twenty, seized their Colours, and seventeen Muskets, with some fifteen Prisoners, and burnt the Barn where some Arms and Ammunition was laid up for the King.

In these Encounters was the first Blood drawn: August the Fourth, the King had summoned all his Subjects North of Trent, to a Generall Rendezvous, from whence he marches to Nottingham, where, as we said, he set up his standards, thence Marched to Leicester, then to Leicester, to towards Wales, and settles at Shrewsbury, where his Army encamped into a considerable Body.

The Parliaments Forces formed at London, Rendezvous at St. Albans, and march Northward to meet the King, carrying with them a Petition of the two Houses, who prescribed these Directions to their Generall.

First, To restrain all Prophaneess in his Army.

Secondly, To March and Fight like Kings Army; and, by Butech, or otherwise, to rescue his Majesties Person, the Prince, and Duke of York, out of the hands of those about him.

Thirdly, To take his Opportunity in some Honourable way to cause the Petition of Parliament to be presented to his Majesty; who if he be pleased to withdraw himself from his Forces, and to resort to his Parliament, he was then to cause those Forces to Disband, and to serve and defend the King with sufficient Strength in his Return.

Fourthly, To Declare, That if any will (within ten dayes after publication) withdraw from assisting the King, and return to the Parliament, they shall have their Pardon, Except Delinquents already Voted, or to be Voted, or Impeached: Or who stand Impeached of High-Treason, or have been Eminent, or Acting against the Parliament. And except the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Cumberland, New-Castle, Rivers, and Carnarvan; Viscounts Newark and Falkland, Principall Secretary to the King, Secretary Nichols, Mr. Edmund Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde.

Fifthly, To receive Loans, or Contribution of Money, Plate, or Horses for the Support of the Army, certifying the Sums of Money, weight of Plate, value of Horses, that the parties may thereby be repaid upon Publick Faith.

Sixthly, To protect the Good people from Violence of the Cavaliers, and to restore to them their Losses.

Seventhly, To apprehend all persons Impeached as Traytors, and other Delinquents, and secure them to the Parliament.

Eighthly, To observe such further Directions as he shall receive from the Parliament.

Besides these Directions, he had a Committee, any Four of whom, whereof himself to be One, were Impowred to Consult of things concerning the good of the Army, to punish, or discharge Malignants, and to take Subscriptions of Money, Plate, or Provisions; to be repaid at Eight per Cent. by Publick Faith.

Colonel Goring held Portsmouth for the King, which the County-Bands intended to Surprize, but he having timely notice by the way, Skimmed, and retired: But the Parliament Espousing the Quarrell, and the Assailants having good Correspondents in the Town, Sir John Mericks Regiment, and a Troop of Horse were sent to their Assistance, who began the Siege, and with some other Helps so frightened Goring, that although Marquis Harford hastned to his Relief, yet he was necessitated to Surrender the Town, and take Ship for Holland: However, Marquis Harford seized Sherburn Castle, and giving the Earl of Bedford a Brush by the way, marched over Stradown towards Shrewsbury, where the King then Resided.

Sir John Byron had raised some Troops for the King in Oxford, but was unexpectedly set upon at Brackley in his March towards Oxford, by sundry Troops of the Parliamentarians, and the Townsmen of Brackley, by whom he was forced to retreat to the Heath with some loss, yet on he comes to Oxford, and after a small time of carrying, he marches to Worcester with Five hundred Horse, and takes the Town, and the next News we hear of him, is an Encounter with Colonel Nathaniel Fines.

Sir John Byron takes Worcester for the King.

About

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Prince Robert, and Prince Maurice arrive in England.

The Earl of Essex marches out of London to his Army.

The Parliament presents Petition to the King by the Earl of Essex.

About the beginning of September Arrived in England the two Princes, Palatines, Rupert, and Maurice, who were presently entertained, and put into Command by the King their Uncle.

The King had now gotten together a Potent Army to whom between Stafford and Whitchurch, after a short Speech, he made a Solemn Protestation of his Candid Intentions, and sincere meaning to defend the Protest in Religion, the Laws, and Liberties of the Subjects, and Privileges of Parliament, according to his former Protestation at York.

Ten dayes before this, viz. September the Ninth, the Earl of Essex in great Pomp, attended on by the Parliament, set forth out of London towards St. Albans, and from thence to Northampton, where all his Forces met, amounting to the number of Fourteen thousand, having with him the Parliament's Petition, which he was to present to the King, the Effect whereof was:

**T**hat his Loyall Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot without tenderness of Compassion behold the pressing Calamities of England and Ireland, by the Practises of a prevailing Party with his Majesty, to alter true Religion, and the ancient Government of this Kingdome, introducing Superstition into the Churches, and Confusion in the State; Exciting, Encouraging, and Fostering the Rebellion in Ireland: and as there, so here begin the like Massacres, by drawing on a War against the Parliament, leading his Person against them, as if by Conquest to establish an unlimited Power over the People, seeking to bring over the Rebels of Ireland to join with them: And all these Evil Counsellors are Defended and Protected against the Justice of Parliament; Who have for their just Defence of Religion, the King, Crown, and Dignity of the Lawes, Liberties, and Power of Parliament, taken up Arms, and Authorized the Earl of Essex to be their Captain-Generall against these Rebels and Traitors. And pray the King to withdraw his Person, and leave them to be Supprest by his Power, and to return to his Parliament, and that they will receive him with Honour, and yield him Obedience, secure his Person, and Establish Him, and his People, with all the Blessings of a Glorious and Happy REIGNE.

Which he refused to accept.

The King Marcheth from Shrewsbury towards London.

The Parliament order the Lands of the Bishops, &c. to be sequestered.

Colonel Sands routed at Worcester by Prince Rupert.

The Kings Forces quit that City upon the approach of the Earl of Essex.

This Petition was never delivered, notwithstanding that Generall Essex twice sent to the King, for a safe Conduct for those who should be employed therein; for the King refused to receive any Address by those whom he had accused of High-Treason, of whom the Earl of Essex was one. The King having Cursed the Inhabitants of Denbighshire, Flintshire, and Shrewsbury, furnished himself with money by melting in his new Erected Mint, such Plate as many of the Nobles and Gentlemen brought in plentifully; takes his March towards London; whereof the Parliament being informed, Order the Trained Bands of their Sociate Counties, of Essex, Hartford, Middlesex, and London, to Rendezvous, and be ready at an Hours Warning, and Fortifie all the Passages about the City with Posts, Chains, and Courts of Guard. And for further Security they Vote, That such as will not Contribute, shall be Secured and Disarmed: in which Business, the Mayor of London now Elect (instead of Sir Richard Gurney Ejected) was employed. And further, That the Fines, Rents, and Profits, of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and other Delinquents, shall be Sequestered for the Service of the Common-wealth: And that all the Kings Revenue, arising out of Rents, Fines, and Courts, or Composition for Wards, be Sequestered for the State: And a Committee for Sequestration appointed.

Sir John Byron had taken Worcester; to dislodge whom, Colonel Nathaniel Fines, and Colonel Sandys Marched with a Brigade of Horse, and some Volunteers of Foot of the County, raised by the Lord Say, and Assailed the Town on the West-side of Severn, supposing that Essex had been at hand to fall upon the other side, as he was mis-informed by a Spy; but too late repented his mistake, when instead of Essex, comes Prince Rupert, whose Horse rushed upon the Parliamentarians in an incommensurable narrow Lane, where neither the Rear could come up, nor the Van retreat, so that all were slain, or routed, and Colonel Sandys with some others were taken Prisoners. But Generall Essex coming on with his Army, after he had Garrisoned Northampton, Coventry, and Warwick: Rupert and Byron were glad to quit the Town to him, who from thence sent out the Earl of Stamford with a Party to Hereford, to hinder the Forces of South-Wales from joining with

with the King; from Hereford the Earl of Stamford with his Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, removes to Gloucester, entering the City as Governour: but not long after being called away into the West, Massey his Lieutenant-Colonel is left behind as Deputy at first, but afterwards hath the sole Government conferred upon him: Colonel Thomas Essex is commanded to Bristol, which he Garrisons, and after the Generals departure, is made Governour of Worcester; two more Regiments and ten Troops are sent to Kidderminster and Bendish, to join with the Lord Wharton and Sir Henry Cholmleys Regiments; and at Coventry and Warwick, lay the Lord Peterborough, Sir William Constable, and Colonel Brown, with their Forces, all to oppose the Cavaliers marching to London; and at Targuonish was seized a Ship coming from Holland for the Kings Service, with an hundred and forty Souldiers, and three hundred Barrels of Powder. But in Yorkshire the Kings Party grew potent, being headed by the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Francis Wortley, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir John Kay, Mr. Francis Nezil, and Sir Thomas Glenham, who forced Captain Hotham to forsake the Country, and retreat to Hull. In Cornwall near Pendennis, Sir Nicholas Slanning the Governour, Sir Bevil Grenville, and others of the Gentry, had gathered together a considerable Body of an Army, wherewith they possessed themselves of Lancelston, and with their General Sir Ralph Hopton performed divers Exploits against the contrary Party, who held Plymouth, and some few other adjoining Places for the Parliament.

In Wales the Earl of Worcester bestirred himself notably for the King, and drew a great Number of Welshmen to side with him, inasmuch, that seeing his Army encreased, he resolved to march towards London, and was gotten one dayes Journey before Essex, who perceiving his intent of staying so long at Worcester, hastens after him to the Relief of his Matters. The King disdaining to be pursued by a Subject, turns back to meet him, and October the Twenty third, both Cavaliers and Effemins drew into the Field, between Keinton and Edgehill in Warwickshire, the Cavaliers had gained the Top of the Hill, from whence the King took a view of the Parliaments Army, by whom he was saluted with three Pieces of Cannon, which was answered with two Shot of theirs, and the Fight Commenced about two of the Clock in the Afternoon; both Generalls performing their parts with great Courage, and Gallantry: The Earl of Lindsey now Generall for the King, led on his Forces with a Pike in his hand, and so did Essex; but was afterwards advised to retire from that Danger, as more becoming a private Souldier; then a Generall; the greatest Body of the Kings Horse was on the right Wing, Commanded by Prince Rupert, who furiously charged the left Wing of the others Commanded by Colonel Ramsey, Commissary Generall, whom he Routed and pursued to Keinton Town, and further, making great Slaughter all along; but the left Wing consisting of Horse and Dragoons, had not the same Success, being over-powered by the Right Wing of the Parliamentarians, which was Commanded by Sir William Balfore. Sir Philip Stapleton, the Lord Fielding, and Colonel Hurry: General Lindsey who Commanded the main Body, being too far engaged in the Fight, was taken Prisoner, and died presently after of the Wounds which he received in the Battell, and with him was taken the Lord Willoughby of Eresby; and Sir Edmund Verney Knight Marshall, and Standard-Bearer was killed, and the Standard taken, but instantly rescued by Mr. John Smith, who for that Service was Dubbed Knight and Baronet in the Field, and made Standard-Bearer: Night parted the Fray, and both Armies Retreat, each accounting themselves Victors; on both Sides were lost between Five and six thousand men: The most remarkable on the Kings Side, being the Earl of Lindsey, and Sir Edmund Verney; On the Parliaments, Colonel Thomas Essex, who was come to the Fight from his Government at Worcester, and Lieutenant Colonel Ramsey, and the Lord John, of Blaiso was taken Prisoner, and soon after died: The left Wing of Horse on both sides was Routed, and the Foot being left to themselves, were fain to shift for their Lives the best they could: Next day both the Parties quit the Field, the King marches towards Ayno, and Essex towards Coventry. From Coventry, October the Twenty seventh, the King sends a Proclamation of Pardon to the Cities of London and Westminster, wherein Alderman Fulk, and Manners were excepted: The Battell of Edge-Hill was fought on Sunday the same day Twelve-month that the Irish Rebellion brake out.

Banbury stood yet out against the King, which he now resolves to fall upon, but both Town and Castle Surrendered without any Blows, and the two Regiments of Foot, and a Troop of Horse then in the Siege, took Arms under him: So the King brings his Army to Oxford, whence Prince Rupert marches against the Lord Say's House at Broughton, and takes it, and with a flying Party makes Excursions to near London, that the Parliament thought good to desire their General Essex to bring his Army nearer the City, for their Safeguard, who accordingly Obeys, and comes to Westminster November the seventh, where he is honourably entertained by the Parliament, and presented with a Gratuity of Five thousand Pounds, and a Declaration set out concerning this late Victory, and acceptable Service in that Bloody Battell at Edge-hill. The Recusants of Lancashire judged this a reasonable time to Requiton the King, to take them into his Protection, and to suffer them to have and bear Arms in his and their own defence; which was granted: Whereby he incurred this Censure, from such as were forward to censure all his Actions, That he favoured Papists, and entertained them in his Army. The Parliament to recruit their Army, declare, That all Apprentices that will Lift themselves in their Service for the publick Cause, shall be secured from Indemnity of their Masters during their Service, and their time included, to go on towards their Freedom, and all their respective Masters are to receive them again when they shall return. By which means, an infinite number of Apprentices were induced to Lift themselves in the Army: C c c

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Gloucester, Bristol, and other places, Garrisons for the Parliament.

The Kings Party powerful in the North.

In Cornwall.

And in Wales.

The Battell at Edge-hill.

Banbury Surrendered to the King.

The Earl of Essex comes to Westminster, and is received with great honour.

The Parliament encourage Apprentices to Lift themselves in their Service.

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And invite the Scots to come in to their Assistance.

Several of the Lords and Commons present a Petition to the King at Col.brook.

The Fight at Brainford.

A Letter from Holland to the King intercepted, in which he is advertised of great store of Money and Ammunition to be sent him from thence. As also Supplies from Denmark.

Several Committees associate.

Giving lands with Men and Ammunition. The City of London's Petition to the King.

And now they declare to the Scots, That the King was so addicted to the Prelatical Party, and the Papists, that unless they joined their helping hand, the Protestant Religion was in danger here of being subverted; that he had a Design of bringing in Forrainers into the North, which were to join with a party of Papists there while himself conducted the Prelatical Army, wherefore they desired them to take care for the securing of their Borders, and to assist here against the Popish and Forrainer Forces.

The King hears of this, and by a Letter to the Lords of his Privy-Council in Scotland, endeavors to turn the Scales, but in vain.

The Parliament had Voted an Address to the King, and desired a safe Conduct for these persons to present their Petition, Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Philip Earl of Pembroke, and Adonig-mery, and four Members of the Commons, Mr. Perpoint, the Lord Waiman, Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, and Sir John Hippistie, all which were admitted by the King, excepting onely Sir John Evelyn, who had been proclaimed Traytor at Oxford; which exception so irritated the Houses, that they voted it to be a refusal of a Treaty and Ordered a Committee to acquaint the City Common-Hall therewith; but this heat being somewhat allayed, the King at Colbrook, November the eleventh, receives the Parliaments Petition from the rest of the Delegates without Sir John Evelyn, which was in effect, to desire him to appoint some convenient place, not far from London, for his Residence, untill Committees of Parliament may attend him with some Propositions for removal of these Distempers: To which he answered; *He would expect them at his Castle of Windsor, and desires them to hasten the Treaty.*

The Delegates were scarcely departed, when Intelligence was brought to the King, that the Earl of Essex had drawn his Forces, with his Ordnance, out of London towards him; and that unless he gained Brainford, he would be hemmed in by the Parliaments Forces, who possessed most of the Towns round about him, whereupon he advanced thither the same night. In the Town were quartered part of Colonel Hollis's Regiment, who taking the Alarm, made bold Resistance, and defended themselves till the Lord Brookes Regiment, and Colonel Hamdens came in to their Rescue, and maintained the Fight against the Kings Forces, till night drew on, and then being overpowered by Numbers, retreated out of the Town, which the King presently took possession of, together with some Prisoners, Arms, and Ammunition, eleven Colours, and fifteen pieces of Ordnance. This was acted, November the thirteenth, but General Essex hearing of this Fight, with all speed makes towards Brainford, whither followed the City Militia, and Trained-Bands, which together made a formidable Army; inso much, that the King thought it his best way to march back again (taking Kingston in his way, then newly quieted by the Parliaments Forces,) from thence to Ox-lands, Reding, and so to Oxford. This Action of the Kings, in a time of Treaty, (though it appears not to have been without sufficient ground) was so ill relented of the Houses, that they thereupon Voted, *To have no accommodation; Yet upon the Kings Message to them, That he intended to march at such a distance from London, that should take away all pretence of misapprehension from his Army, which might hinder them from preparing their Propositions, they again petition him to desert his Army, and return to his Parliament; and this with the same success as formerly:* In the mean time, a Letter from one of the Kings Agents in Holland, to Secretary Nichols, is intercepted, making mention of considerable Forces and Ammunition ready to be sent over for the Kings Service. From Denmark are likewise sent Arms for ten thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, with a Train of Artillery, and every thing proportionable, to the very Drums and Halberts, two good Men of War come their Convoy, and in them an Ambassador to his Majesty, a person of great quality from Denmark, Cockram comes along with him.

In Yorkshire the Earl of Newcastle had raised great Forces for the King, with which he edgesto York, and joyns with the Earl of Cumberland, making up a Body of eight thousand Horse and Foot, whereof above two thousand were Horse-Dragoons. The Lord Fairfax was the most considerable man that stood up for the Parliament in those parts, between whom, and the Earl of Newcastle was a sharp Encounter at Tadcaster, from eleven of the clock, till four in the Evening, wherein the Lord Fairfax being overmatched, and not able to stand a second Encounter, the next day quitted the Town, and marched away to Selby for Recruits; from whence he sends out his Son Sir Thomas with five Companies and two Troops to Leeds, whom the Royalists force back again, and how the whole strength of the Parliament in the North is reckoned to be but one and twenty Companies of Foot, and five Troops of Horse, and one Company of Dragoon, too weak to resist the Earl of Newcastle, whose Forces now we find to be about Halifax, and the cloathing Towns, and Masters of the Field.

The Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and the City of Norwich, are Authorised by the Parliament to associate, under the Command of the Lord Grey of Wark, as Major-General; and Winchester and Chester are gained by the Parliament.

December the fifteenth, Lands Colonel Goring, with the Queens Standard, fourscore old Commanders, and store of Warlike Provision, to joyn with Newcastle. About this time the City petitioned the King, and profess their grief for his default of their Loyalty; with large Protestations of their zealous Intentions to defend him; with all that Love and Duty which became good Subjects.

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The King replies, *That he hath a good Opinion of many of them, and could freely and willingly pardon all except Pennington the present Mayor, and Verme-Poulke, and Manwaring; and concludes with the declaring of his high displeasure against such as shall continue acting and assisting his Adversaries.* Many of them were startled with this Answer, yet take heart again, being revived with what Mr. Pym and the Parliament Committee told their Common-Council, of the Parliaments great love and Affection to them, and Resolution to live and dye in their Defence. In the North the Parliamentarians grow bold again, Sir Hugh Cholmley encounters with several parties of the Cavalry at Malton; and January the sixteenth, joyning with Sir Matthew Boynton, fell upon a party of six hundred Horse and Foot at Guburrough, commanded by Col. Slingsby, and put them to the Rout. Sir Thomas Fairfax had failed of his first Design against Leeds, but the second time he carries it with little loss, wherein he took four Colours, and five hundred prisoners, (six of which Commanders) with many Arms and much Ammunition: after which, the Kings Forces relinquish Wakefield, and Doncaster, which are forthwith invested for the Parliament. The Earl of Newcastle draws down his Forces to York, to prepare for the Queens entertainment; and January the Seventeenth proclaims the Lord Fairfax, and his Son Sir Thomas, and others Traytors, as the Earl of Cumberland had done the first of December last; which the Parliament resenting, do as much against the Earl. Some De-fires of the Parliament had been presented to the King at Oxford February the first, by the Earles of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Holland, with Eight of the Commons, Viz.

The Parliaments Forces in the North rout Colonel Slingsby.

Leeds taken by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

The Earl of Newcastles proceedings at York.

The Parliaments Propositions to the King.

*To disband his Army, and to return home to his Parliament; to leave Delinquents to Cry, and Papists to be disarmed.*

*To pass a Bill for abolishing of Church-Governours, and Government, and such other Bills, as shall be devised for a New Reformation, Recusants to abjure Papacie, to remove Malignant Councillors, to settle the Militia as the Parliament please, to prefer to the great Offices, and places of Judicature, such of the Parliament as they shall name, and to take in all such as have been put out of the Commissions of Peace.*

*To pass a Bill to vindicate the Lord Kimbolton, and the Five Members; to enter Alliance with his Protestant Neighbours, for recovery of the Palatinate; to grant a Generall Pardon, with Exception of the Earl of Newcastle, the Lord Digby, and some others.*

*To restore such of the Parliaments Members as have been displaced, to their Offices and places, and to satisfy for their Losses.*

The King on the other side proposed,

*That his own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Ships, and Forts, be restored.*

*That which hath been done contrary to Law, and the Kings Rights, may be renounced and recalled.*

*That all illegal power claimed or acted by Orders of Parliament, be disclaimed; as the King will readily consent to the Execution of all Laws made or to be made, concerning Popery and Reformation; so he desires a Bill for preserving the Books of Common-Prayer against Sectaries; And that all persons excepted against in the Treaty, may be tried per pares; That there be cessation of Arms, and a free Trade.*

The Cessation of Arms was thus limited.

*That all Arms, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all Commodities, passing without safe Conduct, may be seized on either side, and their persons so passing; That the Kings Forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer Windsor, than Wheatly; and in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Alisbury than Brill; and in Berkshire either Forces to continue as they are; The Parliaments Forces in Oxfordshire, to advance no nearer to Oxford, than Henley; Those in Buckinghamshire no nearer than Alisbury; That the Kings Forces shall take no new Quarters, no nearer then twelve miles from Oxford any way, nor the Parliament twelve miles from Windsor, where the Parliaments Army lay; That no Siege shall be against Gloucester, but the Kings Forces to return, and that the Parliaments Forces remain as they are in Gloucestershire.*

The Cessation of Arms how limited.

Thus way was made for a Treaty, but no more done in it for the present, till the Fourth of March, when it was revived by the Advice of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, a Member of the House of Commons; who in his Speech told the Parliament plainly, *That the War would soon ruine all.* So the Parliament appoint for their Commissioners, the Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Perpoint, Sir William Ermine, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, to attend the King at Oxford.

Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for a Treaty.

February the 23, the Queen lands at Burlington-Key, with Officers, Munition, and Money from Holland.

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The Queen  
lands with Me-  
ney and Am-  
munition.

Sully Castle  
taken for the  
Parliament by  
Col. Massey.

Cirencester ta-  
ken for the  
King by  
Prince Rupert.

The Earl of  
Worcesters  
Forces defeat-  
ed by Massey  
and Waller.

The Scots en-  
ter England  
with an Army  
to assist the  
Parliament.  
The Pope sends  
into Ireland to  
encourage the  
Rebels.

The Emperor  
defeated by the  
Swedes and  
French.

The death of  
Cardinal Rich-  
elieu, and  
Lewis the 13.  
King of France.

Holland, from whence the Earl of Montrose, and the Lord Ogleby, with two Troops of Horse, conveyed her to York, where all things are prepared for her Honourable Reception, by the Earls of Cumberland and Newcastle; and there she begins first to form her Army.

Gloucestershire now began to be the Scene of the Action, where Captain Bridges kept Sully Castle for the Lord Chandos with sixty Soldiers, and all other things sufficient; against him Lieutenant Colonel Massey advances, and offers to storm the Castle, but is repulsed: next day some Horse and Dragoons possessed the Garden under the Castle, and fired the Hay and Straw, and smothered the Houles; by opportunity whereof, they had the advantage to bring up and plant their Ordnance in such a convenient place, as necessitated the Besieged to surrender upon quarter, leaving their Arms behind them, and to engage for payment of five hundred pounds, in six days, for the Goods in the Castle, or lose them; yet could not the Parliament boast of this Victory, for within a few days space comes Prince Rupert, with four thousand Horse and Foot, making them, as if he meant to regain it, but marches by to Cirencester, where the strength of the County, and a great part of the Magazine lay, and on the first of February masters the Guard, and forces his passage into the Town, which in two hours he gained, taking Eleven hundred Prisoners, and Three thousand Arms: And the next day Summons Gloucester; which Massey resolves to hold out, and to strengthen it the better, defects Sully and the other outward Garrisons.

The Welsh Army near 1500 raised by the Earl of Worcester and his Son the Lord Herbert, marched forward for the King, to the Forrest of Dean, and beat Colonel Boroughs Regiment out of Cardiff, a small Town near Monmouth, and come on to Hingham, two miles off from Gloucester, where they intrench, and their Major General Brett demands the Town, and is answered with Scorn, so that they stay and spend five Weeks, and at last march off without any memorable Action performed; for Massey, assisted by Captain John Fines from Bristol, with Two hundred Horse and Dragoons weakened them with continual Skirmishes, till Sir William Waller having taken Admabury, came to Gloucester and joyned his Forces with the other: Massey then draws out all his Horse with Five hundred Foot, and some Ordnance, and held them in play for the first day, next morning Alauns them with the Great Guns, and then both sides encounter fiercely, and the Welsh were likely to have Routed the others, and seize their Ordnance, at which instant Waller comes up and Charges them, to the great comfort of his almost defeated Friends, who taking courage joyntly, run upon their Enemies, and drive them back into the Houles, which they begin to batter with their Cannon: Whereupon the Welsh found a Parly, and conclude to render the place and themselves prisoners, but the Officers were to receive quarters according to their Qualities, and so the next day Waller and Massey lead their Booty in Triumph to Gloucester.

The Parliament had formerly desired the Assistance of the Scots, which they for their own advantage, notwithstanding their late Protestations not to take Arms against their Prince, quickly hearkened to; and now having compleated their Army, March the thirteenth, they cross the Tine and march Southward to find Work for the Earl of New-Castle.

The Pope, a more unlucky Fisher than he whose Successour he pretends himself, makes choice of troubled Waters, Irelands lakes and loughes must be the places of his Games: the Rebels there notwithstanding their Defeats at Treilagh and Dondalk, were much increased in numbers, and many who were hitherto at the beginning, now publicly declared for them, inasmuch, that all parts of the Land were overwhelmed as with an inundation, and it was high time now for this ghostly Father to cast in his Baits, which he doth by two Letters, the one subscribed to Owen O Neale, and the other to all Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles and People of the Kingdom of Ireland, in both which he commendeth those who had already appeared in the quarrell, and exhorts others to the same undertaking, declares his Joy for their late Actions, and bestowes upon them all his Fatherly Benediction, and a Plenary absolution. And so ends this Year, unfortunate to the German Emperor, whose Forces receiv'd several Discomfures from the Swedes and French; Lamboy one of the Imperial Generals is defeated about Bohemia by the French Count Guibrian, and is carried prisoner to Bois de Vincennes in France, to keep company with John de Werdt, formerly taken. Also Arch-Duke Leopold and Piccolomini were overthrown at Leipsick by the Swedish General Torstenson: But somewhat to recompence that loss, Piccolomini relieved Friberg, which was streightly besieged by the Swedes. And not long before, he had succoured Woblenbottell beleaguer'd by the Duke of Brunswick and the Protestant Forces. And in France this year was rendered notable by the death of the great Cardinal Richieu the Famous Bouteferre and disturber of Europe, and particularly of these Nations, of whose distractions he was both a principal cause and fomentor; he was the Harbinger, and led the way to his Master Lewis the Thirteenth, who deceased soon after in the midst of his Catalonian Conquests, leaving for his Successor his eldest Son Lewis the fourteenth under the Queen Dowagers Government, and Cardinal Mazarini in Richieu's stead.

1643.

A Treaty be-  
gun at Oxford,  
between the  
King and Par-  
liament.

His Majesties Nineteenth Year being the year 1643. begins with a Treaty of Peace which had been formerly agreed upon, but proceeded slackly, till revived at Sir Benjamin Rudyards persuasion. At Oxford the Delegates of both Parties met, and began to treat of the Kings Propositions concerning his Revenue, Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Parliaments Propositions concerning the Disbanding of Armies; which Points taking up longer time than was Expected by the King, He sends this Message to the Parliament, April 12.

The

1643.

That as soon as he was satisfied in his first Proposition concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forces, in which he desired nothing but his Just Legal and known Rights to be restored to him, and to persons trusted by him; and as soon as the Members of both Houses should be restored unto the same capacity of Sitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of January, 1641. (exclusively of such whose Votes had been taken away by Bill, or by new Elections, or new Writs) and that as soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the high dishonour of the Parliament, had awed the Members of the same, (which he conceived could not otherwise be done, but by adjourning the Parliament to some place Twenty miles from London, such as the Houses should agree upon) his Majesty most cheerfully and readily would consent to the disbanding of the Armies, and would return speedily to his two Houses of Parliament, according to the time and place which they should agree upon.

Upon this, the Parliament resolved to call back their Commissioners, and so the Treaty took end April the 15. In the beginning of March last, the Lord Brooke had marched towards Northampton, and seized on the Ammunition there, from whence he passed on to Warwick, and so to Stratford-Avon, and beats Colonel Crocker, and Lieutenant Colonel Wagstaffe, and their Forces out of the Town, which he plundered, and from thence retreated to Warwick, to refresh his Soldiers, and then to Stratfordshire; At Leichfield lay the Earl of Chesterfield, with some Forces under his Command, who knowing the Town to be indefenceable, retired to a more tenable place near adjoining, called the Close. Brooke being Master of the Town, takes up his Quarters, whilst his Soldiers go on upon the Enemy; but in the Fight, one of the Cavaliers shooting adventurously at the Window of his Lordships Chamber, pierced his eye-ball, of which he instantly died; the loss of him for a while amused his Followers, but recollecting themselves, they renewed the Fight, with such ardour of Revenge, That they took the Close with the Earl of Chesterfield, and all his Soldiers and Ordnance. But March the 22. the Earl of Northampton, with part of the Kings Army, besieged Leichfield, and forced the Parliamentarians, with their Commanders, to betake themselves to the Close, to whose relief were coming Sir John Gell, and Sir William Byron with Three Thousand Horse and Foot, whereof the Earl of Northampton having Intelligence, leaving sufficient Force to keep in the Besieged within the Close, marched off with the rest, and unexpectedly came upon the Enemy, who yet received them stoutly, till first the Horse were put to flight, and the Foot unable of themselves to keep the Field, were glad to shift for their own Lives, leaving the Victory with some Prisoners, Ammunition, and Baggage, some Ordnance, and four Drakes to the Kings Party, who yet had a shrewd Allay in the Success, having lost in the Fight their General, the Earl of Northampton, who was slain in the Head of his Troop. But now April the 21. comes Prince Rupert and joyns with the Earl of Northampton's Soldiers, and altogether fall upon the Parliamentarians, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Knollys, who despairing of Succour, yielded up the Place upon Honourable Conditions, and marched away to Coventry.

In April 17. General Essex sat down before Reading, and in a short space made two several Attempts upon it, but was in both repulsed, and the King himself marched from Oxford to Wallingford for relief of the Town; but Essex's Army daily increasing with fresh Supplies from London, both Parties happened to skirmish at Caversham Bridge, where the Royalists were worsted, and Essex continuing his Siege, played furiously upon the Town with his great Ordnance, whereby many were hurt, and Sir Arthur Aston the Governour was dangerously bruised with the fall of a Brick-bat upon his Head; and Colonel Fielding supplying his Room, Surrendered the Town, for which Fielding was Sentenced by a Councell of War at Oxford, to lose his Head, but afterward pardoned by the Intercession of his Friends.

May the Thirtieth, Cheapside Crost was pulled down; and the Queen was soon after Voted Guilty of High-Treason, for raising Armes against the Parliament; She had indeed raised a pretty Army, whereof she had left some Horse and Foot with Sir Charles Cavendish, for Defence of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, and with Three Thousand Foot, Thirty Companies of Horse and Dragoons, Six Pieces of Cannon, and Two Mortars, meets the King at Edgchill, and from thence went with him to Oxford, whither comes Monsieur Harcourt Ambassador from France, to Mediate an Accommodation, but returned without effecting any thing therein.

And now the War begins to spread larger, the King drawing to his Assistance the Irish, and the Parliament bringing in the Scots: These two last having Sworn the Solema League and Covenant each to other, which Oath was afterwards sent down, and urged by the Parliament to all the Counties in England and Wales.

In the West, Sir Ralph Hopton, for the King, lay with some Forces at Launceston, to dislodge whom, Sir George Chidley, Commander of the Parliaments Forces in Devonshire, sends out a Party from Okehampton, which coming undiscovered as far as Polsten Bridge, had almost Surprised the Kings Forces in their Quarters. They in the Town now having but short Warning, took the Alarm, and drew up to a Hill near adjoining, which they maintained against all the Force of the Assailants, till such Aid came in, as forced the Devonshire Men disorderly to Retreat home again, the Cavaliers pursue them to Serton Down; and the Night coming on, they make a stand,

Ccc 3

The Treaty at  
Oxford dissol-  
ved.

The Lord Brooke  
besieging Leich-  
field is shot into  
the eye and  
killed.

The Close tak-  
en by his  
Soldiers after  
his death.

The Earl of  
Northampton  
routing the  
Parliaments  
Forces, is him-  
self slain.  
Leichfield taken  
by Prince Ru-  
pert.

Reading surren-  
dered to Gen-  
eral Essex, by  
Colonell Field-  
ing, Deputy  
Governour.

Cheapside Crost  
Demolish'd.

The Queen  
with Forces  
meets the King  
at Edgchill.  
Ambassador  
from France.  
Solemn League  
and Covenant.

Several En-  
counters in the  
west, between  
Sir Ralph Hop-  
ton and the De-  
vonshire Forces  
Commanded  
by Sir George  
Chidley.

1643.

the Weather was then very Tempestuous and Stormy, and it Thundred and Lightened extraordinarily, to the great Astonishment of the Cornish; by means whereof, and a sudden mistake which surpris'd them; they were by one Captain Drake, who fell in among them, put to some disorder, and forced to retreat to *Lanncoston*: Yet within a short time after recovering Heart, they march again into *Devonshire*, and meet with the *Parliamentarians* at *Chagford*, whom they Defeat, though not without some Loss, *Sidney Godolphin* and others being slain upon the Place. Sir George Chidley having sent away the greatest Part of his Horse *Westward*, with the rest of his Horse, and all his Foot, encountered the Cornish Men at *Stratton*, May the Sixteenth, where the Foot being weakly Guarded with those few Troops that remained, and unable of themselves to sustain the Enemy's Charge, were utterly Routed, the most part being either slain, or taken Prisoners, which the Horse who marched *Westward* hearing of, posted away for *Plymouth*: Yet was this Loss in some measure Recompenced to the Parliament in the North by a Victory obtained, May the Twenty second, against the Kings Forces at *Wakefield*.

Colonell Nathaniell Pines, Governour of *Bristol*, had discovered a Plot of *Robert Toomans* and *George Bouchier* to deliver up the City to the Kings Forces: Whereupon they were apprehended, and by a Council of War Condemned to be Hanged, which Sentence was accordingly Executed May the Thirtieth, notwithstanding the Kings Letter to the Mayor and Citizens, and General *Rubens* to the Governour in their behalf: And so ends this Month Famous by the Death of Mr. *John Pym*, that Active Member of the House of Commons.

The next Month *June* began with the Arraignment of Mr. *Waller*, a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Hafell*, Mr. *Blinkhorn*, Mr. *White*, and others, for Plotting to Seize into their Custody the Kings Children, some Members of the Parliament, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, all the Cities Out-works and Forts, the Tower of London, and all the Magazines: Then to let in the Kings Forces to Surprize the City.

They were all Arraigned at *Guildhall*, and Condemned, but *Tomkins* and *Challoner* only were Hanged, *Waller* was Reprieved by General *Essex*, and after a years Imprisonment in the Tower, paid a Fine of 10000 l. to was Pardoned, and Travelled into France.

The Earl of *Essex* being about *Tame*, Ordered the *Buckingham* Forces to Alarum the Kings Army *June* the Seventeenth: Some Skirmishes passed between them; next Morning early, Prince *Rupert* engages their Body of Horse in *Chalgrave* Field, whom he Routed, took Captain *Sheffield*, the Earl of *Musgrove* Son, and many others Prisoners; Major *Gunter* shot dead in the place, and Mr. *John Hamden*, a stirring Member of *Parliament*; and a great Stickler in these unhappy Differences, received there his mortal Wound, of which he died a Week after. But in the Fifth, the *Parliament's* Forces had somewhat better Success, where they took in *Taunton* and *Brighthelm*: And now their main Business was to take care, how the want of the Great Seal should be supplied; Whereupon after long Debates, they Voted that a new Seal should be framed for Confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances, which was forthwith done; and thereon Engraven the Picture of the House of Commons and Members Sitting: Reversing the Armes of England and Ireland, Cross and Harp Paly; but between the Voting and Framing of it, they passed this Order: That if the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* upon *Summons*, did not return with the Great Seal within Fourteen Days, he should lose his Place, and whatever should be Sealed therewith by him after that time, should be Null and Void in Law: and presently after Mr. *Henry Martin*, a Member of *Parliament*, adventured to Seize the Regalia, which were Reposited in *Westminster-Abbey*. And farther to aggravate his boldness, he was heard to say to some of his Accomplies, That the time would come, when there will be need of Crowns and Scepters, (an Expression in part too unluckily propheticall.)

The Cornish Forces were advanced into *Somersetshire*, where at *Lands Down* near *Bath*, July the Fifth, Sir *William Waller* meets with them: *Hoptons* Forces were fewer in Number, yet stood bravely to it, maintaining the Fight from Two of the Clock in the Afternoon, till One the next Morning, and then the Enemy forsook the Field: But some of the Prisoners were taken, found Opportunity to blow up the Train; in which Business, *Hopton* himself, among others, received some hurt, and his Army for want of Ammunition was constrained to Retreat into the *Devizes*, having lost in the Battell divers Gentlemen of Note: Viz. Sir *Berill Greenwith*, Mr. *Leak*, Son to the Lord *Daincourt*, Mr. *Baker*, Mr. *Bosford*, Lieutenant Colonel *Wall*, Major *Lower*, Captain *James*, Captain *Shawell*, and others. But the *Parliament's* Loss was far greater, both of Officers and private Souldiers: *Waller* being Advertised of what had happened, Follows, and Besiegeth them, to whose Relief the King from *Oxford* sends the Lord *Wilmot* with a Body of 2500 Horse; *Waller* draws off to *Roundway Down*, where they come to Blows: With *Wilmot* joyned *Hoptons* Forces: the Horse on each Side began the Fight, in which the *Parliamentarians* were Defeated, and Fleed, leaving the Foot to the Mercy of their Enemies, by whom Hundreds of them were slain, and more Prisoners taken. Four fair Brads Guns, Ammunition and Baggage, Eight and twenty Colours, and Nine Cornets; and this July 13th. And *Waller* himself having thus lost his Army, with a small Retinue, posts to London for Recruits.

In the North there had risen some Difference between the Lord *Ferdinand Fairfax*, General for the Parliament, and Sir *John Hotham*, Governour of *Hull*; this latter refusing to submit to the former, and upon Complaints on either Side, the Parliament intended to displace *Hotham*, which he discovering by the Letter by him Intercepted, began to meditate new Designs, his

Toomans and Bouchier hanged at Bristol about a Plot.

Mr. Pym dies.

A Plot for the Seizing of London discovered.

Tomkins and Challoner hanged about it.

Mr. John Hamden slain in the Fight at Tame. A new Great Seal Voted by the Parliament.

The Fight at Landsdown.

Waller defeated again at Roundway down.

Sir John Hotham and his Son sent up Prisoners to the Parliament.

1643.

A Son Captain *Hotham* being suspected by the Parliament, was Imprisoned at *Nottingham*, but made his Escape, and under-hand Treated with the Earl of *Newcastle*, and coming to *Hull*, his Father and he stand upon their Guard: the Parliament fearing the Consequence, sent down Sir *Matthew Boynton* with a Commission to Seize them both, and Succeeded in the Government of the Town: who not being suspected by *Hotham*, as being his Brother-in-law, found means so to tamper with the Garrison-souldiers, as that he made himself Master of their Affections, and the Magazine; and then Sir *John* too late spying the Practice, fled out of the Town: but at *Beverley* his own Souldiers set upon him, and constrained him to fly back again to *Hull*, where he was taken; with his Wife and Son, and the rest of his Children, and all the up Prisoners to the Parliament; and Sir *Matthew Boynton* remained Governour of the Town.

Colonell *Finch* Governour of *Bristol* had formerly banged up some Citizens for intending to have delivered up the Town to Prince *Rupert*, who nevertheless prosecuted his design upon that place, which soon after took effect, for having some while hovered about those Parts, July the 27th. Prince *Rupert* heists down before it, at such a time as he knew by his Correspondents, that it was worst provided for Resistance: So that the Governour after three dayes Siege was constrained to Surrender.

August the Twelfth the Earl of *Windesore* being freed from his Imprisonment which he had endured since *Edgehill* Fight, returned to the King at *Oxford*: Eight dayes after the Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland* came to *Wallingford*, and were received by the Governour Colonel *Bligg*, and were after brought to the King, to whom they made a large Profession of their Duty and Allegiance, and of their Resolution to desert the *Parliament's* Cause, but soon after upon some Discontent, the Wind changed, and they fled back again to the *Parliament*.

Prince  *Maurice* now Besieges *Exeter*, upon which he gives a fierce Assault, slings in Grenadoes, and fires part of the Suburbs, upon which unites a fruitless Parley: The next day the Prince Masters the great Sconce, and turns the Ordnance thereof upon the City, and then the Garrison agreed to yield up the Town: the Officers only to part with their Swords, and the private Souldiers with Cudgels in their hands, and the Government was conferred upon Sir *John Berkeley*, September the Fourth.

In the mean time, Judge *Berkley* who had been formerly Imprisoned by the Parliament for the Business of Ship-money, was Fined 2000 l. made incapable of all Offices; and to continue a Prisoner during Pleasure.

The Parliament about this time were busied for Recruiting Sir *William Waller's* Army, and to induce the *Londoners* to a more cheerful Compliance with them in it: Remington the Mayor was put in possession of the Lieutenancy of the Tower, but *Waller* was told to attend the longer, because General *Essex* was in the same Condition, and had need of Re-enforcements: *Essex's* Muster took place at *Hounslow Heath*, but they would not serve the turn for so weighty a Business, as the Relief of *Gloucester*, now Besieged by the King; and therefore he must make use of *London* Train.

*Gloucester* was the Place which stops the Current of the Kings Successes, which he now Besieges: *Maffey* was Governour of it, and had with him Two Regiments of Foot, One hundred Horse, and as many more from *Berkley* Castle, with the Trained Bands, and some Reformados, all about 1500 men; 40 Barrells of Powder, and a slender Artillery, the Works large, but not completed; and the West-side defended by the River, and in this Case it was, when August the Tenth, the King fate down before it with a formidable Army, and sends them his Summons, which taking no effect; his Forces advanced to the East Suburbs, which being instantly fired by the Citizens, they Entrench on the South and East parts, where for their Welcome, the Besieged Sallied out upon them, did some Execution, and returned Sir *William Waller* with the *Welsh* Forces Entrenched on the North-west side, in Order to joyning with the *Worcester* Forces, General *Rushin* on the South-side, and Sir *Jacob Ashby* in the East-Suburbs.

They within behaved themselves like men of Resolution, and Alarmed their Besiegers with frequent Salleys; and first, Captain *Gray* with an hundred and fifty Musquetteers attempts the *Worcester* Forces, and marching up to the main Guard, kills some, takes others, and burning their Guard returns. After him comes out Captain *Mallory*, with the like number, doth some Execution, and Retreats: Not long after this, Captain *Crispe* on the East-side makes a Sallie, with loss on both sides: The Besiegers resolve to make their Assault on the South and East-side, to which end they begin to raise their Works, and then they plant Three Pieces of Ordnance, of Fourteen, and Four and Twenty Buller, which they played furiously upon the Town, making a heigh Breach, which yet was soon made up again with Wooll-Packs and Cannon Baskets: The *Welsh* and *Worcester* Forces were now Quartered together, who placed four Pieces of Ordnance before their League, and one against the *Avon-Gate*, to amuse whom a Party Issues out over the Works and gives the Alarm, whilst a greater Body sallies forth at the North-Gate, and gets behind the Cannon, which they Nayled, having over-powered the main Guard, though not without some Loss.

Three Pieces of Cannon were now planted against the South, Three on the East, and Two at the East-Gate, with above an hundred and fifty shot, battering the Corner-points, and the Muskets playing from the Walls, and the Grenadoes shot out of their Morter-pieces, did some Execution on the People: yet were their Spirits nothing abated, for shortly after Two Parties sallied out of the Town, the One Commanded by *Sterinson*, and *Moore*, the other by *Blunt* and *White*, which did some Execution and Retired: At this Siege, it should seem that *Pallas* joyned with

The Earls of Bedford and Holland fly to Oxford, but soon return to the Parliament.

Exeter yielded to Prince Maurice.

Essex musters his Army at Hounslow Heath. Gloucester besieged by the King.

1643

Relieved by the  
Earl of Essex.The King  
makes a Cessa-  
tion of Arms  
with the Irish.Forces sent  
over from  
thence to his  
Aid.The Battell at  
Newbury.Several places  
Garrison'd for  
the King by  
Sir William  
Vaughan.

with *Mars*, so many ingenious Devices, for Offence and Defence were put in practice. Such Engines framed, such Myning and Countermyning, as the like was not used in all the time of these Wars.

Now the King prepares for a general Storm, and all his Endeavours were ready for it, the Besieged in Want, and their Ammunition consumed to three Barrells of Powder; When News comes, that the Earl of Essex was upon his march, with a Gallant Army to raise the Siege; wherefore the King sent away Prince *Rupert* to Retard his Speed, till he might rise and be gone. This was upon the Fifth of September, the Earl of Essex Enters Triumphant into Gloucester, where he sets things in Order, causeth the City to be plentifully furnished with Provisions from the Country, and leaving with them three Culverins, and forty six Barrells of Powder, departed after the King, who at this Siege, lost that Opportunity of marching up to London, (the Parliament having then no considerable Army in the Field) which he could never after regain.

In Ireland the Wars had continued hitherto, and the English Army had pretty good Success against the Rebels: But now the King understanding of the Parliament Contracting with the Scots for Aid, thought good to strengthen his Own Side, by recalling part of his Army there to help him at Home, and to that end Commissions his Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Ormond, to agree on a Cessation for a Year, which was concluded at Singliffen September the Fifteenth. One thousand six hundred forty and three, and three Dayes after was proclaimed by the Lords Justices and Council at Dublin.

And shortly after that, some Forces from thence, under the Command of Sir *Michael Ennis* landed in Wales, and Besieged *Hawarden Castle* near Chester, which was soon yielded up unto them by the Souldiers within, who came lately out of Ireland, and had been enforced to the Parliament Service.

The Earl of Essex having Relieved Gloucester, and furnished them with what they wanted, Speeds after the King, who passing by Cirencester, left there a strong Party, where Prince *Maurice* his Forces were also that Night expected; but instead of them, comes Essex, and mistaken for the Other, Enters the Town without Opposition, seizes four hundred Men, and thirty Carloads of Provision, and so marches to Chilton; near which, on *Manum Hills* his Forces had a hot skirmish with the Cavaliers, but Night parted the Fray; and the next Day, September the Twentieth, he marches for Newbury, the King was there before, and had gotten the Advantage of the Ground, and planned his Ordinance.

Early in the Morning, General Essex views his Enemies Battell; in Newbury Common draws up his Own, and falls to Firing, and the Kings Army do the like. That part is the Army which Prince *Rupert* charged, being over-lay'd, was forced to fall off to the Right Hand, where Two great Bodies of Horse, marched down the Hill, and fell in furiously upon the Prince, both sides drew their Parts with great Manhood and Animosity, coming to many Blowes with either Swords: The Essexians then Wheeling about, charged the Lord *Jermyn's* Regiment, whom they forced to make their Escape through some Bodies of Foot, in which Encounter were slain, Colonel *Capstall*, and the French Marquis *De la Visi Visi*. This Fight continued with great Loss and Bloodshed on either Side; but the greater on the Kings, whose other Bodies, of Horse Commanded by the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Northampton*, notwithstanding the undaunted Courage of their Commanders, were overpowered, and *Carnarvan* slain. Night coming on, caused both Armies to retire: In this Fight, the London Trained Bands and Auxiliaries did good Service; many were slain on both Sides, and Essex lost many of his Officers; but on the Kings Part were killed the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, Vicount *Falkland*, Colonel *Morgan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Piddling*, besides Mr. *Sironde*, and many other Gentlemen, Volunteers, and most of his Officers hurt.

This was a harder Bout then that of *Edgehill*; So that neither Part having any Stomach to Renew the Fight, they marched away one from the other, both the King and Essex having first sent their Warrants to *Newbury* and *Enbarns*, for the Burial of the Dead Bodies. Essex his Army was to Relieve Gloucester, which he accordingly effected, though not without some Damage; for Colonel *Murray* with a good Party of Horse fell upon the Rear of his Army, Commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, whom in a narrow Lane they Charged so furiously, that they forced them to a Run directly forward through their own Foot, till at length getting into the Field, they Faced about, and forced the Kings Party back again: many Colours of the Kings Corners were carried up to London, and much Reputation was Gained by this Expedition to General Essex, and the London Trained Bands; not that there had been wanting the height of Gallantry and Resolution (however Fortune fail'd) on the Kings Side.

Sir *William Vaughan* comes to Hereford with a strong Party, which he Augments with some G Forces in those Parts, and being Commissioned to Command in chief in that County and Gloucestershire, Garrisons *Tewkesbury*, from whence he comes to *Sudley Castle*, then held by the Lord *Chandoyce*, and thence to *Neverstone Castle*, which he also Garrisoned, Caresseing the Country People all the way, in hopes of inducing them to rise for the King: but failing of his Purpose, retired back again.

Barkley

1643

Sir John Winter  
and the Lord  
Herbert Intell  
Gloucester.  
More Forces  
sent the King  
out of Ireland.Waller surpris-  
eth Tewkes-  
bury.Is beaten by  
Pr. Maurice.The Parlia-  
ment ForcesEccleshall Town  
and Castle ta-  
ken by Sir W.  
Bretton, and  
others.An Ordinance  
of Parliament  
for seising of  
the Kings Re-  
venue.Sir Will. Waller  
made M. Gene-  
ral of several  
Counties.  
He beats a Par-  
ty of the Kings  
Army at Farn-  
ham;  
Takes Arundell  
Castle.  
all

*Barkley Castle* was now kept for the King by Captain *Roskarrack*, who made many Incursions towards Gloucester, for repressing of which, a Company was placed at *Frampton House*, and another at *Slimbridge*; *Massey* himself Faced the Castle with two Troops of Horse and some Musketeers, whilst another Party of Horse went out to fetch in *Malignants* (as they call'd them) but were frustrated by the Lord *Herbert's* Horse: Sir *John Winter* for the King Manned his House at *Lidney* in the Forest of *Dean*, from whence with the Lord *Herbert's* Help he Infested the Parliamentarians, and had many Bickerings with Colonel *Massey*.

And now were Forces come over out of Ireland for the King's Service Commanded by Colonel *Myn*, and Sir *William St. Leger*, so that Gloucester was again in a manner Surrounded by Enemies to the Number of about Six thousand, and Prince *Rupert* himself amongst them.

Sir *William Waller* now enters Gloucestershire, (whereupon the Kings Forces withdrew to their severall Garrisons) from whence he Advanced towards *Monmouth*, which he enters, the Lord *Herbert's* Garrison Retiring; from thence he marches to *Uske*, and spending no long time there, returns with his Horse and Dragoons through the lowest part of the Forest of *Dean*, near the Rivers side of *Severn*, whilst his Foot and Artillery came back at *Chepflow* by a Bridge of Boats. And high time it was, for Prince *Maurice* had entred *Tewkesbury* with a Brigade of Horse and Foot, and joyning with the Lord *Grandison*, resolved to follow Waller, or meet him in his Return. Waller not having Strength enough to Fight the Prince, caused two Parties to give a false Alarm to his Quarters, whilst himself with his main Body slipped between both; and being re-inforced with two Troops of Horse, and two hundred Foot from Gloucester, he falls upon *Tewkesbury*, which he Surprised with some Prisoners, forcing the Governour Sir *Matthew Cary* to shift for himself: And Sir *Robert Cook* was made Governour of the Town for the Parliament, and then Marches away with his flying Body. But in *Ripfield* the Prince overtakes him, finding him drawn up and divided into three Bodies, but not in a Condition to Fight, being fewer in Number, no Shot prepared, no Canoners, few Foot, the Wind and Sun in their Faces.

In this posture, some perswaded to Fight, others to Retreat, to which Waller Assented, although there was no other way but through a long Incommodious Lane, which accordingly he puts in Execution, Commanding a Party of Dragoons to Face the Cavaliers, and the Musketeers to stand at the Corner to make good his Retreat. But Prince *Maurice* falls on, and beats the Dragoons, over Hedge and Ditch, who in their Flight did greatly disorder the rest; and more hurt he had done, if *Hastlerig* with some Horse and Foot had not made a Charge by which means the other had Opportunity to get out of the Lane, and from thence to *Tewkesbury*.

About this time it was, that General Essex Besieged *Reading*, which occasioned the King to draw away his main Forces out of Gloucestershire, whereby Waller got freedom to take Breath, and after some time of Refreshment, achieved sundry Exploits, and joyning with *Massey*, marched to *Hereford*, which they took, and in it the Lord *Scudamore*, Colonel *Cunnesby*, and Sir *William Crofts*, with others, some Arms and Ammunition.

After this they came up before Worcester, which yet they would not stay to besiege, because of the approach of the Kings Forces, under the Lord *Capell*, and the Lord *Loughborough*, who came to the Relief of Captain *Bride*, Governour of *Eccleshall Castle*, Besieged by the Parliament Forces under Sir *William Brereton*, Colonel *Gell*, Colonel *Graves*, Colonel *Rigby*, Colonel *Jackson*: These had lately drawn the *Moortlanders* (Inhabitants of the Lower Grounds in *Staffordshire*) to their Side, and had made themselves Masters of the Town of *Stafford*: Brereton quickly Mastered *Eccleshall Town*, and Summoned the Castle, but received a resolute Answer: and having spent some Months time in the Siege of it, *Capell* and *Loughborough* Arrived with their Forces; against whom, the Besiegers finding themselves unable to make Resistance upon even Terms, quit their Trenches, and retire to the Church, where they Fortified themselves; but there was no such need of fear, for the Lords being to attend upon Business of greater Importance, could not make any Stay there, but contenting themselves with having Relieved the Castle, resolved forthwith to march away; Notwithstanding all the Intreaties of Governour *Bride*, who seeing he could not prevail with them to make any Attempts upon the Church, and despairing of any Possibilities to hold out without them, delivered up his Charge to the Lords, who placed Captain *Abel a Dane*, in that Command, and immediately departed; and the old Souldiers loving their Old Captain, forsook the New, and followed him: And shortly after, the Parliamentarians coming on again, the *Dane* was necessitated to Surrender upon reasonable Quarter.

And now comes out an Ordinance of Parliament to Seize upon the Kings Revenue, and another for the abating of the Excise upon *Virginia Tobacco*, upon Complaint from the Plantation there.

Sir *William Waller* who after the taking of *Hereford*, was Defeated at the *Devizes*, was now again Recruited, and sent away with a Promise of a new Commission to be Sergeant Major General of *Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent*; and marching to *Farnham*, beat a Party of the Kings Army, and from thence marched to *Aulton*, which he took, and thence to *Arundell Castle*, where his promised Commission was sent him, and he thereby Encouraged, so ordered the matter, that in eight and twenty dayes Siege, he had the Place Surrendered.

During which time, Colonel *Norton* assaying to stop *Hopton* from going to molest Waller in his foresaid Siege, was by him Routed, and flying towards *Chichester*, could not gain Admission; at which Waller being Disgusted, Writ up to the Parliament, craving Authority to place and displace all

1643

The Parliament declare it Treason to assault the King.

all Governours of Towns and Castles within his Association; which was granted: and as he obtained it without the good Will of Generall Essex, so was he thereby let at Liberty, without Dependence on his Direction.

The Parliament finding the Kings Power to encrease, Publish, *That whosoever shall Assist the King, with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Money, against them, are Traitors to the Parliament, and shall be so proceeded against.* Notwithstanding which, his Power greatly augmented, and his Armies in several parts obtained very Fortunate Successes.

About this time Cardinal *Mazarine*, *Richelieu's* true Successor, desiring rather to pry into the Estate of this Land, than to do any good in it, procured Count *Harcourt* to cross the Seas hither, as Ambassador to mediate a Peace between the King and Parliament, which took no Effect according to the Cardinals own Desires.

The Earl of *Manchester* being at *Cambridge* about the Business of Sequestration, and not certainly resolved, Whether the Colledges and Halls were within his Commission, the Parliament clear the Point with this Ordinance,

Their Ordinance touching the University of Cambridge.

**T**hat the Estates, Rents, and Revenues of the Colledges and Halls in the University of Cambridge, are in no wise to be seized on, but shall remain and be to the same University, Colledges, and Halls, as if the Ordinance of Sequestration had never been made.

Provided, That if any Part, Portion, or Dividend be due to any Head, Fellow, or Scholar in the said University, being, or which hereafter shall be a Malignant, or Delinquent, within any of the Ordinances of Sequestration, then they shall be excepted from receiving any Part or Portion of his Allowance, but shall be dealt with as it shall be Ordered by the Earl of *Manchester*, and none to be Receiver, Treasurer, or Burser, but such as shall be approved by him.

The King summons a Parliament at Oxford.

December the Twenty second, the King at *Oxford* summons a Parliament, which Convened January the Twenty second; and the King calling them together, at the great Hall at *Christ Church*, tells them, That if he had the least Thoughts of disagreeing with the Happiness of the Kingdom, he would not advise with such Counsellors as they were. And for the Upper Schools were Assigned to the Lords, and the Convocation-House to the Commons. In this Parliament, besides the Prince and the Duke of *York*, Lord-Keeper *Lisleton*, Treasurer *Cottington*, Duke of *Richmond*, and Marquis *Harford*, were Nineteen Earls, and as many Lords, and an Hundred and seventeen Knights and Gentlemen; but afterwards Five Lords more, and Twenty three Knights and Gentlemen, then disabled by several Occasions, appeared in this Convention. The first thing by them taken in hand, was, to Consider of Means for the effecting of Peace, to which end a Letter is Ordered to be Written to Generall Essex, and, Subsigned by all the Members, accordingly sent to him, to which the Earl returns no Answer, but sends it up to the Parliament at *Westminster*.

The Scots Army enter England.

January the Sixteenth, the Scots Army entered England by way of *New-Castle*, consisting of 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, under the Command of Generall *Leven*, for Assistance of the Parliament, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant, sending before them a specious Declaration, for the Judgment of their Cause, which they profess to be Reformation of Religion, Honour of the King, and Peace of the Kingdoms.

Secondly, The Lawfulness of their Calling thereunto, which they ground upon that particular Obligation, which the Parliament had upon their Nation, for refusing to Countenance a War against them in 1640.

And lastly, Their Carriage therein, which they will manifest by their Civil Demeanor during their Abode in England, and their Peaceable Departure afterwards. For which they freely give the Publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, Declaring it to be a main End of their Coming, to Rescue the King from his pernicious Counsellors.

Sir John Meldrum b besieged Newark.

Sir *Richard Biron* Governor of *Newark* for the King, had been very Active in those Parts, and had made Excursions as far as within three Miles of *Lincoln*; which so provoked the Parliamentarians, that Sir *John Meldrum* with Seven thousand Men sits down before the Town, where having continued three Weeks, continually Alarumed by Courageous sallies of the Besieged, at length comes Prince *Rupert* with 4000 Horse and Dragoons, and a 1000 Foot: upon whose Approach *Meldrum* drew off to his chief Work, at *Spittle*, or *Exeter-House*, a little more than Musket shot from the Town, whither they had drawn all their Regiments, Cannon and Ammunition. However, Prince *Rupert* Advanceth up the Beak and Hill, at the Descend whereof, he espies Four Bodies of Horse standing in readiness to receive them, and all the rest Horse and Foot drawn up in *Battalia* near the *Spittle*. Upon these Prince *Rupert* gives a stout Charge, and after some stiff Bouts, by main force drove them quite out of the Fields, beyond their own Work, Foot and Cannon at the *Spittle*, some into the Island, and others to *Muskhams-Bridge*, and Assailed their chief Work at the *Spittle*, in all which Places the Parliamentarians Valiantly Defended themselves: but having lost 2000 of their Number in Attempts upon the Town, before the Prince's coming, and

He is Blocke up by Prince Rupert.

1643.

and being now Distressed by *Rupert* before, and Governour *Biron* behind, all Intercourse cut off by the Prince's Interposition between the *Spittle*, *Muskhams-Bridge*, and the *Island*, and not Victuals for above two Dayes, they were constrained to desire a Parley, and then come to these Articles:

First, That Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other Fire-Arms belonging to the Artillery, be delivered up.

Secondly, That all Souldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.

Thirdly, That all Officers march without Molestation with their Arms, and Horses for themselves and Servants: And all Bagg and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to themselves.

Fourthly, That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses, and Colours. Fifthly, That his Highness send a Convoy to Protect them from any Injury two Miles from the utmost of his Highness Quarters.

The Parliament Caretels the Scots Army, and Impower them to Assist for themselves, the Twentieth Part over all the North, and all Malignants Estates in those Parts, besides what other Counties and Associations were Assailed for them.

But the Earl of *New-Castle* is marching to give them rougher Entertainment, and against him the Lord *Fairfax* sends his Son Sir *Thomas*.

But in the mean time, other Matters are preparing for *Scotland* by James Earl of *Montros*: This Lord had sided with the Covenantors in 1638. whilst they pretended to move by *Persecution* only, and not by Force, for Preservation of Religion, the Kings Honour, and the Peoples Good.

In 1639. the Command of 2000 Foot, and five Hundred Horse was Conferred upon him, being Absent, and the Command of 5000 more upon his near Relations and Friends, being a Considerable Part of that Army which then Invaded *England*: In which Service he shewed much forwardness, as being the first that passed over the *Tweede*, and that on Foot, thereby shadowing his Intentions of turning to the King when Opportunity should serve, if the Pacification had not Intervened.

In the next Scottish Invasion he also accompanied them, and writ several Letters privately to the King at *York*, professing his Duty and Fidelity, which was stoln out of the Kings Pockets by the Scots of his Bed-Chamber, and Copied out for the Covenantors. After the Disbanding of that Army, *Montros* returning home, joyned in League with some of the Nobility for upholding the Kings Interest, but was again betrayed to the Adverse Party; and shortly after they intercept a Letter from the King to him Quilted in the Messengers Saddle: upon which, he with *Napier* Lord of *Marchmont*, and Sir *Starling Ker*, were Imprisoned in the Castle of *Edenborough*. Being afterwards Released, he in the Year 1642. was offered the Command of the Scots Covenantors Army then to be levied for Assistance of the Parliament of *England*; which he refused; and privately with the Lord *Ogleby* came to the Queen then newly landed out of *Holland* at *Burghton* in *Torkshire*: to her he states the Case, and proposes some means to remedy those Evills which were threatened from the North; but all was quashd by *Hamiltons* coming home: he returns, and makes shew of some kind of Willingness to comply with the Covenantors; Whereupon *Alexander Hinderston* comes to Caretels and to satisfy his Conscience, and with him comes Sir *James Rollock*, from whom he sifts the Secrets, and their Resolutions to send an Army in Ayde of their Brethren in *England* against the King, and so Posts away with *Ogleby* to *England*, and comes to *Oxford*, where he Communicates his Intelligence to the Queen; who trusting more upon the *Hamiltons*, made no great Account of it: whereupon they take their way to the King then before *Gloucester*, with whom also they gained small Belief, being over-weighed by the prevalent Authority of *Hamilton* at Court, who ever laboured to keep down this Earl, as knowing his Worth to be such, that if once he came in Favour, he would soon over-top him. But the King returning to his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*, by daily Reports found *Montros* to be too true; and now too late repenting his Incredulity, he Commissions *Montros* to be Generall Governour of *Scotland*, and orders the Earl of *Arbuthnot* to Ayde him in Person, with some considerable Forces out of *Ireland*, to be Landed in the West of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *New-Castle* to furnish him with a Party of Horse to enter upon the South, and so into the Heart of that Kingdom. And forthwith Sir *John Cock*, and is dispatched to the King of *Denmark*, to Negotiate for Men, Money, and Ammunition.

In the mean time, the *Hamiltons* come Post towards *Oxford*, giving out by the way, that their very Zeal for their King, made their Country too hot for them; but being forbidden the Court, the Earl of *Lamrick* gets to the Parliament at *London*, and from thence to the Scottish Army: Whereupon his eldest Brother the Marquis, was sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle in *Cornwall*. *Montros* coming to the Marquis of *New-Castle*, could obtain of him but two hundred Horse, with two Brass Field-Pieces, and Orders to the Kings Forces to help him in his Journey to *Scotland*, and by the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* was supplied with Eight hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horses: and passing forwards by the help of some Friends, got together Two hundred Horse more, wherewith he shortly after, *Viz.* The year following, April 13. entered *Scotland*; and so ended this Year with Us: Which was rendred Famous abroad by the Two Battels

The manner of Montroses falling off from the Covenantors, and applying himself to the Kings Service.

Montros made General Governour of Scotland for the King.

Marquis Hamilton sent Prisoner to Pendennis, upon his Brother's flying to the Parliament. Montros enters Scotland with an Army.

The Affairs, in  
France, and  
other foreign  
Parts.

tejs of *Rocroy*, and *Darling*, the First in *May*, at which time *Don Francisco de Melo* Besieged *Rocroy*, having made the Duke of *Albuquerque*, a young *Portugall*, and a raw *Souldier*, General of the Horse, wherat his Officers were so Dilected, that when the Prince of *Cerde*, and *Montfieur Gassion* fell on, the *Spaniards* without making any considerable Resistance, began to Rout, and then to Run, and the *French* Victorious, presently took the Town of *Theoville*: Whereupon *Melo* was displaced, and the Government given to *Cassell Rudrigo*, till the coming of the Arch-Duke *Leopold*.

But in *Bavaria* the *Spaniards* were quit with them at *Messieurs*, where the Duke of *Lorraine*, (then in their Service) with *John de Werat*, and the Baron of *Mercy*, Vanquished the *French*, and *Weymarians*, and took Prisoners the Four Marshalls of *France*, which Conducted the Army, together with Four hundred Officers, and a Thousand Common Souldiers, besides the Pillage: This was about the end of *November*.

1644.

Sir William  
Waller Defeats  
the Lord Hop-  
ton's Forces,  
and takes  
Winchester.

It was now the Twentieth Year of his Majesties Reign, being the Year 1644. when Sir *William Waller* having taken *Arundell Castle*, and gotten a Commission to his *Mind*, marches forward against the Lord *Hopton*, whom he finds drawn out in *Brandon Heath* near *Alisbury*, with Intention to Fight; which *Waller* refused not, and so gains an Advantageous Hill, from whence, being forced, he gets up to another, whither the *Cavaliers* follow him and enter into a sharp Dispute, but at length the *Parliamentarians* by the help of the Ground, and the Covert of Trees and Hedges, did such Execution upon the Enemy, that after the loss of many Persons of Quality, besides a great Number of the Vulgar Sort; they Retreated in great Disorder; and drawing off their Cannon towards *Winchester*, wheeled off unseen to *Basing-House*, whence *Hopton* hastens to *Oxford*, and *Winchester* after this Victory yields to *Waller*, upon Summons. On the *Kings* Side, these were mortally Wounded; The Lord *Stewart*, Sir *John Smith*, and three Colonels, *Sandys*, *Manning*, and *Scott*; and these were hurt, which afterwards recovered; Colonel *Appleyard*, Captain *Perfon*, Sir *Edward Stowell*, and Sir *Henry Barde*. Of the *Parlements* Side, besides divers that were slain, *Dalbier* was Wounded, and Colonel *Tomlin* lost his Leg by a Cannon Shot.

About this time, Colonel *Griffith* made his ridiculous Expedition with his Silver Trumpets, and guarded Coats, for the Reduction of *Wales* to the *Parliaments* Obedience, but was totally Routed at his first Encounter, and so being Calhired, we hear no more of him, but only that for his prodigality in Expences, he is commonly called Prince *Griffith*; as also, because at his setting forth, he brags'd, That he would seek out Prince *Rupert* to fight with him hand to hand; afterwards having spent his Estate, he Travell'd beyond-Sea, and was killed in a Tavern at *Paris*.

This Spring, General Essex had his Army Recruited to seven compleat Regiments of Horse, and six of Foot, and the Parliament also compleated their Navy: and one Colonel Oliver Cromwell, a Person that will be too well known to us hereafter, was made Governour of Ely, with Power to raise Moneys within the Isle, for Support of that Garrison, which consisted of Seven hundred Foot: and three Troops of Horse.

May the Third, Colonel Fox for the Parliament comes from Tamworth to Beudly by Night with a single Troop, and obtained Entrance of the Guard, under pretence of one of Prince Roberts Troops, passes into the Town, Surprises the Garrison, takes the Governour Sir Thomas Littleton Prisoner, with divers other Gentlemen, about Fifty Horse, and carries them all away with him.

And in *York-shire* the *Fairfaxes* after divers Successes, *April* the *Tenth*, Mastered the *Kings* Garrisons at *Selby* and *Heintough*, and took many Prisoners: And now think themselves able to deal with the *Earl of New-Castle*.

April the Nineteenth, the Parliament at Oxford having little Business, and some Differences also among them, were willing to Recede, wherefore the King Prologued them to the Eighth of October, and afterwards by Proclamation to the Ninth of November.

Now the Parliament in Scotland about this time Assembled, to whom the Parliament at Westminster send Congratulatory Letters, with Thanks for their Assistance both here and in Ireland, and certify them, That they had fertied a Committee of both Kingdomes at Westminster to Consult together for the good of both Nations. and that they had appointed a Committee to Reside with the *Stish Army in England*, to which Army they had already sent 30000 l. and had 30000 l. more in readiness to be speedily sent unto them.

Latham Houfe had been near Eighteen Weeks Befieged by some Parliament Forces, under the Command of Colonels *Afhton, Moor, and Rigby*; but at laft Prince *Rupert* marches that way and takes *Stripwafh*, where the Parliament had a ftrong Garrifon; and from thence fends Relief to the Counteff of *Derby*, who in her flout defending of that Place, had manifefted a more than common Magnanimity, Whereupon the Befiegers drew off.

The King in the presence of the Peers at Oxford, received the Sacrament at *Christ Church*, at the Hands of Bishop *Usher*, using these Solemn Protestations :

My Lords, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may Declare to the world the Resolution I do now make : I have to the utmost of my Power prepared my Soul to become a Worthy Receiver ; And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the

The Kings  
Solemn Pro-  
testation to his  
Lords, at the  
taking of the  
Sacrament.

*A the Establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its Beauty in the happy Dayes of Queen Elizabeth, without any Connivance at Popery : bleſs God, that in the miſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill Liberty to Communicate : and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not joy with my Lips in this Profeſtation.*

The Parliament at *Westminster* Voted it Treason for any Member or Members of either House to desert them, and go to the King, and they never to be received again.

And in the mean time, *Essex* and *Waller* joyn together, and enter *Oxfordshire*, with Intention to inviron the King, whose greate Armies were then abroad : to prevent which, he marches out of *Oxford* by Nigh, leaving sufficient Force behind for the Defence of the City, and comes to *North-ly*, where he drew up his Army of 3000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, 12 Drakes, and 60 Carriages, and so marches on towards *Worcester*. *Essex* and *Waller* pursue two several wayes, but both met at *Burford*, where it is agreed between them, That *Essex* with his heavy Guns should march to reduce the *Western* Counties, and *Waller* with the lightest Field-pieces should joyn with *Majesty's* Forces, and pursue the King : So *Essex* marches to *Faringdon*, and *Waller* toward *Gloucester*, and from thence in Queit of the King, who hearing of *Essex's* departure, turns back, with Intention to be furnished with Ammunition from *Oxford*, and to give *Waller* Battel : At *Burford* he receives his expected Ammunition, and at *Whitney* some additional Recruits, and from thence comes to *Buckingham*, and taking *Brackley* and *Culworth* in his way, advanceth to *Grimsbury* Fields near *Banbury*, and Faces *Waller* who was drawn up on *Crock-Hill* ; but he soon left that standing, and gained *Burton-Hill*, a more advantageous Ground, where he stood in Battalia, whom when the King could by no meanes draw down, he marched over *Cropley* Bridge towards *Duniry*. The Kings Van and main Body being a good space before, *Waller* makes down with 2000 Horse, and 9000 Foot over the Bridge, and falls upon the Kings Rear, commanded by the Earles of *Northampton* and *Cleveland*, these Faced about, and charged the Enemy through and through and were so well seconded, that they routed Sir *Williams* Horse and Foot, killed 150 men, took all his Train of Artillery, together with many considerable Officers prisoners : And this hapned June 20.

The King presently marcheth to *Bath* after *Essex*, who was gotten *Westward*, and by the Lord *Roberts* Entreaty, was perswaded into the narrow Noose of *Cornwall*.

On July 23, the King comes to *Kingmoor* in *Somersetshire*; and from thence, *August* the first, to *Lutter*, eight miles distance from the Earl of *Essex*, who was at *Richmond*, and there was accompanied by the King and Prince *Maurice* at *Beconnes*, by Sir *Leiford Greenville* at *Bodmyns*, and Sir *Jacob Ashley* at *Hale*; the Cavaliers were very desirous to fight, but after a serious Deliberation, it was judged more advisable to starve them; to that end, General *Goring* with a party of Horse, and Sir *Thomas Bassett* with 1500 Foot were sent *Westward*, to stop all Provisions that way, and to strengthen them, by keeping their Horse and Foot close together: Hereupon the *Parliamentarians* dig up their Canons and Baggage towards *Fox*, but the greatest part of their Horse, being 2200, commanded by Sir *Williams Balfore*, broke through the Kings two Quarters, and got to *Salisbury*, and thence to *Plymouth*, which all the War-time held out stoutly for the Parliament: All this while, the King pursues his Advantage upon *Essex* his Foot, who with those few Horse that were left, made the best Resistance that they could; but at last being over-powered by the Kings Forces, which in a manner lay round about them, and the Country rising in great Numbers upon them, the Earl of *Essex* quits his Command, and by Water, makes for *Plymouth*; and the Souldiers now destitute of a General, come to a Parley *September* the first: The Commissioners on the Kings side were Prince *Maurice*, General *Rutchen*, and the Lord *Digby*. On the other, Colonel *Barkley*, Colonel *Whitchcock*, and Colonel *Buller*, who at last agreed upon seven or eight Articles; the sum whereof were, To deliver up to the King all their Artillery, with all their Bag and Baggage, no person under the degree of a Corporal, to wear any kind of Weapon, all Officers above onely Sword and Pistol: There were accordingly delivered up forty Pieces of Brats Ordnance, two hundred Barrels of Powder, with Buller and Match proportionable, nine thousand Arms for Horse and Foot; some thousands of private Souldiers were immediately upon their Desires entertained in his Majesties Service. The generous Depoartment, (in this particular) of Major-General *Skippon*, who commanded the Foot, deservedly challenge a laudable Commemoration, who being desired by the General to escape away with him by Water to *Plymouth*, chose rather to live and die with his Fellow-Souldiers, than to desert them in such a distressed Condition.

And when after the fore-mentioned Agreement, the Cavaliers took too uncivil an Advantage upon the unarmed *Parliamentarians* in their March, he courageously addressed himself to the Kings, and representing what Dishonour would thereby accrue to his Majesty, procured more strict Command for the punctual observation of the Articles, and so marched to *Pool*. After these, sundry other *Successes* erected the Kings Party, *Ipsedcombe*, *Barnstable*, and *Salisbury* taken; and to the King Victorious, takes leave of the Western Parts, and returns to *Oxford*.

The King after the Defeat of Waller at Cropredy Bridge, had written from Evesham, July 4. to the Parliament for a Treaty; and to the same purpose, he sends another Letter from Ludger to Essex, at Lostwithiel; the like did the Lords and great Officers, and Commanders of the Army: but through mutual Mistrusts, all came to nothing: Yet now after this Victory, the King offers

e 1644.

The King  
marcheth out  
of Oxford.  
Is pursued by  
Essex and  
Waller.

3 Defeats Walker  
7 at Cropredy  
Bridge.

Essex blockt up  
by the Kings  
Forces in Corn-  
wall.

The K. sends  
several Letters  
to the Parl. and  
to the Earl of  
Essex about a  
Treaty.

1644.

France and the  
United Provinces  
mediate  
for a Peace.

The Earl of  
Newcastle be-  
sieged in York  
by the Parlia-  
ment's Forces.

The Battle at  
Marston Moor.

York delivered  
up by Sir Tho-  
mas Glemham.  
Newcastle taken  
by the  
Scots.

New Levies  
raised by the  
Parliament.

Dennington Castle  
attacked by three Par-  
ties, but in  
vain.

The Princess  
Henrietta Maria  
born at Exeter.  
The Queen  
returns into  
France.

Colonel Mytchett  
defeated, and  
slain by Massey.

Tawstock sends another Letter, dated Septemb. 8. to both Houses, for an Accommodation, willing A  
them to take his former Letter from *Exeter* into consideration.

September the twelfth, the Parliament at *Oxford* assembled again, but falling into Divisions and  
Factions, the King despairing of any good Effects from them, in *March* following dissolved  
them.

The French had formerly mediated a Peace between the King and Parliament, but in vain; and  
now the United Provinces mean to try what they could do in it, or at leastwise to settle Trade,  
however the Game went: from these, many men expected much good, by reason of the Kings  
previous Messages; but yet in the end of the year, they also returned, having effected nothing as to  
a Reconciliation.

The Earl of Newcastle, who had done many Exploits in the North for the King, was now over-  
powered by the Parliaments Forces, consisting of the Scots, under the Earl of Levens Command, and  
of the English in two Bodies, the one commanded by the Earl of Manchester, the other by the  
Lord Fairfax, each General having his particular Lieutenant-General; Leven had his Colon, Collo-  
nel David Leslie; Manchester, Colonel Oliver Cromwell; and the Lord Fairfax had his Son Sir  
Thomas: These Armies held the Earl of Newcastle Besieged in York about two Months, for whose  
Relief, Prince Rupert advanced Northward with a great Power of Horse and Foot, taking in his  
Way three Carillons, *Stoford*, *Bolton*, and *Liverpool*, and so comes forward towards York, upon  
whose Approach the Besiegers drew off, and those within fall out upon the Rear, and bring back  
with them some Provisions. After this *Rupert* and *Newcastle* joyn their Forces, and pursue them  
with a Resolution to give Battle.

July the third, both Armies face one another upon a great Plain, called *Marston Moor*; the  
Prince with the Left Wing fell on the Parliaments Right Wing, consisting of the *Fairfaxian*  
Horse and Foot, and a Reserve of Scots; Routed them, and pursued them a great way; the like did  
General *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Major-General *Porter*, upon the main Body: but they too  
eagerly following the Chase, the Victory now almost Achieved, was snatched out of their Hands, by  
Manchester and Cromwell, who with the Parliaments Left Wing utterly Routed the Earl of New-  
castle, who commanded the Right Wing of the Cavaliers, and then came in timely to the Relief of  
his Companions, who now again Rallied, fell altogether upon the divided Bodies of *Rupert* and  
*Goring*, and totally dispersed them, and obtained a compleat Victory, after three hours Fight re-  
solutely maintained on both sides, from seven in the morning till Ten, took 3000 Prisoners, 10 pie-  
ces of Ordnance, besides a considerable number of Officers, and 47 Colours of Horse and Foot,  
and soon after made themselves Masters of all in the North.

Sir Thomas Glemham was Governour of York, which the three Generals besiege, and he stand-  
ing in want of Ammunition, Prince Rupert having made use of most of what was in the City for  
the Fight, July 16. Surrenders upon Articles; and then the three Generals parting their Forces, *Le-  
ven* returns into *Northumberland*, and takes the Town of *Newcastle*. After this Battle, which was  
the greatest, both for the fierceness of it, and for the number of Souldiers on both sides, that was  
fought during this unhappy and intestine War: Prince Rupert sped him into *Lancashire*, with the  
Relicks of his Army, but others departed the Kingdom (through Discontent taken at some Injury,  
which they conceived, probably by mistake, to be offered them by the Prince, upon which they re-  
sisted to engage any further in that Cause) and landed at *Hamburgh*, viz. The Earl of Newcastle  
lately made Marquis, with his two Sons, and his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, General King,  
the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Cranworth*, the Bishop of *London-Derry*, Sir  
*Edward Widdrington*, Colonel *Carnaby*, Col. *Basset*, Col. *Monson*, Sir *William Vavasor*, Sir *Francis  
Mackworth*, with about Eighty other persons.

The Parliament Ordain new Levies to be raised, 10000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, and 1300 Dragoon-  
gouts, out of the lately Affiliated South-Eastern Counties, and as much Moneys to be advanced  
out of those Counties, as might pay those Souldiers during their Employment.

Middleton a Scotch-man, Lieut. Gen. to Sir William Waller, comes before Dennington-Castle in  
*Berkshire*, with 3000 Horse and Foot, which he gives a stout Assault to, but Repulsed, and finding it  
himself unable to do the Work, marches Westward after Gen. *Essex*: but in the way is met with and  
routed by Sir *Francis Dorrington*, and Sir *William Courtney*; this makes him retreat to *Shirburn* in *Dor-  
setshire*, where he falls upon a party of the Kings Horse, and beats them, repairing his Credit by  
their Overthrow: Then comes Colonel *Horton*, and makes a second Attempt upon the Castle,  
and after him the Earl of Manchester a Third: but through the stout Resolution of the Governour  
*Boyle* and his Garrison, they were frustrated of their hopes; and so the Earl marched away to *Reading*,  
and *Horton* to *Abbingdon*.

The Queen being come from *Oxford* to *Exeter*, was there delivered of a Daughter, June 16.  
which was called *Henrietta Maria*; and after, she journeyed from thence to *Pendennis Castle* in  
*Cornwall*, where she embarked for France, continuing there till the happy Restauration of her Son,  
his Majesty that now is.

*Barbury* had been besieged about eleven Weeks, being defended by Sir *William Compton*, Bro-  
ther to the Earl of *Northampton*, who is now at leisure to succour his Brother, which he doth, October  
25. putting to flight Col. *John Fines*, and his Forces which lay before the Castle.

But in *Gloucestershire* Massey prevails; Colonel *Myn* had been long a Goad in his sides, and had  
now designed with the Forces of both Counties, *Hereford* and *Worcester*, to have marched from  
their

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A their Rendezvous at *Casslane*, to the Gates of *Gloucester*; but Massey prevents them, and with a  
competent Number of Souldiers, falls upon *Myn*, whom he finds drawn up into *Battalia* 160  
Horse, and 850 Foot: these he charges, and after a tough Resistance disperseth them: *Myn* was  
slain upon the place, and about 170 more, divers Officers, and many common Souldiers taken pri-  
soners: at length, too late, the *Hereford* and *Worcester* Forces came up; but understanding what had  
passed, returned home again without any memorable Action.

Prince Rupert, after his Defeat at *Marston Moor*, lying about *Bristol*, had an Intention to pass  
Ashbury, to guard which, he sends 500 Horse and Foot, fortifying *Beachly* for a standing Guard,  
being a place of Strength, between *Severn* and *Wye*: Massey who was not accustomed to be idle,  
resolves to attack them, and boldly performed that his Attempt, gains the Victory, masters the  
Guard and Place, and soon after takes *Mummouth*, by the Treachery of *Kirle* Lieutenant-Colonel  
to *Holby* the Governour.

*Newbury* seemed to be the place destined for Martial Exploits, near which, one memorable Bat-  
tel had been fought before, and now a second no less cruel, is to be disputed between the exasper-  
ated Parties, the Parliamentarians seeking to regain what Credit they had lost in the West, and the  
Royalists to repair the Loss in the North; the King had amassed his Forces at *King's Leigh*; and on  
the other side, the Earles of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, marched to a General  
Rendezvous near *Basing* October 23. and from thence the day following to *Padworth*, and next morn-  
ing to *Buckbury Heath* near *Newbury* (where the King then was) and about twelve of the clock  
drew down the whole Army between *Thatcham* and *Shaw*, and skirmished with the Kings Horse.  
On Saturday both Armies plyed one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt  
done.

Sunday, October 27. Some of *Manchesters* Forces, and *London Trained-Bands*, crossed the River  
*Kennet*, between the Hill and *Newbury*, and did some Execution upon those that kept the Pass a-  
gainst them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to Rescue, forceth the other over the River. Again in  
the Afternoon 4000 of *Essex* and *Waller's* Horse and Dragoons, with 500 Pikes, charged the Roy-  
al Army on the West-side of *Newbury*, where were the *Cornish* Foot, and the Duke of *York's* Regi-  
ment, with five Field-Pieces, and Prince *Maurice's* Brigade of *Cornish* Horse; all which having not  
unmanfully sustain'd the rough Charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in  
some Disorder, and here the Kings five Field-pieces were taken. The *Essexians* following their  
Success, advance with 500 Horse, and a sufficient strength of Musquetiers, betwixt *Newbury* and  
*Spine*, upon the Kings Life-guards, and Colonel Sir *Humphrey Bennet's* Brigade, whom they over-  
powered, and had much more endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their As-  
sistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*; the Parliamentarians having settled three  
Bodies of Foot in certain Inclosures, advanced over a Ditch, with a great Body of Horse, to break  
in through the Kings Guards, but met first fight with General *Goring*, and the Earl of *Cleveland's*  
Brigade, who charged stoutly, and beat back the Enemy; but pursuing disorderly, were repulsed  
with loss.

Upon the North-East of *Newbury* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonel *George Lyle*, for the  
King, against whom the Earl of *Manchester's* Horse and Foot, with the *Trained-Bands of London*,  
came down the Hill, and worked Colonel *Lyle's* Guards: But then Sir *John Brown* comes on with  
*Plymouth Charles's* Regiment of Horse, charges the Foot, and then receives a Charge of 1000 Horse,  
and so retreats.

Meanwhile *Manchesters* forces his way to the Reserve commanded by Colonel *Thelwell*, and after a smart  
Dispute, beats them out of the Field, gains their Colours, and two Pieces of Canon. In this Fight,  
of the Kings part were slain, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Leak*, Lieutenant-Collo-  
nel *Topping*, and Captain *Callin*; the Earl of *Cleveland*, with others, were taken; the Earl of *Brain-  
ford* and *Forth*, Sir *John Greville*, Sir *Richard Campfield*, Major *Alford*, and  
Captain *Walgrave*, and others, were wounded, many private Souldiers slain, and others taken pri-  
soners. This Fight endured till eight of the clock at night; the *Essexians* called it the Revenge of *Corn-  
wall*. The King perceiving that all his Brigades were worsted by the Parliamentarians, and fearing  
a total Overthrow, if the Battle should be renewed, marched away secretly to *Dennington Castle*,  
and there leaves behind him his great pieces of Ordnance, and so hafts to *Wallingford*. General *Es-  
sex* marches into *Newbury*, and after in vain Summons and Assaults *Dennington Castle*, and so takes  
leave committing the care of that Siege to a party which he left behind him.

Massey had formerly taken *Mummouth*, and had made Major *Frogmorton* Governour of it, who  
desiring to show himself active in his fresh Authority, draws out 300 Horse and Foot to take in  
*Chepstow Castle*, in whose absence, the Cavaliers, Novemb. 19. early in the morning enter the Town,  
seize the main Guard, and take the rest in their Beds, with Colonel *Brinton*, and many Officers and  
common Souldiers, the Committee, and pretty store of Arms and Ammunition: *Frogmorton* hear-  
ing of this Surprize, desists from his *Chepstow* Design, and marches away to meet Massey at *Bar-  
ford*.

The King sends out Sir *Jacob Ashley* with three Brigades of Foot, and four Regiments of  
Horse, who places his Head-quarters at *Chenestrey*, and from thence sends out several Parties  
which return with Prisoners and Spoil, whilst himself masters Massey's Guard at *Lipior*, and grows  
so formidable, that he commands Contribution to the very Gates of *Gloucester*: Prince *Maurice*  
also Depures a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons, to the service and use of Sir *John Winter's*  
Garrison.

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Garrison of *Lidney*, in the Forest of *Dean*, and so the Kings Power becomes considerable in these parts.

The *Hothams*, and Sir *Alexander Cary* beheaded.

*Macgwire* and *Macmahon* hang'd, drawn, and quartered at *Tisbury*.

A Treaty begun at *Uxbridge* between King and Parliament.

The Kings Memorials to Secretary *Nichols*.

His Directions to his Commissioners.

The *Hothams* must now come to their Tryal, the Earl of *Manchester*, and others are assigned to be their Judges; and so December the first, Sir *John* is charged in the *Hustings-Court* at *Guild-Hall, London*, That he had Trayterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy; to be proved by his Words, by his Letters, and by his Actions: And that he had Correspondence with the Queen, the Earl of *Newcastle*, the Lord *Digby*, and others of that side, and endeavoured to betray the Town of *Hull* to the Cavaliers. His Son was charged with Crimes of the same Nature; as for intercourse of Letters with the Earl of *Newcastle*, under pretence of Trading about Exchange of prisoners: Which things being proved against them, they were both sentenced to lose their Heads, and accordingly were executed; the Son upon the first of January, and the Father the next day after. And a little before, viz. December 23. Sir *Alexander Cary* had been Beheaded, for endeavouring to give up the Island of *Plymouth* to the Kings Forces. Two principall Irish Rebels, the Lord *Macgwire*, and *Macmahon*, had been seized in *Ireland*, and sent up to the Parliament, and imprisoned in the Tower, whence they found means to make an escape, but were taken and brought to Tryal; and first *Macmahon* being found guilty of High-Treason, was, according to Sentence at the Kings-Bench Bar, hang'd, drawn, and quartered at *Tisbury* in November: and *Macgwire*, notwithstanding his Complaint to the House of Lords, to consider his quality as a Peer of *Ireland*, was by the same Court condemned of High-Treason, and like as his Fellow, was sentenced to be hang'd, drawn, and quartered, which was performed upon him, February 20.

The King had formerly sent to the Parliament for a Treaty, which they now began to hearken to, and to Commissioners are appointed on both sides to meet at *Uxbridge*, January 30. the Commissioners for the King were these; The Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earles of *Southampton*, *Kingston*, and *Chichester*, the Lords, *Capel*, *Seamur*, *Hutton*, and *Culpeper*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Thomas Grandure*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Mr. *John Albirgham*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Doctor *Stewart*. Those for the Parliaments of England and Scotland (for now they are joyned in all publick Affairs) were the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Denbigh*, Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Crom*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *St. Johns*, Mr. *Pridaux*, Lord *Lowden*, Sir *Charles Erskine*, Mr. *Dunlop*, Mr. *Brakely*, and Mr. *Henderson*.

Many previous Desires of the Parliament had passed, but now they come to the Business. But before the Meeting, the King gives these Memorials to Secretary *Nichols*.

**F**irst, For Religion and Church-Government, the King will not go one jot further than is by you offered already.

Secondly, And so for the *Militia*, more then what you have allowed by Me, but even in that you must observe, That I must have free Nomination of the full half, as if the Total Number, *Scots* and all be Thirty, I must name fifteen: Yet if the Parliament be so unworthy, as to admit of ten *Scots* to twenty *English*, I am contented to name five *Scots*, and ten *English*, and so proportional to any Number. As for gaining of particular Persons, besides Security, promise them Rewards for performed Services, not sparing to engage for Places, so they be not of great Trust, nor dispossess honest men, but as much Profit as you will: With this last, you are onely to acquiesce, *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hyde*.

And the King gives Directions to his Commissioners in Writing, thus;

First, Concerning Religion; In this the Government of the Church (as I suppose) will be the chief Question: wherein these two Things are to be considered; *Conscience*, and *Policy*: In the first, I cannot yield to the Change of the Government of Bishops, nor onely as I concur with the most General Opinion of Christians in all Ages as being the best: but likewise I hold my Self particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coronation, nor to alter the Government of the Church, from what I found it.

And as for the Churches Patrimony, I cannot suffer any Diminution, or Alienation of it (it being without peradventure *Sacrilege*, and likewise contrary to the former Oath.) But whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of Abuses, if any have crept in, or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it endamage not the Foundation) I am contented to hear, and will be ready to give a Gracious Answer.

For

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For the Second (Policy) As the Kings Duty is to Protect the Church, so it is the Churches to Assist the King in the maintenance of his just Authority, and before my Predecessors have been always carefull (especially since the Reformation) to keep the Dependence of the Clergy entirely upon the Crown, without which it will scarcely sit fast upon the Kings Head. Therefore do nothing to change or lessen this necessary Dependence.

Concerning the *Militia*, after *Conscience* this is certainly the fittest Subject for a Kings Quarrel, for without it, the Kings Power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be Acquired, but to be maintained according to the Ancient Laws of the Land. Yet (because to attain to this so much wished Peace by all good Men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and reall Security be given for performance of the Agreement.

I permit you therefore, either by leaving strong Towns, or other Military Forces into their Possession (untill Articles be performed) to give such Assurance for performance of Conditions, as you shall judge necessary, to conclude a Peace.

Provided alwayes, that you take (at least) as great Care by sufficient Security, that Conditions be performed to Me. And to make sure, that, the Peace once settled, all Things shall return into their Ancient Channels.

For *Ireland*, I confess they have very specious popular Arguments to press this Point, they gaining no Article more conducing to their Ends then this; and I have as much Reason both in Honour and Policy to take Care how to Answer this, as any: All the World knows the Eminent Inevitable Necessity, which caused me to make the *Irish* Cessation; and there remain yet as strong Reasons, for the concluding of that Peace. Wherefore you must content to nothing to hinder me therein, untill a clear way be shewen to Me, how my Protestant Subjects there, may probably (at least) Defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to Defend my *Conscience* and *Crown* from the Injuries of this Rebellion.

The Protestation Consented to, and Taken, by his Majesties Commissioners appointed to Treat.

**I**A.B. One of the Commissioners Assigned by his Majesty for this present Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do Protest and Promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not Disclose nor Reveal to any person, or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner), any Matter, or thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty by any One, or more of his Majesties Commissioners; in any private Debate among themselves, concerning the said Treaty, so as to Name, or Describe Directly, or Indirectly, the person, or persons that shall speak any such Matter, or Thing, unless by the Consent of all the said Commissioners, that shall be then Living.

Memorandum, That it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not bind, where any Ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certify his Majesty, the Number of the Assentors, or Dissentors upon any particular Result in this Treaty, not Naming, or Describing the Persons.

The Commissioners on both sides being met, the things to be Treated of were;

First, Religion.

Secondly, The *Militia*.

Thirdly, *Ireland*.

But first, the Kings Commissioners give in this Paper concerning Religion.

First, That Freedom be left to all Persons of what Opinion soever in Matters of Ceremony, and that all the Penalties of the Laws and Customes which enjoin these Penalties be suspended.

The Officers of the Kings Commissioners concerning Religion.

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Secondly, That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the Consent and Counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be Chosen by the Clergy of each Diocese, out of the Learnedest and Gravest Ministers of that Diocese.

Thirdly, That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocese, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to Attend Him on any Occasion: And that if he be not hindered by the Infirmary of old Age, or Sickness, he Preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocese.

Fourthly, That the Ordination of Ministers shall be alwayes in the Publick and Solemn manner, and very strict Rules observed concerning the Sufficiency and other Qualifications of those Men, who shall not yet be received into Holy Orders, without the Consent and Approbation of the Presbyters, or the Major part of them.

Fifthly, That Competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicaridges as belong to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, out of the Impropriations, according to the Value of the several Parishes.

Sixthly, That no man shall be capable of Two Parsonages or Vicaridges, with Cure of Souls.

Seventhly, That towards the settling of the publick Peace, an Hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.

Eighthly, That the Jurisdiction in Causes Testamentary, Decimals, Matrimonials, be settled in such manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament: And likewise that Acts be passed for Regulating of Visitations, and against Immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and Abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other Abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.

And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the Consideration thereof.

The Parliaments Commissioners Paper concerning Religion, was,

That the Bill be passed for Abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, &c. according to the Third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be Confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for publick Worship, already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government annexed, and passed both Houses, be Enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the first Proposition.

That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoined to be taken, according to the second Proposition.

To this was Annexed the following Paper.

That the Ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is, By the respective Bounds of their Dwellings.

That the Minister and Church-Officers in each Congregation, shall joyn in the Government of the Church, as shall be Established by Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterian Government.

That

That the Church be Governed by Congregationall, Classicall, and Synodical Assemblies to be Established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

Which Papers took up three Dayes of the Treaty in Dispute; the next three Dayes were Ordered for the Militia, and was afterwards Resumed for other three Dayes.

Propositions concerning the Militia, the Fourth of February.

Concerning the Militia.

We desire, That the Subjects of England may be Armed, Trained, and Disciplined, as the Parliament shall think fit.

The like for Scotland, as the Parliament there shall think fit.

That an Act for settling the Admiralty, and Forces at Sea, and Moneys thereto for Maintenance, may be as the Parliament shall think fit.

The like for Scotland.

That there be an Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land, in Commissioners, to be named by the Parliament, and as both Kingdomes shall Confide in, and to suppress all Powers and Forces contrary thereto, and to Act as they shall be directed by Parliament.

So for the Kingdom of Scotland.

That the Militia of the City of London, and of the Parishes within London, and the Liberties within the Weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council.

That the Tower of London may be in the Government of the City, and chief Officers, those to be Nominated, and removed by the Common Council.

That the Citizens, and Forces of London, may not be drawn out of the City, without their own consent; and that the Example in these distracted Times, be no Precedent for the Future.

The next Three Dayes began the Seventh of February, and the same was taken up again; on February the Eighteenth began the other Three Dayes, for Ireland.

That an Act of Parliament be passed to make void the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels, without consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of Ireland in the Parliament, to be Managed by the joyned Advice of both Kingdomes, and his Majesty to Assist, and to do no Act to Discountenance, or Molest them therein.

These things being of great Consequence, I have set down Verbatim, without any Variation. The Kings Commissioners would not consent to the Parliaments Propositions, in any of the Three Points, of Religion, Militia, or Ireland; but motioned, That if the Articles proposed by them did not give Satisfaction, that then so great an Alteration as a total Abolishment of a Government Established by Law may be suspended, till after the Disbanding of all Armies, the King may be present with the Parliament, and a Nationall Synode may be called to consider and determine of so Important a Business.

Secondly, For the Militia, they would condescend no further, than that the Persons to be trusted with the Militia be Nominated between them, or that an equal Number, the one half by the King, and the other by the Parliament, and this to be but for three years.

But Thirdly, As to Ireland, they justified the Kings Proceedings, and would not allow of any thing which should make against the Cessation: And so the Treaty takes end, without any thing effected of what the poor People longed for; the Commissioners on both sides being so much bounded by their Superiours, though his Majesty on his part condescended as far as in reason he could.

The Marquis of Winchester held out his House at Basing for the King; to Reduce which, Sir William Waller with his new Levies, advances and Storms it thrice in Nine Dayes, but was beaten off, and fain to Retreat to Farnham: Colonell Norton succeeds in that Service, with whom joyn Colonell Morley, and Sir Richard Onslow, who fall furiously to the Work, but with greater hurt to themselves.

Basing House Besieged by Sir William Waller.

Shortly

1644.

Shortly after Colonel *Whithead* comes to them with his Regiment. The Besiegers fall to Battering, while Necessities encrease within. *Norton* sends his Summons, which are contemned by the Marquis. The Besieged fall out, and do much Execution. Now comes Sir *William Waller* himself, and with some Troops Faced the House, on whom the Besieged play from their Works; the Marquis sends to *Oxford* for Relief, which is promised: In the mean time, *Waller* departs, Colonel *Gage* is sent from *Oxford*, with a Regiment of bold Blades, who findes *Norton* ready to receive him on *Chinham Down Septemb. 12.* *Gage* makes his Approach, appearing first on a Hill near the High-way, which leads to *Andover*; Whereupon *Norton* Charges with great Courage, and breaks through the others Horse, who having a Reserve of Musketeers, with more then Ordinary Valour, forced *Norton* to Retreat as far as the Church, and so through *Basing-floke*. The same time the Besieged sallied out at several places, brought in many Prisoners, *Viz.* Two Captains, two Lieutenants, four Sergeants, and neer an hundred private Souldiers; The Relief which *Gage* brought in, consisted of many Horse-load of Powder, and Match, a Drove of Cattel, besides Plunder from *Basing-floke*.

November the sixteenth, The Besiegers after four and twenty Weeks labour in vain, raise the Siege, having lost about 1000 Men one way or other, during their stay before that House. Nor had the Kings Forces any better success in their long Sieges before *Rhymond, Lyme, and Tandon* in the *West*, which three Places cost them the lives of some Thousands of their Souldiers, and yet not taken at last.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* had been accused by the *Parliament*, in the year 1640, as Farmer of the *Canons* agreed upon by the Convocation, and for other Delinquencies, and the *Scots* had joyined him with the Earl of *Stratford* in their Grand Accusation, and charged him for Obtaining upon their Nation the *Liturgy*, or Book of *Common-Prayer*, and the new Book of *Canons*, and *Constitutions Ecclesiasticall*, and for advising the King to Dissolve the last *Parliament*, and such other things: For which he was first committed to the Custody of the *Black-Rod*, and Ten Weeks after Voted Guilty of High-Treason, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower*, where he continued the space of four years; in which mean time, his *Rents* were Sequestred, his Goods, Books, and Papers seized. His Charge was, endeavouring the Subversion

1. Of the Laws.
2. Of Religion.

3. Of the Priviledges of *Parliament*. After a hundred times Attendance on the House, January the fourth, they passed their Ordinance of *Parliament*, that he should be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered; but upon his Petition, they Voted him to be Beheaded, and allowing his Chaplain, Doctor *Stern*, to Administer with him, they also joyined Mr. *Marshall*, but the Archbishop refused him. January the Tenth, he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, by Alderman *Pennington*, where he made his last Sermon, or Speech, which lasted about an hour, having for his Text the second Verse of the Twelfth Chapter of the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*; and then after Prayer, and some short Ejaculations, laid down his Head upon the Block, which the Executioner Chopt off at one Blow. And this was the end of that great Prelate, *William Laud*, after he had seen that *Hierarchy* and *Liturgy* Abolished, whereof he Lived and Died so stout a Champion.

The *Parliament* were somewhat discontented with their General, the Earl of *Essex*, whom they suspected as Careless, or Discontent, because after the Second Battell at *Newbury*, he suffered the King to march away, without any Molestation, and after to Relieve *Donnington Castle*; and beside, that he had quitted *Newbury*, and let it fall into the Kings Hands, to serve as a Cover-Quarter for his Forces; whereupon they begin to consider of new Modelling the Army.

The King was much Taxed, by those who were not slack to find out Occasions of Cavill against him, about the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; especially for bewraying so much Favour and good Will to the *Irish*, as was discovered in the Article about *Ireland*; and also his Transaction with them; as namely, his Writing two Letters to the Earl of *Ormond*, to hasten the Peace with them; and promising them that the Penal Statutes against *Roman Catholics* should not be put in Execution, the Peace being made, and they remaining in their due Obedience. And further, that when they gave him that Assistance which they promised for his *English* Occasions, then he would consent to the Repeal of them all, by a Law, except those against Appeals to *Rome* and Prebendary; Nay, and more than this; it is layd to his Charge as a matter of a high Nature, that he had written to *Ormond* a Third Letter for the hastning the Peace, which rather than misse, he should promise to joyne with them against the *Scots*, and the Lord *Inchiquin*: These things the *Parliament* did much exaggarate against him, and also took such Care for Succouring their Friends against the Rebels, that they were never able to send over the promised Supplies to the King.

The Earl of *Montrose* entred *Scotland*, April the thirteenth, and seized *Dunsmire*, expelling *Antrim's Irish*, which not coming according to promise, he was fain to retire into *England*, and from thence sends the Lord *Ogleby*, and Sir *William Rollock* Disguised into the Heart of *Scotland*, who bring back uncomfortable Tydings of the great Power and Strength of the Covenanters; whereupon he sends *Ogleby* to the King for more Men, or at least Armes from beyond-Sea; but these Messengers were surprized, and Imprisoned by the Covenanters. *Montrose* with a small Retinue, re-enters *Scotland*, and comes to his Cousin *Patrick Graham*, where he lyes close, untill

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* brought to his Tryal.

Beheaded at *Tower-hill*.

The *Parliament* begin to think of new Modelling the Army.

The King tax'd as a Favourer of the *Irish* Rebels.

*Montrose's* his Proceedings in *Scotland*.

1644.

Instead of Ten thousand promised, *Alexander Macdonell* brings over into the North of *Scotland*, 110 Irish from *Antrim*, with whom *Montrose* meets in *Athole*, where Eight hundred Country-men joyne with them. With these Forces he proceeds further, and the Lord *Kilpont*, Son to the Earl of *Taith*, and Sir *John Drummond*, Son to the Earl of *Perth*, Unite with them. With Five hundred Foot: The Covenanters Rendezvouzed at *Perth*, and from thence draw out to *Tepper Moore*, Commanded by the Earl of *Tullibarden*, and the Lords *Elch* and *Drummond*, with Six thousand Foot, and Seven hundred Horse: ready to Fight.

September the First, the Lord *Drummond* comes out with a Fortiori Hope, and at the first Onset is Routed back to the Main Body, and so *Montrose* with a shout, let loose his whole Forces upon them, and puts them to flight, with the Slaughter of Two thousand, and many Prisoners, and the City of *Perth* taken.

After this Victory, the Earl of *Kinnle* and *Arley*, Sir *Thomas Ogleby*, and his Brother Sir *David*, and other Gentlemen thereabouts come in to him, with whom he seeks out the Enemy, who lay at *Aberdeen* with an Army of Two thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Barghley*, expecting the Conjunction of the Earl of *Argile*, and his Forces, which *Montrose* means to prevent by Fighting them: *Montrose* had but four and forty Horse, (none at all in the first Battell) and Fifteen hundred Foot, all resolute Men, which did their Work with much Courage, Routed the Enemy, and had the pursuit of them to the Gates of *Dundee*: After which, *Montrose* enters *Aberdeen*; But News comes Post, that the Earls of *Argile* and *Lothian* were at hand with a strong Body of Horse; which *Montrose* unable to Encounter with, retires to *Higland Mountains*, and goes to *Strathbeggy*, to try if he could perswade the *Gordons* to engage on his Side, but they were hindred by the Earl of *Huntly* their Chief, who though a Royalist himself, yet out of meer Envy to *Montrose*, did more Obstruct the Kings Business, then the Covenanters themselves.

Here *Montrose* sculkt, but *Argile* and *Lothian* follow him, and near *Ferry Castle* they Skirmish together, and the *Montrosians* having the advantage of a Hill, put their Enemies to a disorderly Retreat: After which, they both fall to Treating, during which, some of *Montrose's* Followers are dealt with to Betray him; wherefore to secure himself, he marcheth away to *Badrineth*, many of his Men by *Argile's* Corruption falling off from him, and making no stay there, through unknown By-ways, comes to *Dunkeldin*, and frightens *Argile* out of those Parts: *Macdonnell* was Employed by *Montrose* to the *Mack Renolds*, with whom he used such Perswasions, that 500 of them with their Chief, followed him to the Earl, and *Patrick Graham* brings some Recruits from *Athole* with these *Montrose's* marches through *Braidalmain* into the Country of *Argile*, where the Earl was lifting Souldiers, near the Castle *Immerare*, but *Montrose's* coming Scares him away, and he Victorious divides his Army into Three Brigades, himself Leading the One, *Macdonnell* Another, and *Macdonald* a Third, and with Fire and Sword Devastates all, and so departs to *Lagbess*, where 5000 Horse and Foot commanded by the Earl of *Sesfort*, were ready to Oppose him, and the Earl of *Argile* not far off with 3000 Foot at *Innerlochy*. To prevent their Joyning, he resolves to fall upon *Argile*, which he does on the 2d. of February, and after a short Fight, in which 1500 were slain, put him to the Rout, with such Terror, that they ran Nine miles out-right. On *Montrose's* Part were but few killed, though many hurt, of whom Sir *Thomas Ogleby* dyed after of his Wounds.

In *England* the Kings Forces prevail in *Gloucestershire*, and take *Rowdon-House*, after stiff Resistance made by the Colonels, *Deverex*, and *Stevens*: and Colonel *Hopton*, having raised Sixty Horse, and Forty Foot for the *Parliament*, is surprized and carried Prisoner with all his Men into *Linbury* in *Hersfordshire*: But the *Parliamentarians* meet with Sir *John Winter* abroad, and beat him; and about the same time another Party of their Side surprize *Shrewsbury*: Prince *Rupert* is now in *Wales*, and with him Prince *Maurice*, the Lord *Hastings*, *Ashley*, *Langdale*, and *Gerrard*, with the greatest Part of the Kings Forces, and are very active in Impressing more Men and Arms in the Neighbouring Counties. Nor was the King Sollicitous only at home, but by his Agents abroad Negotiated with foreign Princes for Ayde: The Duke of *Lorrain* had an Indifferent Army about *Colten*, with whom the *Queen* Treats, and had brought her Business to some end, when Cardinal *Mazarine* spoys all, and finds other Work for the Duke.

To Denmark Colonel *Cockram* was sent with Instructions; and indeed King *Christian* was willing to have Assisted his Nephew, but he was suddenly Imbroyled at home by the Invasion of the *Swedes*, who had well-near ruined the *Dane* this year, if the *Hollander* had not Arrived with a Fleet at *Copenhagen* for his Defence, and in it an Ambassador to the *Swedes*, by whose Means Advantages; and two years after, the old King *Christian* (now at Peace, though with the losse of a considerable Part of his Dominion,) having Reigned above Fifty years, Deceased, leaving a Son named *Erndrick* the Third, to succeed him. And so his Majesty being here also frustrated, was fain to apply himself to make the best Provision that he could at home, to Cope with the *Parliament's* New Modell. And thus ends this Year.

It was now the One and twentieth Year of his Majesties Reign, being the year 1645; at the beginning whereof, the *Parliament* were buied about framing an Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from Military and Civill Affairs and Places; which was at last passed, nor without

*Rowdon House* taken by the Cavaliers.

*Strensbury* surprized by the *Parliament's* Forces.

The King sends to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the King of *Denmark* for Ayde.

1645.

The *Parliament* consult about an Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from Military Employments,

1645.

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in the Councils  
to the Parliam-  
ment.

without Exceptions of some, as *Cromwell*, and a few others: And this was call'd the *Self-denying Ordinance*.

The *Parliamentarians* had, as we have said, Surprized *Shrewsbury*, for which piece of Service, Colonel *Mittin* receives publick Thanks in the *House of Commons*, and that deservedly, in respect of the great advantage they got by it: It having been the Kings chiefest Garrison, as may be judged by the following particulars: for here were taken Eight Knights and Baronets, forty Colonels, Majors Captains, and others of Quality, besides common Men, Fifteen Pieces of Ordnance, many hundreds of Arms, divers Barrells of Powder, Prince *Maurice's* Magazine, and all this without any considerable Loss.

February the Twenty second, About this time Ambassadors come to the *Parliament* from *Swedenland*, with whom the *Parliament* (being offended with the *Dane*, for his forwardness to Assist the King) readily entered into a League of strict Amity and Friendship.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with 2000 Horse and Dragoons from *Oxford*, beats the *Lincolnsire* Horse, Relieves *Newark*, *Belvey*, and *Asby-Delazonch*, with Provision, and marcheth Northward to *Pomfret*, and in the night of the Lord *Fairfax's* Power, Relieveth that Castle also: from thence he returns to *Newark*, so to *Lichfield*, then to the Forrest of *Dean*, and beats off Colonel *Massey* from lying before *Lidbury*.

The King at *Oxford* takes Care to furnish his Garrisons, and to fit his Army for the Field, and the Earl of *Northampton* Routs the *Parliament's* *Northampton* Horse: But Major General *Brown* Governour of *Abbingdon* for the *Parliament*, sends out several Parties, who return with Success: And about this time the *House of Lords* make the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Counsellors, Governour, and Councellers of the Kings Children at *White-Hall*.

The *Parliament* having resolved to Modell the Army, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Dorset*, Surrender their Commissions in the *House of Lords*, but withall, desire that their Souldiers Arrears may be discharged, which the Lords commend to the Commons, and a Vote is passed for it, and 10000 l. per annum ordered to the Earl of *Essex* out of Delinquents Estates, for his Services and Losses: And the Earl of *Warwick* yields up his Commission of Admirall, which Offices are presently Insulted to Commissioners.

The *Parliament* after some Jarring of both Houses about it, Elec'ted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, and had accordingly sent for him up out of the North, which was the reason that he was not present, when Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Defeated his Fathers Forces, and Relieved *Pomfret*: The other Chief Officers of this New Modell were these, *Philip Skippon* Major General to the whole Army, *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant General of the Horse, *Thomas Hammond* Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, *Henry Ireton* Commissary-General of the Horse, The Colonells of Foot were these, Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Hamond*, *Harley*, *Mountague*, *Loph Pickering*, *Holburn*, *Craford*, *Berkley*, *Aldridge*, *Ingouldsby*, *Rainsborough*, *Welden*. For the Horse were, *Buller*, *Sheffield*, *Fleetwood*, *Roffiter*, *Rich*, *Whaley*, *Graves*, *Sidney*, *Middleton*, *Vermuden*, *Levisaire*, and Sir *Robert Pie*, and Colonel *Okey* of Dragoons.

General *Fairfax* having received his Commission, yet stayed for the finishing of the Great Ordinance, the Effect of which was;

That all and every the Members of either House shall be discharged (at the end of Forty Dayes, after the passing of this Ordinance) of all their Command, Military, or Civil, conferred by Parliament since the Twentieth of November, 1640.

That all other Governours and Commanders (not Members) by Land, or Sea, shall continue in their Offices, wherein they were Intrusted the 20 of March, 1644.

Provided and Excepted, That Lieutenants and their Deputies in several Counties, Cities, and Places, or of any Custos Rotulorum, or Justices of Peace, or Stewards, or any Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, or Goal-Delivery: And also, that those Members of either House who had Offices by Grant from his Majesty, before the Parliament, and were by him Displaced before the Sitting of this Parliament; and have since by the Parliament been restored, shall not be Discharged from their said Offices, or Profits thereof, but shall Enjoy the same:

After this unhappy new Modell it was that the Kings Affairs in all parts began fatally to decline.

April 31 Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sets forth for *Windsor*, where he applies himself to the framing of his new Army, a Business of no small Difficulty, in which Major General *Skippon* to effectually bestrid himself, that the *Parliament* thought fit to send him a Letter of hearty Thanks, for that and all his former faithfull Services: Hither comes Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, whom after some Salutations passed, the General Ordered to march towards *Oxford* with a Brigade of 1100 Horse, and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horse, which Prince *Rupert* had sent from *Worcester* to fetch off the King, with his Train of Artillery, and some Foot, so to Imbody and take the Field. At *Ipsley Bridge* *Cromwell* falls upon them, and Routs them, takes between Four and five

*Cromwell* routs the Cavaliers at *Ipsley Bridge*, takes *Blabington* House, and falls upon a Party at *Bampton* Bush.

1645.

A five hundred Horse, and Two hundred Prisoners with the *Queens* Standard; the rest betook themselves to *Blabington House*, whither *Cromwell* pursues them, and sends a sharp Summons to the Governour, who doubting of Relief from *Oxford*, thinking that the Enemy had a considerable Strength of Foot, and over-weighed by the pulling Tears of some Ladies got thither to visit his Wife, Surrendered the House with all the Arms, and Ammunition, which were sent to *Alisbury*, and the House slighted; for which the Governour Colonel *Windbank* is shot to death at *Oxford*: *Cromwell* Improves his Success, and falls upon a Party of 350 Foot, about *Bampton Bush*, whom he Defeats and takes them almost all Prisoners, with their Arms and Ammunition, and sends them with a Convoy to *Abbingdon*. And Colonel *John Fines* beats another Party of Horse, and takes 150 Horse, 3 Colours, 40 Prisoners, and 50 Arms. Sir *John Winter* being Relieved by all *Gloucester* Forces upon him. April 22. the Prince marches all Night to his Assistance, and finds *Massey* before *Lidbury*, and gives him a suddain Alarm: *Massey* being thus put to it, drew off and fought the Horse, entreating the Cavaliers with hot Charges, whilst the Foot might get up, but being over-powered was fain to give way, and the Cavaliers falling in upon the Foot, did much Execution upon them. *Massey's* Horse was shot dead under him by Prince *Rupert*, and Major *Backhouse* received his Mortall Wound, divers were slain, the rest by flight escaped.

Prince *Rupert* marches from thence with about 6000 Horse and Foot towards *Ludlow*, and so to *Shrewsbury*, Dreining Garrisons, and taking to him the less Brigades, and so he and his Brother *Maurice*, assisted with *Goring's* Horse and Dragoons, fetch'd off the King from *Oxford*, who with a numerous Army Advanced towards the Relief of *Chester*: but *Goring* takes leave, desiring to return to the West, to hinder the raising of *Taunton* Siege; but in his Way would beat up the Quarters of Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, who with his own Forces, and a supply of some Foot from *Abbingdon*, streightned the Kings Garrison at *Farrington*: But his Design being discovered, *Cromwell* was ready to Encounter him near *Newbridge*, where at first the Cavaliers had somewhat the better; but in the end *Cromwell* gaining the Passage over *Newbridge*, *Goring* declines engaging with all speed, and marches back after the Army into the West.

General *Fairfax's* Army being now fully Completed, it was taken into Consideration, Whether he should Besiege *Oxford*, it being the Kings chief Garrison, and the Place where most of his Artillery lay, and therefore of great Consequence, or else relieve *Taunton*: The Commiseration of which Distressed Towns estate, at length over-weighed in their Counsells, and so the General Advanced that way as far as *Blainford*, whilst *Cromwell* and *Brown* were Ordered to attend the Kings Marches: but upon second thoughts, the General was recalled, and Colonel *Welden* with a Brigade of well near 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot, was Deputed to that Service, and so *Fairfax* departs to *Newbury*, whither came *Cromwell* and *Brown* to Confer with him, and so returned again to their Charges; and during the time of the Generalls stay in that Town, happened the forementioned Skirmish between *Cromwell* and *Goring*: And now *Fairfax* receives an Express to Advance to *Oxford*, and lay close Siege to it; and Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, and Major General *Brown*, are re-called from following the King, to Assist the General in the Siege.

Colonel *Welden* was come within a dayes March of *Taunton*, the Kings Forces being Informed that it was the whole Army, resolved to give one furious Assault, and in case that took no effect, to retire and be gone, which was performed; and so on Monday, May 12. Colonel *Welden* enters *Taunton*, and finds the Town almost ruined by Fire, Two long Streets of fair Buildings being burnt to the Ground. And thus was *Taunton* relieved, after it had long endured an hard Siege.

Major General *Massey* after his Defeat at *Lidbury*, received 340 Horse Auxiliaries from *Newport-Pamell*, and a larger Supply than that was afterwards brought him by Major *Buller*, so that now he was in a Condition to effect something, being also freed from his grand Enemy Sir *John Wilmor*, who being called away to publick Service in the Army, had Demolished his House at *Lidbury*.

*Massey* draws forth 500 Foot from *Gloucester*, and 200 from *Warwick*, with a strong able Brigade of Horse, against *Evesham*, where Colonel *William Legg* was Governour, who refusing to yield upon Summons, *Massey* storms the Town, and takes it with the Governour, and 20 Officers, 300 Foot, and 120 Horse, with all the Arms and Ammunition. And the General lying before *Oxford*, sent out a Party of Horse and Foot under Colonel *Rainsborough*, to Summon *Gannus-Hole*; the Governour whereof, though at first he answered, That he liked not *Windbanks* Law; yet seeing *Rainsborough* ready to storm it, Surrenders upon Quarter.

The King with his Army marching towards *Chester*, carried such a Terrour with him, that made Sir *William Brereton* quit the Siege, and so his Work being done, he wheels about, and sits down before *Leicester*, and sends a Summons to the Town, who return their Desires of Respite till the next Morning: The Trumpeter being returned with the Message, a Drum was instantly dispatched, requiring an Answer within a quarter of an hour; which time whilst they within spend in Debate, the Kings Cannons play upon the Town from the Battery, and all Commanded to their Charge, in order to a Storm; the Contest continued a day and a Night, and the Town was stormed at six or seven places, and about three of the Clock was entered, Saturday, May 31. The Committee-men, with the Governour Colonel *Gray*, and *Hacker* were taken Prisoners much Ammunition;

Colonel *Windbank* shot to death at *Oxford*.

Prince *Rupert* fetcheth off the King from *Oxford*.

*Fairfax* sends Colonel *Welden* to the Relief of *Taunton*.

*Massey* takes *Evesham* by Storm.

The Kings Army relieves *Chester*, and takes *Leicester* by Storm.

1645.

Taunton  
strengthened  
again by the  
Kings Forces  
in the West.

Ammunition, and the Plunder of the Town sent to the Kings Garisons thereabouts; those that escaped, fled to *Rockingham-Castle*: and from thence the King Triumphant marches towards *Northampton*, and Faces that Town.

In the *West, Goring, Hopton, and Greenvil* unite their Forces, and fall upon *Welden's* Brigade, whom they forced to retire to *Taunton* in great Disorder, where though the Town had been formerly Relieved with all manner of Provisions, it being kept in altogether by a Potent Enemy, they were greatly streightened, and distressed. *Fairfax* hereupon was Commanded to rise from before *Oxford*, and *Cromwell* marcheth into the Afflicted Counties to prevent the Kings Eruption into them, and Colonel *Vermuden* was to joyn with the *Scots*, with a Party of 2500 Horse and Dragoons, in case the King should Advance Northwards.

Friday the fifth of June, the Army had a generall Rendezvous at *Great Brickhill*, where Intelligence was brought them, that the King was about *Darenty* and thereupon it was resolved to give Battell, and to that end Lieutenant General *Cromwell* is sent for, who came afterwards with 600 Horse and Dragoons: Colonel *Vermuden* also returned to the General, because the *Scots* had unexpectedly Retreated to *Westmerland*, and *Fairfax* sends Post to Sir *John Gell*, Colonel *Rossiter*, and the Governours of *Coventry, Warwick, Northampton, and Nottingham*, to march with all speed with their Forces to the Army, for that there was likely to be speedily an Engagement.

The Kings Forces lay still about *Darenty*, and *Burrough-hill*, which being a place of great Advantage, it was thought he had chosen to Fight upon; but his Design was (having Relieved *Oxford* with force of Cartell and Sheep) to march for the Un-setting of *Pomfret* and *Scarborough*: But *Fairfax* Advanceth to *Gilborough*, within four miles of *Northampton*, and five miles of *Burrough-hill*, and both Armies lying nigh one another; the *Fairfaxians* Alarum the *Cavaliers*, and take some Prisoners, the King being then abroad.

Time this Thirteenth, the King drew off from *Burrough-hill*, to *Harborough*, minding to march to *Pomfret*; and thinking, that if he were followed, he should Fight with more Advantage, further Northward.

*Fairfax* sends out *Ireton* with a flying Party of Horse, who falls upon a Party of the Kings Rear, Quartered in *Naseby* Town, takes many Prisoners, some of the Princes Lifeguard, and *Langdale's* Brigade, and gives such an Alarum to the whole Army, that the King at Midnight leaves his own Quarters, and for Security hastens to *Harborough*, where the Van of his Army was Quartered. Draught: Prince *Rupert*, and calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to give Battell; and because *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out: *Fairfax* was come from *Gilborough*, to *Gilling*, and from thence to *Naseby*, where both Armies drawn up in Battallies faced one another.

The Battell at  
*Naseby*.

Saturday, June 14, was fought that unfortunate Battell which prov'd so fatal to the King and his Cause. His Majesty Commanded the main Body, Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Linsley*, and the Lord *Aspley*, the Right-hand Reserve, the Lord *Bards* and Sir *George Lyle*, the Left. Of the *Parliamentary* Army, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* Commanded the Main Body, *Cromwell* the Right Wing, with whom was *Rossiter*, who came with his Forces but a little before the Fight, and *Ireton* had the Left. The Relieves were brought up by *Rainsborow, Hammond*, and *Pride*: Prince *Rupert* Charged the *Parliamentary* Left Wing, Commanded by *Ireton*, who made notable Resistance, but at last was forced to give Ground, *Ireton* himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horse shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner. For a while *Rupert* follows the Chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his return summoned the Train, who made no other answer but with their Fire-locks: But in the mean time, *Cromwell* Chargeth furiously on the Kings Left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them, and their Reserve; during which, the main Bodies had Charged one another with incredible Piereness, often Retreating and Rallying, falling in together with the But-ends of their Muskets, and coming to handy-Blows with their Swords: But *Fairfax's* Foot coming up seasonably to the Horse, and *Cromwell* coming in with his Victorious Right Wing, they all Charged together upon the Kings main Army, who unable to endure any longer, retir'd out of the Field towards *Leicester*, and Prince *Rupert*, who now too late returned from his too eager Pursuit, seeing the Day lost, accompanied them in their Flight, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the *Parliamentarians*, who pursued them within two Miles of *Leicester*, and the King finding the Pursuit so hot, leaves that Town, and hastes to *Litchfield*. This Battell was exceeding Bloody, both Armies being very Courageous and Numerous not being 500 Odds, Fought in a large Fallow Field on the North-west side of *Naseby*, about a mile broad; which space of Ground was wholly taken up. On the *Parliamentary* side were Wounded and Slain above 1000 Officers and private Souldiers; Major General *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Souldier, and was ordered to draw up the Form of the Battell) Fought stoutly that day; and although he was sorely Wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General desired him to go off the Field, he answered, *He would not stir so long as a man would stand*; and accordingly stayed till the Battell was ended. *Ireton* (as is said before) was dangerously hurt, and taken Prisoner for a while, after he had done his Part, but in the confusion of the Fight got loose again, and saw the Victory Achieved. The General and Lieutenant-General performed

1645.

A performed their Work with sufficient Resolution, (had their Cause been as good) and by their own Examples infused Valour into their Followers: so likewise did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded.

On the other side, the King shewed himself that Day a courageous General, keeping close with his Horse, and himself in Person Rallying them to hot Encounters, the Earl of *Linsley*, Lord *Aspley*, Colonel *Rastol*, and others, were wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of Note, and 600 private Souldiers slain: but much more was the Damage that the King sustained, by what was taken viz. Six Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, eighteen Majors, seventy Captains, eight Lieutenants, two hundred Ensigns, and other inferior Officers, 4500 Common Souldiers, and many Women, 13 of the Kings Household-Servants, four of his Foot-men, twelve Pieces of Ordnance, eight thousand Arms, forty Barrels of Powder, two hundred Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage, with store of rich Pillage, three thousand Horse, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after published (with less decency and civility, than became such an Assembly) by the Parliament: Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* halted away the same Night to *Newark*: The next day the General sent up Colonel *John Fines* to *London*, with the Prisoners, and Colours taken in the Fight. And with this comes Newes of several other Successes, as the gaining of *Houghton* Garison near *Grantham*; And Sir *William Brereton's* beating a Party of the Kings Forces in *Cheshire*, and taking a hundred and fifty prisoners; and four hundred prisoners taken in fight by a party from *Shrewsbury*, and the taking of Major *Fenningham*, and divers others, by Captain *Stone*, Governour of *Eccleshal* Castle in *Staffordshire*.

Sir *John Gell* was marching with two thousand Horse, according to the Generals Order, and in his way took ninety prisoners, some of them being of the Kings scattered Horse, and the rest *Newarkians*, and forthwith joyned with the General, who sat down before *Leicester*, April 16, and summoned the Governour, the Lord *Hastings*, to deliver up the Town: Which he refusing, Warrants are issued out for the Countrey to bring in Ladders, and other Necessaries for a Storm; and to the next day he Affairs the Town in several places, and at the *Newark-side*, made a wide Breach, which surpris'd the Governour into a Parley; after which ensued Surrender upon honourable Terms: In it were fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, thirty Colours, two thousand Arms, five hundred Horse, fifty Barrels of Powder, and other Ammunition proportionable.

And not long after, Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Governour of *Carville* in *Cumberland*, having been long Besieged by the Parliament Forces; and despairing of Succour, yields up the Town, June 28.

The low Condition of the *Parliamentarians* about *Taunton*, caused the Parliament and Committee of both Kingdoms, to Order the General to repair thither, which was readily obeyed; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* by long Marches comes to *Dorchester*, and there hears that a multitude of rusticall people, called Club-men, were up in a Tumultuary way, Declaring themselves to be Neuters, being mostly *Wiltshire*, and *Dorsetshire* men: These had fallen upon Major-General *Massey*, who was likewise Commanded into those Parts with three thousand men, for the Relief of *Taunton*: Some of the Club-men were killed in the Quarrel, of which they boldly demanded Reparation; and their Numbers encreasing, forced the *Parliamentarians* Quarters at *Sturminster, Newton*, and other places, seize all their Horse in the Grounds, near one hundred Dragoons, and grew so insolent, as to Capitulate with *Fairfax* himself at *Dorchester*, and to desire safe Passage for their Commissioners, to go both to King and Parliament.

Sir *Thomas* sends them a Civil Answer in Writing; which not contenting them, they draw off in Discontent, and set upon a party of the Garison of *Lyme*, and kill some of them; but *Fairfax* and *Massey* joyning in a Body, scared them into more Moderation, so that the Army passed quietly on their Journey.

General *Goring* hearing of *Fairfax's* Approach, drew off from *Taunton*, in which Siege he had sustained great Loss, the place being stoutly maintained by Colonel *Robert Blake*: This man was formerly Assistant to Governour *Cesly* of *Lyme*, and was chief Actor in the Repulse of Prince *Maurice* from that Town, and afterwards found means to surprize *Taunton*; which with indefatigable Labour, and sufficient Courage, he kept against *Goring's* Forces, being first (after extreme Hardships endured) Relieved by Colonel *Welden*, and now by General *Fairfax*; for upon Report of the Generals coming, *Goring* Retreats to *Langport*, not without some loss by a Sally from the Besieged.

*Fairfax* and *Massey* had now again divided their Forces, *Massey* comes up by *Adortaby*, falls upon *Goring's* Rear, and takes some prisoners. On the other side of the River *Fairfax* marches up, and reduceth the Cavaliers to an inevitable necessity of fighting: *Goring* had seized a convenient Pass leading to *Bridgewater*, which Major *Bethel* and Major *Desbrough* force, and the General advances, and puts the Royalists to a disorderly Retreat; and pressing fiercely upon them, pursues them almost to *Bridgewater*, many slain, fourteen hundred prisoners taken, about twelve hundred Horse, Colonel *Heningham*, Colonel *Slingsby*, and divers Officers of quality, and thirty Colours.

In the Number of the slain on each side, there was not much odds, they were supposed in all to be about eleven hundred. This Battell was fought July 20, in *Sutton* Field near *Langport*.

See

Goring

Leicester re-  
taken by Gen.  
Fairfax.

The Club-men  
up in Arms in  
*Wiltshire*, and  
*Dorsetshire*.

They Capitula-  
te with Gen.  
Fairfax.

*Goring* routed  
by *Fairfax* near  
*Langport*.

1642.

Bridgewater  
besieged by  
Gen. Fairfax.

Goring having refreshed himself at *Bridgewater*, marcheth away to the North of *Devonshire*, and presently after Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sits down before that Town, (about the time that *Purrough Garrison* was taken by Colonel *Okey*) : The General sends in his Summons, which was resolutely refused by Colonel *Windham*, (who together with Sir *John Digby*, and Sir *John Stowel*, expect a gallant Resolution, to hold out as long as it was possible.) Whereupon he forms, and wins the lower part of the Town, but is repelled from the Upper, and much en-ammaged by the continual flinging of *Granadoes*, and other combustible Stuff from within. The next day he sends another Summons, telling them, That their Denial wrought no other thoughts of Compassion in him, but onely to Women and Children, who might otherwise suffer by the Governours Obstinacy; and so divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Children came out of the Town; and then the General being better provided with Materials for his Work, gave the second Assault; some stormed, others fired with *Granadoes*, and Slugs of hot Iron; and the Wind serving their turn, it wrought such Effect, that the Governour moved therewith, first Treated, and then Surrendered, upon condition onely of fair quarter, and the Town to be preserved from Plunder: And this July 23. there being 1000 Officers and Souldiers prisoners, 44 Barrels of Powder, 1500 Arms, 44 Pieces of Ordnance, and 400 Weight of Mutch.

Surrendered by  
the Governour  
Col. Windham,  
Pomfret and  
Scarborough  
Castles, and  
the City of  
Bath taken by  
the Parlia-  
ment's Forces.

The Club-men  
routed by Lieu.  
Gen. Cromwell.  
Hereford be-  
sieged by the  
Scots.

Leven raiseth  
his Siege, with  
intention to  
march into  
Scotland against  
Montrose.

Huntington ta-  
ken by the  
King.

Ranton Heath  
Fight.

Sherborn Castle  
taken by Fair-  
fax.

In the North, *Pomfret* Castle was taken by Major-General *Poyns*, and *Scarborough* by Sir *Matthew Boynton*. About the latter end of July, the General sent a party of Horse and Dragoons under Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Okey* to *Bath*, who had the Town surrendered to them, without any Opposition, there being in it but a very small Garrison.

The next Business was to attempt *Sherborn* Castle, where Sir *Lewis Dives* was Governour for the King: In the time of this Siege, the Club-men continued their Meetings, and Colonel *Fleetwood* was sent against them to *Shaftesbury*, who Invironed them in the Town, and carryed away fifty of the King-leaders prisoners, but this would not quash them; for shortly after, about four thousand Muster upon *Hambel* tow-Hill near *Shrawton*: Against these, Lieut. Gen. *Cromwell* marcheth, and endeavours to reduce them to Reason by Parley; but that proving fruitless, falls upon them, kills some, disperseth the rest, and takes four hundred prisoners, and so returned to the Generall lying before *Sherborn*.

This Despair being seconded by the Ordinance of *Parliament* against their Illegal Assembling, so allayed their impatient Spirits, that they never afterwards made any Disturbance.

Hereford yet held out for the King, which the Scots were ordered to Besiege, who accordingly D surrounded, and summoned the Governour Sir *Barnaby Scudamore*, which was answered with Neglect: Whereupon they begin their Approaches, and raised their Batteries, from whence they played with their Ordnance upon the Town, but did little Execution that way, and so fall to Mining, but are discovered and Countermined: This Siege continued till the first of September, at what time the tottering State of their Affairs in their own Country called for their Aid, *Montrose* prevailing incredibly against the *Covenanters*; *David Lesley* had been sent before with the greatest part of the Horse, and now General *Leven* ariseth from the Siege, with Intention to march Northwards, at the Nick of time that the King having raised some Recruits in *Wales*, with a flying Army came to *Hereford*, and did some hurt to the Rear of the departing Scots: *David Lesley* entered Scotland, and so managed his Business, that there was little need of *Leven*, who therefore takes up his Quarters in *Yorkshire*.

Indeed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hearing of the Scottish Affairs, had sent a Letter subscribed by himself, and all the chief Officers of the Army, to General *Leven*, representing the Condition of their Kingdom, and their willingness to spare Forces for their Assistance. But about this time some Disgust arose between the *Parliament* and the Scottish Army, which made them somewhat more jealous of one anothers Intentions, while the Scots clamoured with the *Parliament* for Money, and the *Parliament* at the Scots, for not Addressing themselves to the Siege of *Newark*: *Hereford* Siege being raised, the King marches up and down *Wales*, to raise Supplies, thence comes to *Lichfield*, and by the way fights a party of Scottish Horse and Dragoon, then marches to *Ashbourne*, beats Sir *John Gell*, and carries some prisoners with him to *Welbeck*-house, and so with a flying Army rangeeth up and down, comes to *Huntington*, and takes that, marches to *Cambridge*, and after a small Skirmish forceth his Entrance, thence to *St. Ives*, which place he Fined five hundred pounds; thence to *Owborn*, and so to *Oxford*, August 28. where he staid not long, but advanced to *Ludlow*, earnestly intent upon the Relief of *Chester*, then close Besieged by Sir *William Brereton*.

Major-General *Poyns*, with a party of Horse, was appointed to attend the Kings Motion, and followed him to close, that on *Ranton* Heath, two miles off *Chester*, they came to a Fight, where *Poyns* was forced to give Ground, and had been utterly overthrown, if Colonel *Jones* had not come in with a new Supply from *Brereton*, which encouraged *Poyns* to Rally; and so the King being be-tet both Rear and Front, forsook the Field, and betook himself into *Chester*; but finding the City much weakened by Batteries, and the Assailants ready to storm, he took leave, and sped him into *Wales* again for Recruits.

General *Fairfax* was now before *Sherborn* Castle, of which Sir *Lewis Dives* was Governour, and would not hearken to any Summons, and so endured a furious Storm, till after an extreame cruel Fight, and much Bloud shed on both sides, the Castle was yielded upon Quarter, with four hundred prisoners, many of them persons of quality, 18 Pieces of Ordnance, and a Morter-Piece, August 15.

After

1645.

Bristol Besieged  
by Fairfax,  
and Cromwell.

A After the taking of *Sherborn*, it was Debated in a Conncell of War, Whether they should pursue *Goring*, or Besiege *Bristol*, whereof Prince *Rupert* was Governour: At last, the latter was resolved on, and accordingly they marched thither, and fate down before it; the *Parliament* Ships being Ordered to Guard it by Sea.

In the mean time, *Nunney* Castle was surrendered to Collonel *Rainsborough*, and *Portsmouth Point* to Collonel *Kempson*. *Bristol* was sufficiently furnished with P. provisions, for Food and Fighting, and the ill-affected Disarmed. *Fairfax* sends in his Summons to prevent Bloud-shed, and hazard to the City. *Rupert* desires leave to send to the King; which being denied, he offers to Surrender up the Place on these Conditions;

B Every Man to march away in the height of Honour, with their Arms, flying Colours, Drums, Trumpets, and as much Powder and Match as they could carry about them, with Bag and Baggage, Horse, Arms, Ten Guns, Fifty Barrels of Powder.  
And lastly, The Lines and Fortifications to be slighted, and the City to be no more a Garrison.

*Fairfax* sends Answer satisfactory enough, as to the Concernments of the Souldiers, but not in reference to the Lines and Fortifications, and dismantling the Garrison.

Prince *Rupert* had made several Sallies, and done some Execution upon the Enemy, and had lost some considerable Persons on his own side too; as Sir *Bernard Ashley*, Sir *Richard Crain*, and others, who dyed of Wounds then received; but seeing no good to be done that way, the *Parliament* Strength increasing by the Accession of the Country people, he thought good to protract the time, by Treating, till his Counterscarpes and Lines were finished; which *Fairfax* now smelling out, resolves upon a Storm to be made good in three Places; Collonel *Portescue* with four Regiments to storm on *Somerlesbury* side; Collonel *Montague* with the like Number on both sides of *Lakeford*-Gate, and Collonel *Rainsborough* on this side the River *From*, from the Sally-Port to the *Priors* Port; and other Regiments disposed in several Stations, to second the Assailants, and to enter the Lines, in case of the Stormers success.

*Portescue* failed in his Attempt, and so did onely Alarm; *Montague* and *Rainsborough* did their Work, and forced their Entrance into the City, firing the Houses as they went; and the Seamen also Mastered *Water-Port*: And Prince *Rupert* having done as much as was possible, retired into the Castle, and the next day came to a Parley, and concluded on the same Articles, which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* formerly offered them, and so marched out September 12.

In this Service, the *Parliament* lost many men, Lieutenant-Collonel *Parfey*, and Captain *Hill*, were slain upon the place, Major *Behel*, and Major *Cromwell* mortally wounded.

This was *Bristol*, a place of great Consequence, gained to the *Parliament*, which might else have proved a Work of more Difficulty, if the King had joyned with *Goring* for the Relief of it, as was intended; the *Parliament* Forces being but sufficient for that Siege, and so not likely to have impeded their Conjunction: Here was found 140 Pieces of Canon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, Victuals in the Royal-Port for 150 Men; for 320 Days, the Castle Victualled for near half so long; the Prince had in Garrison 2500 Foot, 1000 Horse, besides the Trained-Bands, and Auxiliaries above 1000.

*Bristol* being thus reduced into the *Parliament* Power, General *Fairfax* marches to *Exeter*, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* to the *Devizes*, which after several Batteries he Mastered, and *Laycock* House was taken by Collonel *Pickering*, and *Barkley* Castle by Collonel *Rainsborough*, although he had a sharp Dispute for it first: And *Parly* Castle in *Somerlesbury*, and *Sendal* Castle in *Yorkshire*, reduced by the Forces of the *Parliament*; and *Chefflow* in *Monmouthshire*, by Col. *Morgan*, *Maffey* Successour in the Government of *Gloucester*: And October the fifth, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* takes *Winchester* Castle, and from thence departs to *Basing* House, which had held out against many Assaults, ever doing more hurt than it received. But now comes *Cromwell*, and resolutely holds it, they within shewed themselves as valiant as ever, but meeting with other kind of men than formerly, the Marquess of *Winchester* was forced to yield, and not unkindly used by the Conquerours, who found an unexpected Mass of Wealth in the House.

In earnest, the King's Condition began now to be very low, he had been formerly Routed near *Witchetty*, and thence he made shift to get into that City: Afterwards getting out again into *Wales*, he had gotten together a good Body of Horse, with which he Courted up and down; and lastly, resolved to send the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some sixteen hundred Horse, to joyn with *Montrose*, who accordingly marched into *Yorkshire*, and near *Sherborn* surprised eight hundred Horse of the *Parliamentarians*, with their Arms; but staying for Carriages to convey them away, Collonel *Copley*, Collonel *Liburn*, and other Commanders of *Yorkshire*, with sufficient Force, came upon them, and Routed them, recovered all, took four hundred prisoners, and six hundred Horse; *Digby*'s Coach and Cabinet of Letters; *Digby* with the rest flies Northwards, and at *Castle Sands* was the second time Defeated by Sir *John Brown*, with the loss of 100 slain, and the taking of 200 Horse, and many Prisoners; and in their Fight towards *Bristol* Castle, were met with by Collonel *Briggs*, who took 200 more of them, besides 180 of them, who flying through *Windsor* and *Windsor*, were seized by *Vanderhuk*; so that the Lord *Digby*, with a very small Retinue, fled over to the Isle of *Man*, and thence into *Ireland* to the Earl of *Ormond*.

The City taken by Storm,  
and the Castle  
by surrender.

The *Devizes*,  
*Winchester*, and  
*Basing*-house  
taken by Crom-  
well.

*Laycock* house  
taken by Col. *Pickering*,  
*Barkley* Castle by  
*Rainsborough*,  
*Chefflow* by  
Col. *Morgan*.

The Lord *Digby*,  
by, and Sir  
*Marmaduke*  
*Langdale*, routed  
near *Sherborn*.

1645.

The Parliament thrive every where; Fairfax takes *Tiverton*, *Cromwel* Langford House, and Major A General *Lauchborn* in *Wales* reduces *Carmarthen*.

While the General lay about *Charde*, the Lord *Goring* beat up his quarters by Night, took about 40 Foot, and 20 Dragoons; but then the Alarm being taken, the Cavaliers returned: Fairfax followed, and in his way (as was said) reduced *Tiverton*; and from thence, after several Marches, drew near to *Exeter*, which he streightned, in order to a Siege. About this time, *Monmouth* was taken by the *Parliament's* Forces, and *Shelford* house near *Newark*, *Worton*, *Wiverton*, and *Welback*, by Major-General *Poyas*: And now dies Colonel *Pickering*, who had done great Service for the Parliament in this War, but is here overtaken by a new Disease, which brought him to his End, with many others at *Aintree*.

Overtures of a Treaty between Prince Charles, Goring, and Sir Thomas Fairfax.

Col. Birch takes *Hereford* for the Parliament, by a Stratagem.

In this mean time, several Occurrences intervened between Prince Charles (his Majesty that now is) the Lord *Goring*, and General *Fairfax*, which last continually answered the two former, That he would Treat with them, as a Soldier, and a Servant to the Parliament, but no further; *Goring* crosseth the Seas for *France*, to raise new Supplies there against the next Summer: and Prince Charles, with his Council, bestirred themselves about raising the Counties of *Cornwall* and *Devon*, to disturb Sir Thomas *Fairfax*, in his lying before *Exeter*.

December the Eighteenth, *Hereford* was taken by Surprise, the manner thus; The Governour had issued out Warrants for the Country-people, to come in to work in the Town, for the service of the Garrison: Colonel *Morgan*, and Colonel *Birch* had Intelligence of it, and so laid their Design; *Morgan* had 1100 Horse and Foot, and *Birch* had 900 Foot, and a Troop of Horse ready for the Enterprize, with which they march from *Glossopster* to *Hereford*, in one Day and a Night, where some lully Fellows were picked up, and arrayed in the Habit of Country Labourers, and one of them to serve for a Constable, with a Warrant in his Hand, to bring these Fellows to work, according to the Governours Order; 150 Firelocks were lodged in the dark, as near the Gate as possible, and another Body to second them: So the Bridge is let down, the supposed Constable and his Companions enter, and presently take an occasion to quarrel with the Guard, killed three of them; then in come the Firelocks, and after Colonel *Birch*; and lastly, Colonel *Morgan* with the whole

Thereupon mastered the unware surprized Garrison, with small loss on either side, wherein were 11 Pieces of Ordnance, much Arms and Ammunition, the Lord *Brudenel*, and Judge *Jenkins*, 14 Knights, 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, three Captains, and other Officers and Gentlemen one hundred; and with this Action, *Morgan* and *Birch* gained much honour.

*Worcester* had been long Besieged, and much of the Kings Hope was reposed in the holding out of that City; many Engagements had been used for the Relief of it, and many Transactions had passed with the *Irish* about it; the Lord *Biron* was Governour of it, and Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament had lain before it since August last, and endured many Sallies from the Besieged; Colonel *Jones*, and Colonel *Lombard*, who had hovered about *Bristol*, drew off at Midnight with a party of 1500 Horse and Foot, and by four of the clock attained the East-side of *Chester*, which they stormed in four several places; and though at first repulsed, yet continuing the Assault with much Resolution, forced the Cavaliers to effect the *Forty-Street*, which they took possession of, with the Mayors House, Sword, and Mace, and the Sheriffs Ward: After which piece of Service, *Brereton* Soldiers enlarge, and by degrees, almost block up the West-side too: Hereupon Sir *William* *Kingham* for the King, with 1700 Horse, and 700 Foot, marched towards the Besiegers, but is met with by *Milton*, *Jones*, and *Lombard*, with 1400 Horse, and 1000 Foot; between whom happened a resolute Engagement, but the Victory fell to the Parliamentarians, 100 slain, and 400 taken prisoners.

*Worcester* taken by the Parliament's Force.

A second Design of Relief was attempted by Sir *Arthur Ashton*, but he was routed at *Sturbridge*, and himself taken prisoner. So now Sir *William Brereton* summons the Governours, who yet stand out, and sends a Messenger to the King, who returning without any hopes of Success, *Biron* was contented to Treat, (the Suburbs, as was said, were taken before) and *February* the first surrendered the City upon honourable Conditions; and so Sir *William* marches towards *Lichfield*: And about this time, the Court of Wards and Liveries was Voted down by the Parliament.

A Quarrel amongst some of the Kings chief Commanders.

The King being come to *Newark*, as a place of greatest Security, and most unlikely to be Besieged, a strange Quarrel happened amongst the great Ones there, concerning the Lord *Digby*, lately defeated at *Shirburn*, whom Major General *Charles Gerard* charged with Treason: with him sided the two Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis*; but Governour *Bellasis* stood up for *Digby*, with divers others: The Contention grew hot from Words they come to Swords, and the King coming in to part them, increased the Feude, by siding for *Digby*: Whereupon *Rupert* and the rest of the contrary Party, of the Number of four hundred, in much Disgust laid down their Commissions, and depart to another Place, where they stand upon their Guard, and so the King departs for *Oxford*, with a Guard of three hundred Horse, whom *Poyas* meets with at their Return, and Routs them; and then takes in *Bevoys* Castle, and not long after, the Countess of *Dartmouth* surrenders up her House at *Latham* to the Parliament.

*Belvoir* Castle, and *Latham* house surrendered to the Parliament.

The King at *Oxford*, with *Rupert* and *Maurice* now Reconciled, was blockt up by the *Parliament's* Forces; whereupon he commands a Fast to be observed every *Fryday*, during his Troubles.

1645.

In the mean time, a Treaty was Agitated between the King and Parliament; and the King desired to come to a Personal Treaty with the Two Houses at *Westminster*, and some likelihood there was of a good Effect: When all was Blasted on a sudden, by a Discovery of certain Transactions between the King and the *Irish*, gathered out of certain Letters which had been intercepted at *Sherburn*, by the taking of the Lord *Digby's* Coach, and others which had been taken out of the Pockets of the Bishop of *Trane*, slain in *Ireland*, at the Battell of *Sleigo*; all which Transactions were represented with very untoward Reflections upon the Kings Honour and Credit; as if the King, to get Supplies from the *Irish* Rebels, resolv'd to make Peace with them upon any Terms, though never so dishonourable, Viz. The granting them an absolute Toleration of Religion, the allowing them Power to choose a Governour of their Own, the entrusting them with several Castles and Forts for their Caution: And to

aggravate the matter the more, a Commission directed to the Earl of *Clanrickard* is produc't, which made shew of some Clandestine Negotiations between his Majesty and the Earl, about concluding a Peace with the Rebels; in answer to which, the King in Two Messages; the first of the 17th of *January*, the other of the 24th, of *January*, Remonstrates to them, how ill a Ground these Allegations were for them to refuse to come to a Treaty of Peace with him, since their Disloyalty, in taking up Arms against their lawful Sovereign, compell'd him to take such Courses for the Vindicating and defending his Person and just Rights, as were no way grateful to him, it being his greatest Desire to put a Period to these unhappy Differences, and the effusion of any more Christian Blood; and for the Commission to the Earl of *Clanrickard*, he endeavour'd to give them satisfaction by his Message of the 29th. of *January*, wherein he declar'd unto

them, how that the Earl of *Clanrickard* having without his Majesties Knowledge, or the Order and Consent of the Lord Lieutenant and Council in *Ireland*, made Conditions with the Commissioners of the *Roman* Catholics, very much to the derogation of his Honour, and the prejudice of the Protestant Religion; He was so far from owning what was Transacted in this kind by the said Earl, that he had not the least Notice of the said Earls Treating with those Commissioners, much less of his concluding those Articles with them, so prejudicial to Religion and his Majesties Honors till such time as he had Advertisement of his being arrested and restrain'd for his Presumption; his Commission being only for the raising what Forces he could there, and conducting them over hither for his Majesties Service: It is not denied, but that the Marquis of *Ormond* had a Commission granted him to Treat about a Peace with the *Irish*; but it was as much for the Ease and Relief of the Protestant Subjects, as for any other Respect, they having been harass'd with continual Wars; and but scantily supply'd with those Ayds which they had been so liberally promis'd. Thus did his Majesty labour by all means possible to remove all Objections that might give them any occasion of Cavil against him, and thereby obstruct their coming to a Treaty of Peace with him; and his Majesty so earnestly sought, and so far courted them, that notwithstanding his two foregoing Messages were left wholly neglected and answer'd, he did not yet desist from sending them another Message of *Jan. 29.* still pressing his former Desires; yet all came to nothing, in regard the *Parliament's* Commissioners (when they did come to Treat) were bound so strictly to the rigour of their Demands, though the Kings Concessions were still as far as could consist with the safety of his Honour and Conscience; offering them moreover to come to the Two Houses, upon Assurance of the safety of his Person, and to Advise with them for the Good and Safety of Kingdome: Provided, all that have Adhered to his Majesty, may have Liberty to go to their own Homes in safety, and their Sequestrations to be taken off: Upon which Conditions, his Majesty was willing to Disband all his Soldiers, and Dismantle his Garrisons, pass an Act of Oblivion, and Free Pardon to all: And so these Hopes of Reconciliation vanished.

The Town of *Monmouth* was now taken by the *Parliament* Forces, and *Exeter* streightned, on the East-side, by the Garrisoning of *Nutwell*, *Broadcliff*, *Pontimore*, and *Stonk*; and on the other side beyond the River, by the Garrisoning of *Kirtonsulford*, and *Cannouten*: Captain *Deau* was also sent to take in *Pouldram* House, but failing of his Design, possessed himself of *Pouldram* Church; but being there continually Assailed by fresh Numbers of the Royalists, who came very thick upon them from *Exeter* and other Places; Sir *Thomas Fairfax* fearing their Loss, Commanded them away: Upon News of the Cavaliers Advance from before *Plimouth*, to Relieve *Exeter*, Sir *Thomas* resolves to meet them, and therefore riseth from the Siege of *Exeter*, leaving that Place sufficiently Blockt up by the forenamed Garrisons, and the Addition of Sir *George Childes* House at *Ashton*: At *Bevoys*, lay the Lord *Wentworth* with Five Regiments, whom Lieutenant General *Cromwell* surprizeth, and takes three Regiments, and disperseth the rest, *Wentworth* himself hardly Escaping.

*Monmouth* taken for the Parliament.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell* surprizeth the Lord *Wentworth's* Forces at *Bevoys*.

*Fairfax* comes now to *Tonnes*, whose Approach caused the Cavaliers before *Plimouth* to quit their Trenches, and be gone, having been shrewdly put to it, by that stout Gistion, who sallied out upon them Frequently and Successfully.

From *Tonnes*, the General orders Two Regiments to be drawn before *Dartmouth*, and himself follows after with the rest, and upon Rejection of a Summons, falls to Storm it in Three Places; The first Post by the West-Gate is assaulted by Colonel *Hammond*, that on the North by Colonel *Pride*, and that on *Tunstall Church* and *Works* by Colonel *Fortescue*: All which fell on with great Resolution, gaining one Foot after another, till they had Mattered all, but *Kingworth* Fort, the Castle, and Gallants Bower. In *Kingworth* Fort was Sir *Henry Cary* with his Regiment, who failed not to do his Part; but being overpowred, yielded upon good Terms, to march away with his Officers and Souldiers; and so the *Parliamentarians* entered it, wherein were twelve

*Dartmouth* taken by General *Fairfax*.

1645.

Hopton Routed  
at Torrington.Blocked up by  
Fairfax at Trin-  
ton.Articles agreed  
on between  
them.The Lord  
Ashby routed at  
Stow on the  
Wold.The Affairs of  
Montrose in  
Scotland.

Guns, twelve Barrells of Powder, and convenient proportion of Ammunition. The next Morning the General Summons the Castle, and the Governour was willing to Treat, but having stood it out to this Extremity, could obtain no other Conditions, but Quarter for himself, and all his Officers and Souldiers; but afterwards the General dismissed all the common Souldiers, but kept Prisoners Sir Hugh Pollard the Governour, the Earl of Newport, Colonel Seymour, and the other Officers; Ordnance about 120 mounted, and Two Men of War were taken, January 19. Shortly after a French Vessell, not knowing the Town was taken, being strook into Dartmouth with a Packet of Letters from the Queen; which being Seized, they discovered the whole Business of the Kings Negotiation with France.

Colonel Hammond takes in Poldram Castle, and the General sits down again before Exeter, and Summons the Governour, Sir John Barkley, who Answers, That in Honour he cannot Surrender, having good Hopes of Relief from the Prince. Fairfax resolves to Storm, but hearing of Hopton's Advance to Torrington, with 5000 Horse, and 4000 Foot; he once more rises from that Siege, leaving Sir Hardress Waller behind him with some Regiments, and marches to Chimley, and from thence towards Torrington, where the Kings Forces then lay, and beat them out of Stevenston House. The Cavaliers had Fortified the Town with Lines and Barradoes, which yet could not Discourage the Parliamentarians from pressing upon them: The Battell began near the Town, whither Hopton Retreated, the Horse following, enters close with him, whom the Cavaliers Charged so boldly, that they were like to give over; But the Army seconding the Lofs with fresh Men, the Town was wholly gained: But some of the Cavaliers fired the Magazine in the Church, which blew up the Church, and did more harm to the Assailants, than the Sword had done before, upon whom, in this Amazement, Sir John Digby Charging, did much Execution, and then bid farewell, at Eleven of the Clock at Night, February 16. Hopton himself was shor in the Thigh, and Digby in the Head, many Prisoners, and Horse taken, and divers slain. Hopton departs to Stratton, and Fairfax follows, which causeth his Lordship to march more Westward; yet some of his Rear Loyered so long, that about 80 of them, and about 300 Horse, were taken; from thence the Army Advanceth to Lanceson, which the Prince had quitted, leaving Colonel Bassett behind him with 500 Foot, and some Horse, who skirmished, and being soon worsted, escaped away by the darkness of the Night: Saltash, and Mount-Edgcombe being Reduced, General Fairfax follows them towards Bodmyn, always keeping a watchful Eye to hinder them from breaking through: And Prince Charles finding the Pursuit so hot, imbarqued himself for Scilly. All things succeeded so happily with Fairfax, that after several Successes, the Lord Hopton desired a Cessation; But General Fairfax Summons him to lay down Armes, upon which ensued a Treaty at Tresilian Bridge, Sir Thomas Fairfax Quarters at Truro, and the Lord Hopton further Westward, where at length these Articles were agreed upon, March the Thirteenth.

That the Lord Hopton should Disband his Army in the West: General Fairfax excepting his Lordship to have Fifty of his own Horse, and Fifty of Fairfax's, for his Conveyance to Oxford. All Strangers to have Passes to go beyond Seas, and to carry with them what is their Own, without Horses and Armes. All English Officers to go home to their Habitations, or if they will beyond Sea: Each Colonel to have his Horse, and two Men and Horses to wait on them: Each Captain one Man and Horse; the Troopers 20 s. apiece, and to go where they pleased.

But Hopton hearing of the Effects of the Propositions of Peace, changed his Course for Oxford, and Sailed into France. After the Disbanding of these Forces, all the Kings Garisons and Forts in Cornwall yielded, except only Pendennis Castle, and the Mount: And General Fairfax returned to the Siege at Exeter.

The Kings Forces in this mean while had not been Idle, but moved up and down in flying Parties, to their best Advantage; The King, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice, were at Oxford closely Surrounded by the Parliaments Forces, their Horse being about Farrington, expecting the Lord Ashby, with his Foot to joyn with them: But he was met with by Sir William Brereton, and Colonel Morgan at Stow in the Wold, upon the Edge of Gloucester, where he was totally Defeated, and himself taken Prisoner, 1500 Horse and Foot, with his Baggage, Ammunition, and some of the Kings Letters, March 21.

But in Scotland the Kings Affairs Succeed better, this year, where the Earl of Montrose prospered Incredibly; for after his Defeat given to the Earl of Argyle, many of the Camells took part with him, by whose help he took Elgin, the chief Town of Murray, while the Lord Gordon, eldest Son to the Marquis Huntly, with some Forces joyned with him; so that now he was strong, 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, with these he Defeats Sir John Hurry, and the Covenanters Army at Brechin, and marches to Grantsbain, towards the River Tay, and so for the Forth, there he meets with General Baily and Hurry, and offers them Battell, which they refuse; so he is for Donkeldon, where Lewis, the youngest Son of Marquis Huntly, takes leave, and goes home to his Father, carrying with him all the Gordons: however Montrose and the Lord Gordon, who never deferred him, Summons Dundee, and upon refusal, falls to Storming, and enters the Town; In the Nick of time, comes Baily and Hurry with a strong Power, whom Montrose not able to Encounter, Retreated through rough and unknown ways, Skirmishing with the Pursuers for many Miles together,

1645.

The Fight at  
Aldern.The Covenant-  
ers Defeated  
by Montrose, at  
the Battell of  
Kilspick.Montrose De-  
feated by David  
Lesley at  
Phillips Lough.

gether, and with much ado, passed over the South-Eske, and returns to Brechin. Now having some time to rest, he sends the Lord Gordon to endeavour the bringing back of his Brother, and the rest of the Gordons, himself with 500 Foot, and 50 Horse, marches through Angus, Perthshire, and near the River Erne, Repulses Baily, and comes to Balwider, where the Earl of Abin meets him: at Lough Carrines he had Intelligence, that Hurry was upon Engaging with the Lord Gordon, to whose Assistance Montrose makes speed, and after a tedious uncouth march, Joyns with him (in the midst of Marre) having gotten together 1000 Foot, and 200 Horse; Hurry Retreats, followed by Montrose, who pressed so hard upon him, that at a Village called Aldern, they came to Battell, May 5. in which Montrose's right Wing was overpowered; but that Lofs was abundantly recompened by the Left, which utterly Routed Hurry's right Wing, and coming opportunely to the Rescue of their Fellows, put the Others to Flight.

The Earl of Linsey now took upon him the Command of the Covenanters Army in Arguile's stead, and joyns with Baily to seek out Montrose, who Retired to Kingarf Castle, and so Linsey departs to Atholl, and Baily to ruin Huntley's Country, which Montrose means to Defend, and marches to Aileford Hill, and possesseth it; Baily was unwilling to Fight, but being perswaded by the Lord Balcarreis, prepared for Battell, which Montrose refused not; both Sides Fought well, but at length Montrose obtained the Victory, though dearly purchased with the Death of the Lord Gordon, who was there shot dead, July 22.

After this Victory, Montrose was Recruited with 1800 Men, with which he Advanceth to St. Johnstone, where the Parliament then sat, whom having somewhat Scared, he turned away to Dunkeldon, and there is met by Abin, with 200 Horse, and as many Dragoons: And the Earl of Arley, and his Son Sir David, bringing with them 80 Horse of the Oglebys: And now thinking himself able to deal with any Scottish Army, he entred Fife, and Incamps in Kilspick with 4500 Foot, and 500 Horse: Baily was ready to Encounter him with far greater Forces: And so August 17. they came to a Battell, which was one of the Bloodiest that was Fought in Scotland all this War, for the Montrosians Fought desperately, resolving generally, rather to lay their Bodies in the Field, than turn their Backs: The Covenanters Disputed it with much Animosity, but at length their Horse being resolutely Charged, turned about and Fleat, and the Foot unable of themselves to endure, followed, whom the Montrosians pursued 14 Miles together, so that the Covenanters lost this Day in Fight and Flight about 5000 Men: After this great Victory, all things for awhile answered Montroses Expectation; most of the chief Places of Scotland, even Edinburgh it self submitted to him, and Macdonell and Drummond dispersed those Forces which the Earls of Cassells and Elington were raising in the Western Parts. But this Prosperity was short lived; for the Highlanders thinking they had done their Work, being laden with Spoyle, returned Home: And others to the Number of 3000, and 120 Irish, with Macdonnell their Leader, took leave of Montros for a season, promising to return with many more Men, within 40 dayes, which yet they never performed: And shortly after the Earl of Abin carries away with him his own Men, and all others of the Northern Forces: Insomuch that now he had but a small Army with him.

In this mean time, the Covenanters privily sent to David Lesley in England, to come to their Help, who readily obeyed, and hastened to Berwick, with all the Scottish Horse, and presently entred Scotland; at which News, Montrose was much troubled, as knowing his own Weakness in Horse, and therefore would have got himself into the North again: But Lesley prevented him, and by hasty marches overtook him in a Field called Phillips-Lough, near Salkirke, where he forced him to Flight, September 13. Lesley had about 6000 Men, most of them Horse; which notwithstanding the Montrosians Valiantly received, and stood out their Charges: But in the End, were over-powered, and beaten down with a great Slaughter. Montrose himself with much ado Escaped to his old Shelters, and the next day got together the Remainders of his scattered Forces, which are seasonably augmented by the coming in of Marquis Dowglash, and Sir John Dalryell, with a small Parcy of Horse; with these he marches Northwards, Fordeed over Cluid River, and meets with the Earls of Craford and Arley: And now he had 200 Horse, and some Foot, whom he leads into Atholl, and is there furnished with 400 Foot, with whom he Climbs over Grantsbain Mountains, to meet with Abin, and then returns back again the same way, and falls into Perthshire; and here by Messengers from the King, had Order to March Southward, if possible, to meet the Lord Digby with his Parcy of Horse: which Messengers and Letters he sends to Huntley, and Abin; Montrose himself passeth the Forth, and spoyle Sir John Buchanans Lands.

About this time deceased the Lord Napier of Merchiston, (a noted Mathematician; famous especially for his Invention of those Arithmetical Instruments, called Napier's Bones); And Sir William Rollock, Sir Phillip Nasbit, and Alexander Ogleby being taken by the Covenanters, were Condemned and Executed at Glasgow, and Colonel O'Carren, and Colonel Laghlan at Edinburgh. Montrose, in Revenge of his Friends, wastes the Country about Glasgow with 300 Horse, and 1500 Foot, himself Encamping at Leven, where he hears the News of Digby's Defeat; this makes him return Northward, where he spends much time in Treating with Huntley, who played fast and loose with him; And promising to Assist him in the Siege of Inverness, but failed, so that Design came to nothing, being also frustrated by Major General Middleton, who came from the Scots Army in England with Forces; yet Huntly upon his own private Quarrel, Besieges and takes Aberdeen, wherinto Middleton had thrust 500 Men: but the Marquis gaining the Town, Plundered the Inhabitants, who for the most part were Royally Affected, yet freely Released

1645.

At the Kings  
Command he  
Disbands his  
Army, and  
quits Scotland.

The Military  
Successes of the  
Swedes and  
French.

1646.

Prince Charles  
Invited to  
come to the  
Parliament.

The Parliament  
Orders con-  
cerning the  
King and his  
Party.

Devonshire Cas-  
tle, and other  
Places yield to  
the Parliament.

Exeter deliv-  
ered upon Ar-  
ticles to General  
Fairfax.

And soon after  
Barrethable.

The King de-  
parts out of  
Oxford in a  
Disguise, and  
goes to the Scots  
Army.

all Prisoners which were of Middleton's Men. *Montrose*, notwithstanding all these Discouragements, still laboured to keep up the Royal Interest, and had gotten together many Friends and Tenants of the Earl of *Sesford*, the Lord *Ross*, Sir *James Mac-donnell*, *Maclin*, *Gleggar*, *Macmold*, with whose Help he made shift to keep up the War, doing no small hurt to his Enemies. But the next year, the King having entrusted himself with the Scots Army in England, sent a Herald to *Montrose*, with Commands to lay down Arms, and Disband, and to pass over into France, till his Majesties further Pleasure, which Orders he readily obeyed: And by that means the Covenanters had Elbow room, having already put to Death four of their Capital Enemies, at St. Andrews, *Viz.* Sir *Robert Spotswood*, *Nathaniel Gordon*, *Andrew Gulerly*, and *William Murray*; but the Lord *Ogleby* putting on his Sisters Apparell, had made an Escape out of Prison. And now they have left us to jangle with the Parliament of England, about some Differences at that time arising.

Nor was England only the Seat of War this Year, but other Nations also had their Share: The Swedes had made a Peace with the *Dane*, but still continued Hostility with the Emperor, which continued with various Success, till at last they came to a Battell, wherein at first the Germans had the better; but buying themselves according to their Custom, too greedily about the Baggage; the Swedish General *Torstenson* rallies his almost Defeated Forces, falls upon the Plundering Imperialists, and Wrecks the Victory out of their Hands, taking Prisoners, four Generals, *Hatzfeld*, *Mercy*, *Bray*, and *Zaradeskie*: seven Colonells, and 4000 others, besides 3000 slain; Yet was this Fight nothing too bloody, as that between the French and *Bavarians*, near *Friburge*; Inasmuch as On-fayes, They had a Design to die all, such a horrible Slaughter there was, the greatest part of both Armies lying dead on the Field: Nor could either Side boast of their Gains, but what Advantage could be claimed, was rather on the French side, Whole Generals the Duke of *Anguien*, and *Marshall Turenne*, reinforcing their Troops, seized *Philipsburg*, *Spires*, and *Montz*. The Spaniard for his Part was this Year as the Emperor, loosing the greatest part of *Flanders* to the French; And the *Salt of Guant* to the *Hollander*: And in Italy the French take *Pombino*, and *Portolongone*, and Defeat the Spaniard at the Passage *Mora*, besides several Successes in *Catalonia*.

It was now the Twenty Second Year of His Majesties Reign, *Viz.* 1646. which the Parliament began with disabling all Members absent, with the King, for ever sitting in the House; and Impower the Speaker to give Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, for new Elections in their Places.

The Prince of *Wales* being in *Scilly*, the Parliament Invite him to come to them, but he would not Venture, only, being now in the Isle of *Guernsey*, he desires that the Archbishop of *Armagh* may have leave to come to him: And that the Lord *Capell* might have a Pass to go to the King at *Oxford*, to make some Overtures to him in order to a Peace, but all came to nothing.

The King had formerly offered to come to the Parliament, in Order to a Personal Treaty, which not being Relished by the Parliament, They Order the Committee of the London Militia, to secure all such as shall come with him, to prevent Refort to him, and to secure his Person from Danger; And all Cavaliers are to depart the City between the 30th. of *March*, and the 6th. of *April*: And withall, in London a Court-Martial is Established, who make it Death for any to repair to the King, Queen, Prince, or Malignant Lords, and Commanders; Or to Plot, Contive, or Hold Intelligence with them: And further, the Parliament being mis-informed, That the King was come to London, Ordered, That in Case it were so, he should instantly be Conducted to St. James's House, with a Guard to prevent Refort; And that it should be Treason for any to Conceal him.

The War is now almost brought to a Period, the Kings Forces beaten out of the Field, Garrisons Surrender apace, *Dennington Castle*, *Michaels Mount*, *Ruthen Castle*, *Woodstock*, and others yield to the Parliament. General *Fairfax*, and Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, return to the Siege of *Exeter*, which had been Blocked up by Sir *Hardress Waller*, during the Generalls stay in the *West*. The Governour Sir *John Berkley* being Summoned, and despairing of Relief, returned Answer, That it was agreed on at his Council of War, That Commissioners might meet on either Side, to Treat on Friday, *April* the Third, which was assented unto. The Treaty lasted till Thursday, *April* he Ninth, at which time the Articles were Signed, no wayes Dishonourable to the Besieged, who marched out, *April* the Threenth. After which the General went to *Barrethable*, and had it Surrendered to him, upon the same Conditions that *Exeter* was.

And now Sir *Thomas Fairfax* resolves to march for *Oxford*, which put the King upon thoughts of providing for his own Safety: And therefore, *April* the Thirteenth, he came out of *Oxford* in Disguise, with Mr. *Hudson* a Minister, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, whose Servant he personated, and got to the Scots Army, before *Neward*, May the Sixth. whereupon divers Noblemen, as if they had been deserted by the King, yielded to General *Fairfax*. But the Governour Sir *Thomas Glenham*, would not so easily quit his Charge: However *Fairfax* goes on, and fixes his Quarters; the first upon *Hellington Hill*, which was committed to Major General *Skippon*, lately recovered of his *Nasby* Wounds: The second being a Bridge over *Charwell*, near *Marston*, and a Line drawn from *Ifts* to *Charwell*, fell to Colonel *Rainsborough*: A third to Colonel *Lambert*, And a fourth to Colonel *Harbert*. And Major General *Skippon* had the managing and carrying on of these Works, Lines, and Approaches.

1646.

Oxford Sur-  
rendered to Ge-  
neral Fairfax.

A number of  
other Garri-  
sons yield to  
the Parliament.

Newark yielded  
to the Scots,  
upon the Kings  
Desire.

The Seals of  
State broken  
in the Lords  
House.

The Earl of  
Essex dies of  
an Apoplexy.

Major General  
Massey's Bri-  
gade Disband-  
ed.

General Fair-  
fax comes to  
London.

The King sends  
from Newcastle  
to the Parlia-  
ment about a  
Treaty.  
The Scots Or-  
dered to depart  
out of England.

Sir *Thomas Glenham* being summoned, returns a Civil Answer, Desiring leave to send to the King about it, but was refused: Many Messages past to and fro, till at last, May 18. the Treaty began, which held till June 20. and then Concluded upon very Noble Terms; which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was the rather Induced to Condescend unto, out of his Respect (as he pretended) to the Colledges, and Library. And accordingly the City was Surrendered, June 24. together with *Faringdon Castle*, which was included in the Treaty. There marched out in a Body well Armed, about Three thousand; besides near as many more which afterwards had Passes. Prince *Rupert*, found Seventy Barrells of Powder, Thirtyeight Pieces of Ordnance, whereof Twenty six Brass, and plentifull Store of Provision of Victualls. The Duke of *Tork* was carried to St. James's, where he met with his Sister the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, who had been sent thither from the Surrender of *Exeter*, but was shortly after conveyed over into France, by her Governes the Lady *Dalglish*.

Oxford being taken, it was in vain for the lesser Garrisons to stand out; wherefore Newes comesthick and threefold to the Parliament, of the Surrenders of *Banbury*, *Borshull*, *Carnarvon*, *Ludlow*, *Lichfield*, *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, and *Gothbridge*: And Mr. *Arundell*, who could not till now by any means be Induced to deliver up *Pendennis Castle*, when all the *West* besides was Reduced, at length yields to Colonel *Forbes*: And the Marquess of *Worcester* having been long Besieged by Colonel *Morgan*, and now Summoned by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himself, gives up his Castle of *Redland*. It was long before the Scots would be persuaded to return out of the North, and besiege *Newark*; but at last, being overcome with the Sum of Thirty thousand pounds, they came on, and Encamped on the North side of the Town, and *Rogues* and *Rossiter* on the South-side; the Besieged make frequent Salles out upon their Enemies, killing and taking many. But the King Town to the English. In obedience whereunto it was, upon Honourable Conditions, Surrendered to Colonel *Poyntz*, about the beginning of May.

The Seals of State being sent from Oxford to Westminster, were according to the Vote of the Two Houses broken in the House of Lords, in the presence of the Commons. The War in England being now, after much Bloodshed, brought to some End, the Parliament were at leisure to dispute with the Scots, concerning their keeping of the King; Who fearing lest Sir *Thomas Fairfax* should fall upon them, and Compell them to deliver him up, Retreated Northward to *New Castle*. The Earl of *Essex* had lived to see his War Accomplished by another General, and this Year dies of an Apoplexy, at *Essex* House in the Strand, September 14. And the Parliament in respect to his former Services, Voted 3000 l. to be given towards his Funerall: He was Honourably Attended to his Grave, and Interred, October 23. Mr. *Jones*, Preaching his Funerall Sermon, The Parliament seeing the King gotten into the Scots Possession, sends a second Invitation to the Prince of *Wales* to come to London, with promise of Honour and Safety, but he did not think fit to venture.

The Parliament about this time passed an Ordinance, for Disbanding Major General *Massey's* Brigade, which General *Fairfax* was ordered to put in Execution; who thereupon marched from Oxford to the *Droghda*, where he found them consisting of the Number of Two thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse, prepared by the persuasion of Major General *Massey*, Colonel *Cole*, and others of their Officers, to obey the Ordinance of Parliament. Soon after this, the General after his Recovery, he set forward for London, whither he came November 12. being met by him their Publick Thanks for his good Services, which accordingly was fulfilled, Saturday, November 14. And on the 17. he received a Congratulation from the Mayors, Recorder, and Aldermen of the City.

The King at *Southwell* had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, and being now at *New Castle*, he writes to the Parliament of Scotland, to the same effect, and likewise to the City of London; But the House of Commons are Debailed. Thus the Kings Person should be Demanded of the Scots, and making that the *Parliament* House formerly sent into Scotland, were returned into England, they Vote the whole Army of the Scots to return to their Country, and quit their English Garrisons upon Recede of part of their Armies; and the rest to be sent after them. The Scots (having offered *William* to escape beyond the Seas) send a Letter to the Parliament, wherein they desire that they would send Propositions of Peace to the King. And in the mean time there happened a *Misunderstanding* between the King, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, a Scottish Minister, about Church matters; which being since published, sufficiently manifested to the World, that his Majesty was not intentioned to be led by the King; much time was spent in Wrangling, whilst the King denyed the Scots to have any Rights in Disposition of the King in England; and the Scots as they dispose of the King in England, as the English could Challenge in Scotland. In Conclusion, the Scots conceived the Parliaments Motions to be too High, and inconsistent with their first Pretensions:

1646.

Sixteen Propo-  
sitions sent to  
the King at  
New-Castle.

sions: But at length, Sixteen General Propositions, with sundry Qualifications, were presented to the King at New-Castle, July 27. by the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Hippisley, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Robinson, who were limited to Ten Days.

The King returned Answer,

THAT their Propositions imported so great an alteration of Government both in Church and State, derogated so much from his Prerogative, and imposed such hard Conditions upon him in reference to his Friends and Adherents, and likewise that their Commissioners were so bound from any Capacity either of giving Reasons for the Demands they brought, or giving Ear to such Desires as his Majesty should propound, That it was impossible for him, with any Satisfaction to his Conscience, to give such an Answer to their Propositions, as that thereby a well-grounded Peace might ensue. And withall, he urges his desire of coming to London, there to Treat Personally.

This Desire of his (however by some thought very reasonable) they utterly refuse; Nor would the Parliament permit the King of France to Interpose in the present Differences, by his Extraordinary Ambassador, Monsieur Balline.

The Scots Generall Assembly send a Remonstrance to the King, desiring him to settle Matters in England, according to the Covenant, and to Sign the Parliaments Propositions: And Chancellor London told him plainly, That there was no other Means for him to close with his Two Houses: And moreover, That unless he so resolv'd, if he lost England, he should not be admitted to come and Reign in Scotland. But all this could not prevail, and therefore the Scots who had hitherto somewhat sharply Disputed about the Disposal of his Person, are content, upon the Receipt of a good Summ of Money, to depart Home, and leave the King in the Power of the Parliament; Who Voted him to Holmby House, and sent their Commissioners, the Earls of Pembroke, and Denbigh, and the Lord Mountague; Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holyland, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and Major Generall Brown, to receive him from the Scots at New-Castle, to whom he was accordingly delivered; and February 6. they left New-Castle in Possession of the English, and marched Homewards: February the 8th. The King sad and sorrowfull, sets forward with the Commissioners for Holmby, Attended with 900 Horse, and after a Fortnight came to his Journeys end: Being met by the Way by Generall Fairfax, and many of his Officers. The Commissioners had Two Chaplains, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Corih, but the King would never hear any of them; Requesting the Parliament, that Two of his own Chaplains might be sent to him; which was not thought fit to be granted, because they looked upon them as Disaffected.

The Parliament was now freed from all fear of Opposition, but break out among themselves, dividing into several Parties, under the Title of Presbyterians, and Independents: And March 19. the Vote was passed for Disbanding some part of the Army, and Disarming many Garrisons: This made the Army Mute, and knowing their own Power, draw near to London and Westminster, and frame a Petition, whereat the City being Startled, they likewise draw up their Petition, and pray, That the Parliament would give Command, that the Army be forthwith removed, and after with all speed be Disbanded: And that the City may make Annuall Election of their own Militia: And to ends this Year, Remarkable for the Death of Henry of Nassau the old Prince of Orange, whose only Son William Succeeded him in the Dignity of General, and Admiral of the United Provinces.

The Affairs of  
Ireland.

In Ireland all things are gone to Wrack, for these last Four years: for after the Treaty of Simonsfield, 1643. the King trusting too much to the Fidelity of the Irish, withdrew part of his Forces, to Assist him in England: Whereof the Irish taking Advantage, fell to Plundering and Pillaging the English, seizing upon sundry Forts and Castles, and not performing any thing of what they Promised: And having now gotten Expert Generalls from beyond Sea, they were so bold as to fall upon the Scottish Forces, to whom they gave a most Unfortunate Blow. And to increase the Miseries of the English there, they were now unhappily divided among themselves: Ormond for the King; Branghly and Inchiquin for the Parliament: Ormond for his Part to promote the Kings Affairs, would turn the Cession into a Peace with the Irish; which the French were ready to promote; and to heighten the Kings Party against the Parliamentarians, sent 16000. to Ormond, as an Earnest of greater Matters: And the King and Parliament being then in Treaty, the French Resident took occasion to Write to Ormond, That if the King and Parliament should conclude a Peace, it must be necessary to comprehend the Irish therein, for their Settlement in their due Rights, otherwise his Matter must take the Irish into his Protection: But the Parliament Vote the Lord Lyle (Son to the Earl of Leicesters) to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Determine to send him over with considerable Forces: In the mean time, the Marquess of Ormond (the King having upon hopes of their Fidelity, and through the Exigence of his Affairs in England, agreed to a Peace with the Irish) Treats with them for it upon these following Conditions, (which were indeed but too advantageous for them.)

1647.

A That the Irish be not bound to take the Oath of Supremacy. A Parliament to be held before November. All Acts against Roman Catholics be Repealed. Places of Strength to be in the hands of Men of Merit. Hereupon the Marquess and the Irish Laity were agreed, and the Peace concluded.

But the Popes Nuncio, and the Irish Clergy Disclaimed this Peace; which Ormond understanding, and being in great Want of Ammunition and Powder, Treats with Two of the Parliaments Sea-Captains, and soon after sends Commissioners to the Parliament themselves, about a Surrender of Dublin, and the rest of the Places of Strength in his Power. To which they readily give Ear, But the Irish being now 15000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, Commanded by Owen O Neale, and Preston, seemed to threaten a Siege to Dublin, wherein lay 3000 Garrison Souldiers. The Parliament send over Colonel Monk, with 1870 Horse and Foot, which arrived at Dublin, and expected that Ormond would have delivered the City into their Hands, according to his Treaty with the Parliament: But finding themselves deceived of their Hopes, (in regard the Marquess not having his Majesties Commands, could not answer their Expectations) they set Saile and Landed at Belfast in the North. However, the War goes on, the Irish nor daring to Disturb their Clergy: Ormond between these Sireights is at a loss, so that these Garrisons are left to the Irish, Lefe, Strathkilly, Grange, Melkon, Rebend, Alby, Greenhill Castle, Jordan, Edenberry, Marmee Town, Sir James Hayes Houle, Honestown, Hans, Castle Warden, Monmouth, Lestlip, Lucan, Falmshore, Tallon, Bullotis, and Bellament. And in conclusion, Ormond is forc'd to enter into a Confederacy with the Irish, upon disadvantageous Terms. But on the other side, the Parliamentarians had some Successes against them, and took Castle Lyons, and Inchiquin Castle, Dungarvan, and Blarney Castle, and stoutly Defended Banratty against Musgraves Forces. And now the Lord Lieutenant Lyle comes over to his Government, January 28. And having set things in Order, and encouraged those of his Party, returned back into England, April the First. But the Parliament resolve to prosecute the War Vigorously, and to send over 8400 Foot, besides Officers, with 3000 Horse, and 1200 Dragoons: All which were to be taken out of Generall Fairfax's Army, which occasioned much Distemper between the Army and Parliament.

Little News from Foreign Parts this Year, but only the Surrender of Dunkirk to the French, and the Emperours Eldest Son Crowned King of Bohemia.

Dunkirk sur-  
rendered to the  
French.

D Men might have reasonably expected, that the 23d. Year of his Majesties Reign, 1647. should have begun with a Sunshine of Settlement so desirable, after such Storms of War. But contrariwise, these Hopes were suddenly Blasted by Dissentions between the Parliament and Army; These last being offended with the Intentions of the former; to Disband them: And being encouraged by Petitions from severall Countiees (probably suborn'd thereunto) to the General, not to Disband till the Peace of the Kingdome were fully settled; they drew up a Petition, which was presented to the Parliament by Lieutenant Generall Hammond, and Three Colonels, Desiring Provision for Indemnity. Their Arrears to be paid; That the Foot Souldiers may not be Preit out of the Kingdome, nor Horsemen serve on Foot: That the Widows and Children of such as were Slain in their Service, might be provided for; and (until the Army be Disbanded) that they may receive Pay to discharge their Quarters, and not Burthen the Country. This Net led the Parliament, who declared their high Dislike of it, and Voted, That such as continued in this way of Aiding, should be proceeded against as Enemies of the State.

The Armes  
Petition.

Some Petitions from Essex, and other places, are brought to the Parliament, inveighing against the Armes Proceedings, which fret the Souldiers, who sharply Appologize for themselves, and utterly refuse the Service of Ireland, till Satisfaction were given to their Desires. The Difference was likely to have grown wider: But to close the Breach, Commissioners are chosen on both sides to meet, in Order to a right understanding. But the Army judged, that it would not be a little advantageous to their Concernments, if they could get the King into their Hands: And therefore on the Third of June, Cornet Joyce was sent to Holmby, with 500 Horse, who brought away the King from thence, with his Guardians Commissioners, (who would by no means leave him) having first promised him, that he should have no Violence offered to his Person; that his Trunks and Papers should not be rifled and tumbled; that he should be attended with such Servants, against whom there could be no just Exception; and that nothing should be imposed on him contrary to his Conscience: And so he was conveyed to Childersley, and thence (according to his own Desire) to New-Market: And this the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament; withall affirming, that it was done without his Consent; And that the Reason alledged by the Parties, was, Because certain Persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather Strength to make a New War, which they were able and ready to prove.

The King  
brought from  
Holmby to the  
Army by Cor-  
net Joyce.

And now the Army, to the great Terror of the Parliament, march towards London, and come to St. Albans, notwithstanding a Message from the Houses, not to come within 25 miles of the City; which the General excuses, saying, That the Army was come thither, ere they received the Parliaments Desires. And here he obtains a Months Pay for the Souldiers: The Parliament Vote, That the General be required to deliver the Person of the King to the former Commissioners, who were to bring him to Richmond; to the intent, that Propositions of Peace might be speedily presented to his Majesty, and that Colonel Rossiter and his Regiment might guard his Person. To this the Army would not consent, and therefore sent up their Representation, with these Proposals, the onely effectual Means to procure a stable Settlement (Viz.) That the Houses may be speedily purged

The Armes  
Representation  
and Proposals.

1647.

purged of such as ought not to sit there. That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and A endanger the Kingdome, may be speedily disabled from doing the like, or worse. That some determinate Period of time may be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the Intent of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments. That Provision may be made not to be Adjournable, or Dissolvable, by any Power but by their own Consent, during their respective Period, and then to determine themselves. That the Freedom of the People to prevent Grievances by Petition to Parliament may be Vindicated. That the Exorbitant Power of Country Committees may be taken away. That the Kingdome may be satisfied in the Parliaments Accounts for the vast Summs received; and also in divers other things, wherein the Common-wealth hath been abused. That after Delinquents have passed their Compositions an Act of Oblivion may be passed.

The Parliament being (as was said) divided into Two Parties, The Independents Countenanced the Army, and the Presbyterians the City, in a high manner against the Army, of whom they would fain have rid themselves, by sending a great part of them into Ireland, and Disbanding all the rest: To prevent which, they have in readiness an Impeachment against Eleven of the chiefest of them; For Retarding the Relief of Ireland; For Acting many things against the Laws and Liberties of the People; And for obstructing the Courts of Justice. All which was offered and proved against them: Their Names were, Denzell Hollis Esquire, Sir Phillip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massey, Mr. Glynn Recorder of London, Colonel Walter Longe, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholls Esquire. And with this Charge they delivered in a Paper, Desiring that the Accused Members be forthwith Suspended from sitting in the House. This was much stumbled at, and lookt upon as too much intrenching upon the Privilege of Parliament: But the Army persisting in their Desires, the Eleven Members first forbore the House, and afterwards obtained leave to Travell for Six Months. But to give some Satisfaction to the Parliament, the Army removed further off from London, having the King continually near them, who had a great mind to see his Children; which was effected, by means of a Letter from General Fairfax to the Parliament. The Eleven Members being gone, the Army-Party in the House began to prevail, (for it is apparent enough wherefore the discarding of those Members was so zealously contended for) and then a Vote was passed for taking the London Militia out of the hands of the City, and transferring it to others better Affected to the Army: And it was made Treason to seek Subscriptions to Petitions: Upon which, great Multitudes of Prentices and others flock to Westminster in a Muteous manner, Clamouring at the Parliament Doors, that, That Vote should be Repealed, before the Members should pass out of the House, and forcing the Speaker back into the Chair, Constrained him and them to sit, till they Extorted this Vote from them,

That the King should come to London, and the City have their Militia restored to them. And then the Parliament Adjourned for Four Days.

The Generall, who for ease of the Country was moved to Bedford, hears of this, and marches up towards London, and sends before him a Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen; wherein he signifies His Repentment of the late Outrage, and requires Justice to be done upon the Offenders. In his Way he is met with, by the Speakers of both Houses, and such of the Members as sided with the Army, who repaired to him at Hounslow, Complaining of the Affront and injurious Violation offered unto them, and there they Consult together, how to get the City without Blood.

In the mean time, the contrary party meet together in Parliament, and hope to carry all before them, and choose new Speakers. The eleven Members are now gotten in again; the first Thing done, is to confirm the last extorted Votes, and to put the City in a posture of Defence, Ordering Souldiers to be Lifted, and Major-General Massey, Sir William Waller, and Colonel Poyns, to have the Command of them: And the Citizens set forth a Declaration against the Army; yet were not things so evenly carried, but that upon the Approach of General Fairfax, all was in a Hubbub, many Diffentions in their Councils: And at Guild-Hall they fell from Words to Blows, divers wounded, and some slain. And lastly, The Aldermen conclude, to write to the General to excuse themselves, laying the fault upon some particular persons: The General sends a Brigade, under the Command of Rainsborough and Hewson, over Kingston Bridge, to Southwark, who take in the great Fort on the High-way to Lambeth: The Common-Council post away Messages to the General for a Pacification, which he, with the Consent of the Members of Parliament then present, granted upon Condition, That they should desert that Parliament then sitting, and the Eleven Impeached Members, and deliver up the Tower, and their other Forts; which they were glad to submit to. Presently a Declaration is published, making Null all Acts, passed by the Members at Westminster, since the Twenty sixth of July last.

August the Sixth, The Generall marched in Triumph to Westminster, and re-established the G disturbed Members of Parliament, and received their Publick Thanks, for Vindicating them from the Injurious Usage, as they complain'd, of the Citizens; And the next Day marched through the City with the whole Army, being 20000 Horse and Foot to the Tower, and puts in Colonel Tichbourn for his Deputy-Lieutenant, by Vertue of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereby he was Constituted Captain General of all the Forces and Garrisons in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower: And a Months Pay was given to the Army, as a Gratuity for their good Service, in Suppressing the late Insurrection; but the Excise was thought fit to be continued. The

Eleven Mem-  
bers Impeach-  
ed by the Ar-  
my.

The Petition  
of the City  
against the  
Vote for tak-  
ing the Mil-  
itia out of their  
hands.

The Speakers  
and divers  
Members fly  
to the Army.

The City sub-  
mit to the  
Army.

The Generall  
marcheth with  
his whole Ar-  
my through  
the City.

1648.

The General had his Head-quarters at Kingston, and the King was settled at Hampton-Court, with his Children about him; whither the Earl of Ormond repaired to him, having by his Command quitted his Government in Ireland to the Parliaments Commissioners: Inquiry being now made after the chief Actors and Fomenters of the late Uproar, they were proceeded against at the discretion of their Judges. Mr. Glynn was cited of his Recorderthip, Sir John Maynard was Impeached of Treason, Hollis, Waller, Clotworthy, Massey, Long, and Nichols, were summoned to attend the House the 16th of October: Sir John Gayr Lord Mayor, and four Aldermen, Culham, Bunch, Langham, and Adams, were accused and committed to the Tower; and the Earls of Lincoln, Suffolk, and Middlesex, with the Lord Barkley, Maynard, Hunston, and Wilkoughby of Parham, were committed to the Black-Rod.

But care was now taken to pull down the Pride of the City; to which end, both Houses Order the casting down of all the Works about the City, and the dividing of their Militia, Impowering the City of Westminster, the Burrough of Southwark, and the Hamlets about the Tower, each to have its distinct Militia of it self.

The Army are much behind hand for Arrears, therefore petition the Parliament for payment of them, which the Houses taking into Consideration, raised some Summs of Money to stop their Mouths for the present, and to apply themselves to draw up Propositions of Peace to be sent to the King to Hampton-Court, which were in substance the same that were offered to him at Newcastle, and had the same Effect, the business of Episcopacy being ever a main Obstruction, which the Parliament were resolved to Abolish, and the King preferring the satisfaction of his Conscience before worldly respects, would rather loose all, then give consent thereunto; and in his Answer of the 9th of September, was thought to shew a greater Inclination to the Army then the Parliament, which giving them great occasion of distast, is thought to have contributed much to his prejudice.

About this time the Parliament Vote Six thousand Foot, Two thousand four hundred Horse and Dragoons to be sent into Ireland, and Eighteen thousand Foot, and Seven thousand two hundred Horse, and a Thousand Dragoons, to be kept up as a standing Army for England.

About this time, the Officers to provide for their own Concernments, thought good to Elect out of every Regiment a certain Number of Souldiers to meet and consult by the Name of Agitators: These together draw up a large Letter to the General full of Compliments, and desires, That he would take some course to settle the Nation in Peace, and to secure such as had fought against the King, from standing in any need of asking him Pardon, or receiving Indemnity from him. That Parliaments may be determined to certain Periods of Time, And that Care be taken for due Election of Members for the future, and for the Payments of the Armes Arrears, that they may not be burthenome to the Country. Sir Thomas Answers, That he had a good Opinion of the honesty of their Intentions, and referred their Desires to the Generall Council of Officers.

November the Sixth, the Scots Commissioners send a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and require, That the King may be admitted to a Personall Treaty, or at least, that he should not be carried from Hampton-Court, violently by the Army, as he was from Holmby House, but that Commissioners of both Parliaments may freely pass to, and from him, to Treat for the Settlement of the Kingdoms. This put the Parliament upon preparing new Propositions: In which mean while, the King is informed, That his Person was in some hazard, from the Agitators, who were Plotting of some Design to take away his Life; though this hath been shrewdly suspected to have been a design of some of the great ones of the Army, for the getting of his Majesty more firmly into their Clutches, as from the Signer may be conjectured, and by Colonel Whaley's bringing him a Letter pretended to have been put into his hand by an unknown person: whereupon he Consults with Sir John Berkley, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Colonel William Legg, how to prevent the danger; and among them it is Resolved to escape to the Isle of Jersey: to which end a Ship is prepared, to take him in about Southampton, and Horses are Lodged near Hampton-Ferry. And thus November the Eleventh, he according to his Custom withdrew himself, a little before Evening Prayer, with his Three forementioned Confidants, and escaped to his Horses, by the way of Paradise, a place so called in the Garden, and Rode away, leaving behind him a Letter to the Parliament, which was afterward delivered them: Wherein he promised to break through this Cloud of Retirement, and shew himself really to be a Father of his Country, if he might be heard with Freedom, Honour, and Safety. But the King coming to the Sea-shore, found himself to be disappointed of his Design, by the failing of the Ship; wherefore it was concluded, that the King & Leg should go to Tedworth, to the Countess Dowager of Southamptons House, whilst Berkley & Ashburnham should go to the Isle of Wight, to Governour Hammond, of whom the King had some Hopes, because of his Brother Doctor Hammond, (who was the Kings Chaplain) to him they were to signify in general, That the King having escaped from Eminent Danger of Assassination, was willing to cast himself upon his Fidelity, if he would engage upon Oath, for the Safety and Liberty of his Person.

Several Mem-  
bers of Parlia-  
ment and Ci-  
tizens question-  
ed for acting  
in the late  
Tumults;

Propositions  
sent to the King  
at Hampton-  
Court.

Part of the  
Army voted to  
be sent into  
Ireland.  
Agitators of  
the Army cho-  
sen.  
Their Letter  
to the General.

The Scots  
Commission-  
ers Letter to  
the Speaker.

The Kings  
escape from  
Hampton-Court

1648.

He is secured in the Isle of Wight by Col. Hammond  
His Letter to the Parli. from Carisbrook Castle.

Hammond would promise for his Safety, but not for his Liberty; and they fearing to be taken into Custody, came over with him to the Ladies House, where the King was, who found himself necessitated to cast himself upon no better Terms, with an unwilling Willingness, upon Hammond's Protection, who presently certifies the Parliament of it; and they being well contented with it, Ordered his Continuance there, with the same Attendants which he had at Hampton-Court, and no other.

The King at Carisbrook Castle writes a Letter to the Parliament, and another to the Scots Commissioners; wherein he professes, That he cannot, either as a Christian, or a King, consent to the Abolishing of Episcopal Hierarchy, because he looked upon it as Apostolical, and had sworn at his Coronation to maintain it: But yet he was willing that Presbytery should be continued for Three Years, and a free Debate to be had, between the Divines Assembled at Westminster, and Twenty that he should appoint, about the Settlement of Church-Government for the future. He is also willing, that the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the Choice of his Privy-Counsellors during his Reign; Provided they have it by Grant of Patent from him, and that it return to his Successors: And he is willing that the Arrears of the Army should be paid, and he will be ready to use his utmost Endeavour for the raising of so much Money. These and some other Proposals he made; promising moreover, to give Satisfaction to the Kingdom of Scotland, when he shall receive his Desires: And still he pressed for a Personal Treaty, which the Parliament refuse; yet after three days Debate, they were content to admit of it; Provided, that he would sign these four Bills:

First, That it be lawful for the future, to Order the Militia of the Kingdom, without the Kings Consent; to raise what Armies they please: All others, under pain of Treason, to be prohibited to Assemble, to the Number of Thirty Persons, without the Authority of Parliament.

Secondly, That it be lawful for the Houses to sit, to Adjourn their Sitting to what place they please; to assemble at what time soever, and at their own Discretion.

Thirdly, That all Oaths, Interdictions, and Declarations, set forth in publick, against either Houses, be accounted and declared void.

Fourthly, Whomsoever of the Nobility the King hath Dignified with Titles, from the time Himself departed, and carried away the Great Seal of the Kingdom, the same be Degraded of their Honours; And these to be passed into Acts.

These Propositions were carried to the King by the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Montague, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Kemp, and Mr. Bunckley; But the Scots Commissioners follow, and protest against them, as too derogatory to the Kings Honour, and contrary to the Parliaments former Engagements and Protections: And to the King refused to sign them, desiring the Commissioners to tell the Two Houses, That there were different Interests to be complied with (Viz.) The Parliament, the Army, and the Scots; and therefore he requested, That some Means might be found out, which might give Contentment to all these, without which, a well-grounded Peace could never be established.

The Kings Refusal so offended the Commons, that they presently put it to the Vote, Whether any more Addresses should be made unto Him; and after a long Debate, it was Resolved,

First, That no Addresses shall hereafter be made to Him by the Parliament of England.

Secondly, That none shall, on pain of Treason, make any Addresses, without leave from the Parliament.

Thirdly, That no written Paper, Message, or Declaration, be received from his Majesty, on penalty of Treason.

Which Votes were so well resented by the Army, That now having no further need of their Agitators, they reduce them into Order, and publish a Declaration of their owning the Parliaments Proceedings, and their Resolution to adhere with, and stand by them in their said Votes, even against the King himself, or any that shall partake with him: Which the Lords perceiving, after many dayes Tugging about it, at last assented to the Votes of the Commons.

In the mean time, Col. Hammond had turned away the Kings Servants, and used him a little more severely then formerly, which occasioned a Mutiny in Newport, the chief Town in the Isle of Wight, where one Capt. Burligh beat a Drum for the Kings Service and Delivery; but was soon

Four Bills sent to the King to be Signed.

The King refused to Sign them.

The Parli. vote, That no more Addresses should be made to the King.

Mutiny at Newport in the Isle of Wight.

1648.

A suppressed, himself taken prisoner, and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered as a Traytor; And more Forces sent at Hammond's Request to secure the Island: and Judges were appointed, to proceed against those that mutined, about keeping of Christmas, in London, Canterbury, and other places.

And now both Houses Vote, That the Committee of Derby House, have a Plenipotence to transact the Business of the whole Kingdom, and to dispose as they shall think fit of the Army commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is now Impowred to place and displace the Kings Attendants, provided he allow him not above Thirty. And a little after he becomes Lord Fairfax, by the Decease of his Father.

About this time, Judge Jenkins was brought to the Bar of the House, where he refused to kneel, his Charge was read against him:

That he had passed Sentence against men to be Hanged, Drawn, and Quartered, for not Assisting against the Parliament.

That he took up Arms himself, and stirred up others against them, and had charged them with Countersigning the Great Seal. Which he was so far from denying, or any way exenuating, that he boldly owned all, and more than they accused him of, endeavouring to terrifie the Parliament with the numberousness of the Royal Issue; and so provoked the House with his Deportment, and Words, that he was Fined a Thousand pounds; and the House Voted a Charge to be brought in, against him.

The Marquess of Ormond after several Capitulations, had yielded up the Irish Government into the hands of the Parliament, by whom was sent over Col. Jones with 1450 Horse and Foot, who took possession of Dublin, June 17. and is made Governour of the City, at the same time that Sir Charles Coote Defeated a Party of the Irish. And not to be idle, he marches out with 3000 Men against General Preston, who being 8000 strong, routed him, and put him to flight, and did much Execution upon his Forces in four miles pursuit. But August the Eighth, they came to a second Encounter near Trym, where Col. Jones did revenge his former Foyl, beat Preston out of his Bogg, killed 5470 Foot Souldiers, and 300 of the Genry, took 7000 Arms, 4 Pieces of Ordnance, and great Pillage, with 150 Oxen; And improving his Victory, takes Castell Richard, Port-Castell, Abbej, Gruncesfort, the Mabbey, Belliloe, Cabbrough, Castell-Lewar, Danmook, Carrat, Mastrose, Castell-Down, and Castell-Amon: And in Munster near Megallo, and Clancard, the Lord Inchiquin, November the 13. gave such a Defeat to another party of the Irish, that, what with the taken and slain, their Loss was reckoned four thousand: So that now the Parliament having no need of the Scottish Forces in Ulster, are earnest to have them recalled Home out of Ireland.

The 24th year of his Majesties Reign, being the year, 1648. now begins with the Visitation of the University of Oxford, which was performed by the new Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, not without much Resistance; for the Heads and Principals would neither own the Authority, nor the Covenant, for which Reason, many of them were outed of their places, and others put in: And the Parliament Vote, That all those who will not submit to the Power, shall be expelled the University, and all the Colledge-Rents be paid to the Visitors by them appointed.

This Summer, the King, though a Prisoner, was as Formidable as ever since the late Troubles, the very Name of a King proving sufficient to raise considerable Armies: London it self was not free from Mutiny; for April the Ninth, the Apprentices set upon a part of the Trained-Bands, whom they over-powred, and encreasing hourly, divided into Parties; One whereof made towards White-Hall, but were Repressed by the Horse-Guard of the Mews; yet at Night they joyn again, surprize Newgate and Ludgate, and shut up the Gates; then they seize a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayors House, which they planted within Ludgate: the Morning following they laboured to get Arms, and broke open some Sale-mens Houses of Ammunition, and Mattered the Magazine at Leaden-Hall, crying out for God and King Charles: But the next day General Fairfax entered Aldersgate with two Regiments, marched to Leaden-Hall-Street, and there Charged the undisciplined Multitude, who after a short Tumultuary Skirmish, was utterly dispersed with little or no Loss.

But in Wales Colonel Poyer, Governour of Pembroke Castle, refused to yield up his Charge (though Commanded) without full payment of his Arrears: And Major-General Langhorn, for the same Reason, refused to Disband his Men; and so both Revolt, and Langhorn surprizes Tenby Castle; with the Parliaments Commissioners in it: And now they grow bold, Commanding Contribution round about, and Declare for the King.

Colonel Horton is sent Commander in Chief against them, with thirty Companies of Horse and Foot, who sends out Colonel Fleming to gain a Pass from Poyer, which he finds quitted to his hands; but going on improvidently, falls into Poyers Ambuscado, by whom he is totally routed, and compelled to fly, with a few others, to a Neighbouring Church; and perceiving himself unable to hold it out, died, as it is thought, by his own Sword; and the rest were taken prisoners. This Success was attended with another, Chepstow Castle being taken by Sir Thomas Keynsham in the Governours Absence. But now the Tyde turns: News comes that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is advancing with a strong Power to suppress them, which makes Langhorn resolve to fight Horton before his coming who as willingly marched to meet him, and near St. Fagons, May the eighth, views his Enemy, near 8000 strong, but in disorder, and unready to fight.

The Committee of Derby House, how Impowred.

Judge Jenkins try'd by the Parliament.

Irish Affairs:

Oxford visited by the new Chancellor.

Mutiny of the London Apprentices.

Poyer and Langhorn take up Arms for the King in Wales.

1648.

Defeated by  
Col. Horton.Sir John Owen  
routed by Maj.  
Gen. Milton.Pembroke Cas-  
tle yielded up  
to Cromwell.Poyer shot to  
death.  
The Duke of  
York escapes to  
Holland.Petitions  
brought to the  
Parliament Ef-  
fect, and other  
Countries.The Kentish  
Men in Arms.Routed at  
Maidstone by  
Gen. Fairfax.Colchester be-  
sieged.

In this Condition Horton charged them, and obtained an easie Victory, killed some, took 1500 Officers, and 3000 Common Souldiers, *Langhorn* himself, and *Powel* escaped by flight. Lieutenant General *Cromwell* enters *Wales*, forms *Tenby* Castle, and has it yielded upon mercy; and *Chepstow* Castle was re-taken by Col. *Ewer*: But all this could not keep Sir John Owen quiet, who whilst *Cromwell* besieged *Pembroke* Castle, got together some Forces in *North-Wales*; which the County Sheriff would have suppressed; but being too weak, was defeated and taken prisoner; and shortly after the same Fortune befell Owen himself, by the Forces of Major General *Milton*. *Pembroke* Town and Castle stood out courageously for a long time; but at length were to distressed, that they willingly would have surrendered, if they could have obtained any other Conditions: They yielded upon Discretion. *Cromwell* gives a furious Storm; which the Besieged resolutely endured: But the Scottish Invasion made the Lieutenant-General more inclinable to give them Attidles; upon which the Town and Castle was delivered up, July 13. (viz.) *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors, to submit to the Parliaments Mercy: the other Commanders, Knights, and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six Weeks, for two years: the rest to return to their respective Dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their Freedoms and Liberties: Those that submitted to Mercy, were afterwards tryed as Traytors, notwithstanding the Princes Letter in their behalf to Gen. Fairfax: But this Favour was extended towards them, that they should eat Lots for their Lives; and to onely *Poyer* suffered.

April 20. The Duke of York Disguised in Womens Apparel, made his Escape from St. James's by Water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by the help of one Col. *Bampfild*, sent over purposely on that Design by the Queen.

The Country began now to be displeased, that after such Expence of Men and Money, there was yet no likelyhood of a Settlement, but rather a fearful Expectation of New Wars, and therefore resolves to Petition: The County of *Essex* begins the Dance, and desires the Parliament, that the Army may be paid and disbanded, and the King admitted to a Personal Treaty. *Smock* follows, and desires the like, but in higher Terms; and being numerous, quarrel with the Souldiers at *Walthamstow*, and come to Blows: some hurt was done on both sides, but Night parts the Fray. The City succeeds, and Petition to the same Effect; and also desire, That those prisoners, who stood committed for their former Inurrection in *Massey*'s Bugness, might be released, as shortly after they were upon the Cities constant adhering to the Parliament, and refusing to send any Aid to the *Kentish* against the General: And at their Desire, their Militia was restored; and Maj. Gen. *Skippin* was appointed Commander of the City, and all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication. The Lieutenant of the Tower was discharged, and Mr. *West* Citizen, furrogated in his place, and Col. *Barkstead*, and Col. *Rich* were ordered to draw off their Regiments out of *White-Hall*, and the *M. w.* instead of which the City Common-Council order a Guard for the Parliament, and six hundred pounds yearly for their Major-General: And all this with the Generals free Consent and Approbation.

The *Kentish* Men would not Petition, but with their Swords in their Hands, and were up in Arms in such considerable numbers, that it was thought fit for Sir *Thomas* himself to march against them, which he doth, with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; the *Kentish* were near Ten Thousand: but unadvisedly parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle. The General advances, and defeats some of them between *Craford* Heath, and *Gravesend*; from thence he sends Major *Husbands* before, who gains a Passage over a Bridge at *Northfield*, and some Prisoners: The General comes on, marching in a full Body, expecting the *Kentish* would have engaged, but they were not prepared, and so without any Resistance he came to *Maidstone*, in which the *Kentish* were drawn up into a Body, the Town strongly Man'd, and well provided with Ordnance, and Barracadoed.

*Fairfax* having his Army increased to Ten Thousand, falls to storming at seven a Clock at Night, June the second; twice he was Repulsed, the third time got Entrance; but then the Fight was more perillous than before, whilst the Assailants had to do not onely with those who Manned the Streets, but were also Gallied with continual Shot from the Houses, getting all by Inches: Not could they acquire the Victory, till after six hours Fight, and much loss on their own side: But of the *Kentish* two hundred were slain, above one thousand three hundred prisoners, divers of quality, four hundred Horse, and eight Pieces of Ordnance, with good Booty: And presently upon this, *Rochester* was also quitted to the Generals Mercy; Many of the *Kentish* men after this Defeat reinforcing their Compinies, marched up in a Body towards *London*, and Rendezvouz'd upon *Black-Heath*, whither some resolute persons repaired to them, under Command of the old Lord *Goring*: But the *Kentish* perceiving their Succours to come far short of what they expected, quit their Commanders apace and return Home: but *Goring* with five hundred men crossed over *Greenwich* Ferry into *Essex*; in which County the Committee-men were already secured, and Sir *Charles Lucas* having gotten together two thousand Horse and Foot, joyns with *Goring*, who seizes the Earl of *Warwick*'s Armoury, and gets into *Colchester*, which now becomes a Seat of War, and the Country flocked in unto them, together with a party from *London*, and the Lord *Capit*, and the Lord *Loughborough* from *Hartfordshire*.

But General *Fairfax* leaving Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Henson*, who had now raised *Dover* Siege, to take in those places in *Kent*, which himself had not time to reduce, crossed over into *Essex* after the Enemy, and came before *Colchester*, which he immediately surrounded with a potent Army. The

A The Seamen being Dissatisfied, mutiny, and divers of the Ships went to the Prince, with Vice-Admirall *Batten* himself, who was thereupon Knighted: And now the Prince with a considerable Fleet sets to Sea, having with him his Brother the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, the Earl of *Braintree*, the Lords, *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Culpeper*, with others of Quality, and came into *Yarmouth* Rode, with Twenty good Men of War, and Two thousand Souldiers; there he would have Landed; but hearing of Colonel *Scroop* coming against him with a Party of Horse and Foot, he sailed from thence to the Downs in *Kent*, seizing what Merchant-Ships and Goods he could meet with all. Deal Castle was at this time Besieged, for Relief whereof, the Prince would needs Attempt something, and therefore sets 500 Men ashore, who at first Charged handfomly; but being too weak, were beaten, several slain and taken, and the rest got Aboard again. Soon after this *Sandwich*, *Deal*, and *Weymouth* Castles were yielded up, and the whole County of *Kent* fully Reduced. Whilst the Prince Anchors in the Downs, the States of *Scotland* Invite him to them, and engage the Publick Faith of that Kingdom, for his Well-being, in Honour, Freedome, and Safety, with them, or with their Army then in *England*, and to remove from them, or their Army, when, or whither he pleased: But he having Written to the House of Lords, for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain Summoned the Earl of *Warwick* (Admiral for the Parliament) to submit to him as highest Caprain-General under his Majesty, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, returned with his Fleet back into *Holland*.

But the Earl of *Holland* being Commissioned from the Prince, Heads a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in the View of the Parliament, at *Kington* upon *Thames*; His chief Associates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*, July 2d. they Mustred 500 Horse, and some Foot upon *Kington* Heath, and from thence marched to *Darling*, and would have possessed *Riegate*, but were prevented by Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons*, whereupon they Retreat towards *Kington*, closely pursued by the other, and sending away their Foot before, to secure their Retreat to the Town, they made a stand between *Enck* and *Nonfuch* Park; The Pursuers follow on, the Fight was short and smart: the Lord *Francis Villiers* refusing Quarter was slain, with Major *Dalbier*, and a Son of Sir *Kensell Digby*, and others, the rest put to flight, and many Prisoners of Note taken; July 7. the Earl of *Holland* made no long stay at *Kington*, but fled with all speed to St. Needs in *Huntingtonshire*, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonel *Scroop*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle; but the Duke of *Buckingham* fled towards *Lincolnshire*, and escaped beyond Seas. *Colchester* holds out Courageously, makes frequent Salles upon the Besiegers, with pretty good Success, and good hopes of Relief from the North; for the Parliament of *Scotland* had Sate ever since the Second of *March*, and were Disgusted at the English Proceedings, in reference to the King, which was increased by the Report of their Commissioners now returned: so that notwithstanding the Parliament of *England* made them fair Offers, concerning the payment of the Money due upon Account of their Auxiliary Armies both in *England* and *Ireland*, and shewed moreover some Inclination to settle the Presbyterian Government here; yet all will not serve, for they had formed a Committee of Danger, to Consult of their Affairs in relation to *England*: the Major part of these being *Hamiltons* Faction, Voted a War, which the others Protest against; but to no purpose: And now the Scots Publish their Declaration, the Heads whereof were these;

"That his Majesty may come to *London*, or to some of his Houses near, and that with Safety.

"That Reparation be made for his Carrying away, or Satisfaction by punishing them that did it.

"That the Army under the Lord *Fairfax* be Disbanded.

"That *Presbytery* be settled, *Sectaries* punished.

"That all Members of the House be restored.

Cavaliers now Flock apace to *Edenborough*, and *Wogan*, a Captain in the English Army, Revolts to them with his Troop, and Two Companies of Foot Landed out of *Ireland*, at *Chester*, and marched thither likewise: *Barnick* is Surprized by the Cavaliers, Sir *Thomas Glenham* and Sir *Phillip Musgrave* raise Forces for the King in *Westmerland* and *Cumberland*, with which they Surprize *Carlisle*, and with them Joynes Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some Horse, being General of the English Army for the King; and now being 3000 strong, they Coast about the *Northern* Counties.

July the Thirteenth, The Scots Army entred *England*, the Van was brought up by Duke *Hamilton* their General, the Main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Rear by the Earl of *Calender*; these joyn with *Langdale*, and fall upon Major General *Lambert*, near *Appleby*, and force

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A part of the  
Navy revolt to  
Prince Charles.A Party of his  
Landing in  
*Kent*, are bea-  
ten.The Earl of  
*Holland* takes  
up Arms for  
the King.He is Routed,  
and the Lord  
*Francis* slain.  
The Earl taken  
at St. Needs.The Scots De-  
claration.*Barnick* Sur-  
prised, and  
Castle.The Scots enter  
*England* under  
Duke *Hamilton*.  
Sir *Marmaduke*  
*Langdale* joyns  
with the Scots.

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force him to Retire into the Town, from whence he Retreats to *Kilbyseven*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him, to Defend the Castle, which was Besieged and taken August 7, by Sir *Phillip Musgrave*, Colonell *Boynton*, Governour of *Scarborough* Castle, Declares for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was surprized by Major *Morris*; *Tinmouth* Castle likewise Revolts, but was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Haslerig*.

The Scots Retreat to *Kendall* in *Westmerland*, and Major General *Lamberts* Army increases daily with additional Forces: Lieutenant General *Cromwell* having quiered *Wales*, marches to Joyn with *Lambert*, and in his way takes *Pomfret* Town, but not the Castle. *Hamilton* leaves *Kendall*, and marches into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*; which the *English* Army meant to hinder, and therefore march to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Souldiers, little fewer then 24000; *Cromwell* and *Lambert* were reckoned to have 5000 Horse and Dragoons, and 7000 Foot. August 17, both Armies Faced one another, Major *Smithson* Commanded the Foreloft of the *English*, who charged furiously on the other, Routed them, and Alarmed the whole Army, and to the Battells joyn on a Moor two Miles East of *Preston*; and the Fight was very hot for two Hours, and then the Scots gave Ground, which encouraged the *English* to pursue, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to Divide: One Part being a Body of Three thousand Horse, moved towards *Lancaster*, and was pursued and dispersed by *Coldwell*, *Twissleton*, and Colonell *Thorulow*, who took Multitudes of them: Prisoners; the other part Horse and Foot marched over the River *Ribbles*, whom the Main of the *English* Army follow; and at *Ribbel* Bridge, the Scots make a stand, Defending the Pass stoutly for two Hours, even to Push of Pike, and then were constrained to Retire: The next Morning the Scots draw up upon a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the *English*, they fled in great Disorder to *Wigan*, which they Plundered, and next Morning marched towards *Warrington* (the *English* pursuing all the while) near *Warrington* the Scots taking advantage of a Pass, make another stand, but were again beaten, with the loss of a Thousand Men, and were prosecuted to the very Bridge, where the Foot, in Number 4000, being deserted by the Horse, laid down their Armes, and submitted to Mercy; *Hamilton* got away with Three thousand Horse to *Nantwich*, where the Country being up in Armes, seized 500 of them. Lieutenant General *Cromwell* marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe*, giving Order to all the *Parliament* Commanders in those Counties to follow the flying Scots; by some of whom, Major General *Middleton*, who Commanded 400 Horse, was Defeated, and taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersed; *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Uxeter*, and made to submit to Mercy, by the Lord *Gray of Greby*, who sent him Prisoner to *Ashby de la Zouch*. In this Dates Fight, the *English* took more Prisoners, then their own whole Army amounted to: The Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours here taken were afterward hung up in *Westminster-Hall*; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn. *Cromwell* Improves his Success, and comes to *Donham*, to look out *Monroe*, supposed to be about Six thousand strong; but the *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland* having now recovered the Sword, Command him to return, which he obeys more for fear of the *English*, then dutifullness to them; and joyning with the Earl of *Lanrick*, both together made 8000 Horse and Foot, to oppose whom, the *Presbyterians* provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesley* Lieutenant General. *Cromwell* enters *Scotland*, and Publishes this Declaration.

The Scots Army Defeated by Lieutenant General *Cromwell*.

*Hamilton* taken Prisoner by the Lord *Gray of Greby*.

*Cromwell* enters *Scotland*.

His Declaration.

Whereas We are marching with the Forces of the *Parliament* of *England*, into the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in pursuance of the remaining Part of the Enemy, who lately Invaded the Kingdom of *England*, and for the Recovery of the Garisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*: These are to Declare, That if any Officer or Souldier under my Command, shall take, or demand any Money, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals, without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be tryed and punished with Death, by a *Council of War*.

To him *Argyle*, *Lowden*, *Leaven*, and other of the Scots Nobility repair, and Contract with him for subduing of the Publick Enemy: And so much feared he was in *Scotland*, that this Agreement was Consented to;

First, That the Armies under *Argyle*, and the other under *Lanrick* and *Monroe*, with all the Forces in any of the Garisons in *Scotland* be Disbanded, and *Berwick* and *Carlisle* be Delivered to the *English*.

Secondly, That the Settlement of Religion at Home, and promoting Reformation Abroad, be ordered to the Determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil Differences be referred to a *Parliament* speedily to be Called.

Thirdly, That no Party that were in the last Engagements against *England*, be of the New *Parliament*, or of the General Assembly. And so he Returns into *England*, after he had been Invited to *Edenborough*, to Feasts and Banquets, and highly

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A highly Circelled, by the States of *Scotland*, with all Expressions of Honour: And in *Yorkshire* he was desired by the Committee to Reduce *Scarborough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but afterwards performed.

*Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such Scarcity of Provision, that they had not Horse-flesh enough to serve them one day, that being the Food which they had fed on almost a Fortnight, and purchased with much Blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses: And now perceiving all hopes of Succour utterly frustrated, were necessitated to yield upon these Conditions;

The Common Souldiers to depart with Life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals Disposal, he to Exempt from Mercy whom he pleased, the Remainder to be remitted to the *Parliament* Mercy, and the Town to raise 14000 l. to preserve it from Plunder. The Prisoners of Quality, were the Lord *Goring*, *Capell*, and *Donoughborough*; Eleven Knights, Twelve Colonels, Eight Lieutenant Colonels, Nine Majors, Twenty Captains, and Sixty five Gentlemen; the private Souldiers were about Three thousand; Three of the Knights were Condemned by a *Council of War*, (*Viz.* Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoyne*, a Papist; this last was Reprieved, and the other Two were Shot to Death. The first having (as the General said in his Letter to the *Parliament*) contrary to his Promise, falsified his Word with him; The second directed the shooting of poisoned Bullets, being against the Law of Armes.

*Colchester* Surrenders upon Articles.

Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle* shot to death.

And to General *Fairfax*, after much loss of Time and Men, and difficult Service for a Quarter of a Year (for undoubtedly the Besieged were valiant Men) took possession of the Town of *Colchester*, August 27. After which he marches up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford*, to settle Peace, and visit the Garisons, and so returns to *St. Albans*, his Head-quarters. And thus we have ended with the Military Actions this Year.

Whilst the Army was busied in Fighting, the *Parliament* were taken up with Petitions from the several County, for a Treaty with the King; the City, among the rest, had preferred One, and which desired the Release of their Aldermen, *Gayer*, *Langham*, and *Bunch*, and Serjeant *Glyn*, which the House Voted; and likewise Repeated their Orders against the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Suffolk*, and *Middlesex*; and the Lords *Berkley*, *Hunsdon*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby of Parham*, and the Eleven Members: And now they apply themselves to the Business so much desired; The Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hipsley*, and Mr. *Bulkley*, were sent to the King, to let him know the *Parliament* Intentions; who returned with his Desires; upon which the *Parliament* Voted,

Petitions from City and Country, for a Treaty with the King.

- That the Votes of Non-Addressees should be Recalled.
- That such Persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be Admitted.
- That he be in the same state of Freedome, as at *Hampton-Court*, with such Servants as he desires.
- That Five Lords and Ten Commons be chosen Commissioners, to Treat with the King, and the place to be *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*. And that the King be admitted to Invite the Scots thereunto, but to Treat only concerning that Kingdome.

The Vote of Non-Addressees recalled.

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat Personally with these Commissioners; The Earls of *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Middlesex*, *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords: And the Lord *Wanman*, Mr. *Peirpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the Younger; Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *John Potts*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Bulkley*, for the House of Commons; and with these joyned Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Glyn*, both lately re-admitted to the House.

Commissioners sent with new Propositions to the King.

Monday, September the Eighteenth, the Treaty begins; the Propositions were in Number Eleven.

- The First was, For calling in all his Declarations; which he Assented to, with this Proviso, That neither this Concession, nor any other of his should be taken Advantage of, unless the whole were concluded.
- The Second Proposition was, Concerning the settlement of the Church, in reference to which he Condescended: To settle the Directory, to pass an Act to Confirm the Assembly, and to Establish *Presbyterian* Government for three Years, reserving Liberty to himself and his Party to use the old Form: But would not agree to the utter Abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.
- The Third Proposition was, For settling the Militia in the Hands of the *Parliament* for twenty Years solely, to which he Assented.
- And likewise to the Fourth, For making void the Cessation of *Ireland*, and permitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the Two Houses at *Westminster*.

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And to the Fifth, and Sixth, For Nulling all Honours and Titles, since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of Publick Debts.

The seventeenth Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament intended great Severity: The King was contented that they should be Fined, and prohibited Access to Council or Court, without the Parliaments Consent; That they be deprived for three Years, of their Right of Sitting in Parliament, and brought to Tryall, if the Two Houses think fit, to suffer according to the Merit, whereof they shall be Legally Convicted: But he would by no means hear of Branding them with Treason, nor taking away either Lives, or Possessions, or any others, but such as after a Legal Trial shall be found Guilty of breaking the Established Laws of the Land.

The Eight, for Impowring the Parliament to Confer all Offices of the Kingdom and chief Magistrates for twenty years.

The Ninth, For Confirming the New Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions Sealed by it.

The Tenth, For Ratifying all Priviledges, Grants, Charters, and Immunities, Power to dispose of the Tower, and the Militia to be Confirmed to the City of London; And all the Citizens to be Exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties, unless at the Parliaments Appointment.

All these were fully Consented to, and likewise the Last, which was for totall Exterminating the Court of Wards, Provided, That 10000 l. might be yearly paid to the King by way of Compensation.

The Earl of Ormond had gotten back into Ireland, and raised Forces there in Opposition to the Parliament, by the Kings Commission; But the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the Irish Affairs shall be managed at the Discretion of the Houses only.

The King having thus far Complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his Desire Voted;

That he be in Honour, Freedome, and Safety, according to the Laws.

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the Dedications of such Forts and Garisons, as were of old Accustomed to be Allowed Maintenance.

Thirdly, That he have Compensation for the Court of Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be past.

Most men thought now, that the King and Parliament would have United, and so in all likelihood they had, nothing being in Difference but only the Business of Episcopacy. But all this is broken off by the Armes Interposall, who could not think themselves secure so long as the King lived; And therefore to find other Work for the Parliament, They first send up for their Arrears, Amounting to a vast Summ of Money, which whilst the Houses were Debating, they prepare Petition.

For a Scrutiny to be taken for discovery of Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice be done upon them. That the same Fault may have the same Justice and Punishment in the Person of King, or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Common. That such as Speak or Act in the Kings behalf (till he be Acquitted of Shedding Innocent Blood) be proceeded against as Traytors.

When this would not do, the Army draw nearer; and taking up their Head-Quarters at Windsor, conclude a Remonstrance, which they send up to the Parliament.

Requiring, First, That the King be brought to Justice, as the Capital Cause of all the Evils of the Civil War.

Secondly, That a peremptory Day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, and if they refuse, to Declare them Incapable of Government, or Succession, and to stand Exiled as Traytors; and if they render themselves, yet they to be proceeded against for Satisfaction: That the Revenues of the Crown be Sequestred.

Thirdly,

The Parliament  
Vote a full  
Agreement  
with the King.

The Army Petition for Justice against the King.

Their Remonstrance to the same effect.

Thirdly, That Publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

And lastly, They conclude, Desiring their Arrears, with the old Pretence of calling the Country of Free-Quarter; and desire, that a Period may be put to this Parliament, and a good care taken to Elect a new Representative.

In the mean time, Generall Fairfax Commands Colonel Hammond to deliver up his Charge to Colonel Ewer, by whom the King is Conveyed out of the Isle of Wight, to Hurst Castle, November 30. And all this contrary to the Intentions of the Parliament, who Voted, That the Seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner unto Hurst Castle, was without the Advice and Consent of the Houses.

And thus the Treaty was Violently broken off; yet the Lords Vote the Kings Concessions a sufficient Ground for Peace, and forthwith Adjourn; and the Major part of the Commons Vote the same: But the Army being now come up to London, resolve to hinder these Proceedings, and therefore discharge the Trained Bands, from being a Guard to the Parliament, and Order Pride's and Rich's Regiments to supply their Places, by whom above Forty Members coming to the House, were Seized, and shortly after sent with a Guard, to an adjoining Inne called Hell, from thence to the Kings Head near Charing-Cross, and so to the Swan in the Strand. Not satisfied with this, the Army Accused Major Generall Brown, and Ninety odd Members, for Inviting in the Seas the last Summer, and therefore desire they may be excluded the House. At which time the Commons being Angry, Adjourn, December 8, for Four or Five dayes; in which space, the Army is busied, in devising a new Way of Government, and their Committee at White-Hall move,

That this present Parliament be dissolved the last of April next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation, shall consist of Three hundred Persons, half of which Number, shall suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervalls of Parliament, a Council of State shall Govern: And this Declaration, together with half a Score of Modifications, they stile, The Agreement of the People, which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons, by Sir Hardress Waller, and sixteen Officers. The House new Moulded met again, Annulled the Votes against Non-Adresses, and those Others, which approved of the Kings Concessions; and Vote, That no Message be received from him, upon pain of Treason. That the Generall take Care of the King: And that the Council of War draw up a Charge against him. So now they are resolved upon his Tryall, and accordingly Orders are Issued out for his Removal.

Before it came to this point of open Violence against the King, there had not been left unattempted certain close and secret Practices against his Person, as there is great probability to believe from the Tryall of Captain Roff, whom one Osburn offer'd to prove and justify before the Parliament, to have been sent with Letters to Colonel Hammond from some of the Army, for the making away his Majesty by Pistol or other means. This Roff was committed by the Parliaments Order, and try'd at Southampton: But the business was so carry'd by the sticking of some of the prevailing Party in his behalf, that the Information was found Ignoramus, and the said Roff acquitted.

December the Tenth, the King was brought from Hurst Castle, with a strong Guard of Horse to Winchester, next day to Farnham, and the next day to Windsor.

In the mean time, the Two Houses differ among themselves: The Commons Assert, That it is Treason for the King to levy War against the Common-wealth; And the Lords deny, That the King can commit Treason against the Common-wealth, and therefore Reject the Ordinance of the Commons for his Tryall; and Declare, That no Act of the Commons is Binding without their Consent. Upon which the Commons Vote, That all Members, and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are Impowred and Injoynd to Sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers joyned not with them: And so Earnest were both the Commons, and the Army about it, That the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Tryall, could not obtain a Pass for her secure Coming and Returning.

January the Sixth, The Ordinance for the Kings Tryall was Ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two Dayes after in Westminster-Hall, Cheapside, and the Old Exchange, for Witnesses to come in against the King, and Commissioners were appointed about it. And now the City (or rather a Party of the City suborned to that purpose) Petition the House for Justice against the King: And Hillary Term beginning January 23. was Adjourned till Fourteen Dayes after.

January the Nineteenth, The King was brought from Windsor to St. James's House: All things are now in readiness for this fatal Business; and notwithstanding the Dissenting of the House of Lords, and the Remonstrance of the Scottish Parliament against it. The Commons Erect a new Tribunal, which they call the High Court of Justice, who are Impowred to Convene, Hear, Judge, and Execute, CHARLES STEWART, King of England: His Title in Writs, Carolus Dei Gratia, the Commons had already Voted to be altered, and the Great Seal of England to be broken, and a New Seal was Ordered, with the Croffe for England, and the Harp for Ireland, with these Words, The Great Seal of England. And on the Reverse, the Picture of the House of Commons Sitting, with these Words, In the First Year of Freedome by Gods Blessing Restored, 1648.

Thus this great, though Unfortunate Prince, once Owner of Three Mighty Kingdoms, was now through the unsearchable Providence of the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, cast down into

Col. Ewer put in the place of Hammond. The Parliament distaste the Armes Proceedings. Divers Members excluded by the Army.

The Parliament new Model'd by the Army.

The King removed from Hurst Castle.

He is brought to St. James's. A High-Court of Justice Erected for the Tryall of the King.

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to the miserable Condition of a Calamitous Prisoner, to his own Subjects, by whom he was Tried, A  
 Condemned, and lastly Executed. Yet not without a sharp retaliation (however late) upon the  
 heads of the greatest part of those that were the chief Actors of so abhor'd a fact, as in the Se-  
 quell of the Story will appear at large.

### Of his Taxations.

King James Dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor *Exchequer*, which was the Oc-  
 casion that his Taxations were so many.

In his First Year, the *Parliament* at their first Session Granted him from the *Lairy Two* Subsi-  
 dies from *Protestants*, Four from *Papists*, and from the *Clergie* Three.

In his Second Year being Engaged in a War with *France*, for the Relief of *Reckell*, he bor-  
 rowed 300000 *l.* by way of *Loan*.

In his Third Year, in a *Parliament* holden at *Westminster*, they gave him Five Subsidies; And  
 Doctor *Mannering* was Fined 1000 *l.* to the King.

In his Sixth Year, the Statute of Knight-hood was put in Execution, whereby above 100000 *l.*  
 was brought into the *Exchequer*.

And in his Seventh Year, Sir *Giles Allington* was Fined 12000 *l.* to the King for his Incestuous  
 Marriage with his own Niece.

In his Ninth Year, at a *Parliament* holden at *Edenborough*, a Tax was Granted to be paid in  
 Four Years, amounting to 100000 *l.* *Scots per Annum*.

In his Tenth Year, Attorney-Generall *Noy* set the Design of Ship-money on Foot, (Grounded  
 upon an Ancient Presiden-) for raising of a Tax upon the Nation, for the setting forth a Navy, in  
 case of Danger, by sole Authority of the King, whereby he procured to the King vast Sums, but  
 with much Reluctance, and no less hatred. And in a *Parliament* holden in *Ireland*, The Deputy  
*Strafford* obtained a Subsidy for the Payment of the *Army*, and the Encrease of his Majesties Re-  
 venue.

In his Thirteenth Year, *Burton*, *Pryn*, and *Bastwick*, were Fined in *Star-Chamber* 5000 *l.*  
 apiece: And Bishop *Williams* of *Lincoln* was Sentericed 10000 *l.* by the same Court.

In his Fourteenth Year, he obtained a Free Contribution from the Nobility, Gentry, and Cler-  
 gy, towards the raising of an *Army*, for the suppressing of the *Scottish* Insurrections: which being  
 likely to break out more violently the following Year, the King Consulted with his Cabinet Coun-  
 cell, who subscribe considerable Loans; The Earl of *Strafford* 20000 *l.* the Duke of *Richmond*  
 as much, and the others according to their severall Abilities. And at the *Queens* Desire, the  
*Papists* Contributed very Liberally.

In his Sixteenth Year, the Earl of *Strafford* was led into the *House of Lords*, with much Ho-  
 nour for his good Service in *Ireland*, where he obtained of the *Irish Parliament* the Grant of Four  
 Subsidies: And the Convocation of Bishops gave him an ample Benevolence of Four Shillings  
 in the pound for Six Years, to be Assessed on all the Clergy in *England*, towards the carrying on  
 of the *Scottish* War: The City was also Summoned to lend, which they refused, yet were con-  
 tented to part with a considerable Summ towards the Building of a Royall Palace for the King,  
 in *St. James's Park*, which never yet took effect. And all Knights and Gentlemen who held  
 Land in *Capite* of the King, were to send Horse and Men answerable to their Abilities, for the  
 Compleating of the Royall *Army*. And the *Scots* being now gotten into *England*, Taxed the  
 Bishoprick of *Durham* 350 *l.* per diem, and the County of *Northumberland* 300 *l.* per diem, upon  
 penalty of Plundering. The long *Parliament* Commencing this Year, borrowed 100000 *l.* of the  
 City of *London*, upon Interest, to be repaid out of the Subsidies, and Voted as much to the *Scots*  
 for the Expence of their *Army*. May the Fifth, the *Parliament* offered the King to procure him  
 the Loan of 650000 *l.* till the Subsidies might be raised: Provided, That the King would pass a  
 Bill nor to Adjourn, P. orogue, or dissolve this *Parliament*, without Consent of both *Houses*,  
 to which he Assented. In February following, they Voted 300000 *l.* to be paid to the *Scots* for  
 their Charges, for levying of which, the Bill for Poll-Money was passed.

In his Seventeenth year, the *Irish* Rebellion brake out, for suppression of which, the *Parliament*  
 Voted, That 500000 *l.* should be forthwith provided: And the King at *York*, puts forth Procla-  
 mations for Tunnage and Poundage, and infinite Collections were made for Relief of the Pro-  
 testants in *Ireland*.

In his Eighteenth Year, this Civill War began, and the King was fain to borrow much Money  
 and Plate of the Loyall Nobility and Gentry; as likewise did the *Parliament*, of those who were  
 Affected to them, Engaging the *Publick Faith* for payment out of Delinquents Estates; by which  
 means, an Incredible Mass of Money and Plate was brought into *Guild-Hall*: And after this  
 came out a Weekly Assessment from the *Parliament*, upon *England* and *Wales*, which amounted  
 unto Thirty three thousand nine hundred eighty one pounds, thirteen shillings.

In his Nineteenth Year, Mr. *Waller* one of the Conspirators with *Tomkins* and *Challoner*, was  
 Fined 10000 *l.* to the *Parliament*, who Voted, That the Kings and Queens Revenue should be  
 detained and Employed in the Publick Service: And that a Tax should be laid upon Beer, Ale,  
 Wine, Tobacco, and such other Commodities, which was called *Excise*: And also Order Thirty  
 thousand

The Statute of  
 Knight-hood  
 executed.

Ship-Money  
 set on foot by  
 Attorney-Ge-  
 nerall *Noy*.

A Sum of mo-  
 ney borrowed  
 of the City  
 toward the  
 Building of a  
 Palace in *St.*  
*James's Park*.

The King bor-  
 rows money  
 and Plate of  
 the Nobility.  
*Parliament* bor-  
 row upon Pub-  
 lick Faith.  
 Weekly Assess-  
 ment.  
 Excise laid  
 upon severall  
 Commodities.

1648.

A thousand pounds to be instantly borrowed, for Advancing the *Scottish Army* to their As-  
 sistance.

In his Twentieth Year, the *Scots* were Impowred by the *Parliament* to Assess for themselves, the  
 Twentieth Part over all the *North*, and all *Malignants* Estates they could Seize within their Reach.  
 The King likewise makes Proclamation, for Assistance of all the Neighbour Counties, to come  
 in with Provision to *Oxford*: And the *Parliament* borrowed a hundred thousand pounds of the  
 City, for Recruit of their *Army* under the Earl of *Essex*; and in the end of the Year, the *Army*  
 was new Modelled, not without great Claiges, and Ten thousand pounds per annum was given to  
 Generall *Essex* out of *Delinquents* Estates, to Discard him.

In his One and twentieth Year, Thirty thousand pound was paid to the *Scots*, to Induce them  
 to Besiege *Nemark*, and vast Sums of Money were raised by *Delinquents* Compositions, which for  
 the most part was paid to the *Army* for their Arrears.

In his Two and twentieth Year, the *Parliament* being weary of the *Scots*, and desirous also to  
 have the King in their Possession, paid to them Two hundred thousand pounds, which was Con-  
 veyed to them by Major General *Skippon*, being raised out of the Sale of Bishops Lands, and the  
 Excise; and Engaged the *Publick Faith* for the Payment of the other Two hundred thousand  
 pounds, and Sixteen thousand pounds was allowed for the Charges of the Carriages; Five thou-  
 sand pound was given to Mr. *Denzil Hollis*; Five thousand pound to Mr. *Selden*; Five thousand  
 pound to the younger Children of Sir *John Elliot*, and to his eldest Son; his Fine in the Court of  
 Wards was remitted; Five thousand pound to Mr. *Sronds* Kindred; Five thousand pound to  
 Mr. *Valentine*; Five thousand pound to Mr. *Longe*; Five thousand pound to Sir *Miles Hubbert*;  
 Five thousand pound to Sir *Peter Hainwants* Children; Five thousand pound to Mr. *Hamden's* Chil-  
 dren; Ten thousand pound to Mr. *Vassell*; Ten thousand pound to the Earl of *Northumberland*:  
 And this to be levied upon the Subjects.

In his Three and twentieth Year, the *Army* was Modelled into less, and Sixty thousand pound  
 a Month settled for their Pay. And after the Reducing of *London*, a months Pay was given them  
 for a Gratuity, and Thirty thousand pounds in part of Payment of their Arrears.

In this last Year, the *Army* doubting lest the Treary at *Newport* might take effect, made a  
 great Bufile for the payment of their Arrears: Whereupon Three and twenty thousand pounds  
 was paid them in part; but their Necessities were more Urgent, and therefore they seize Twenty  
 thousand pounds in the Treasuries of *Haberdasher*, *Goldsmith*, and *Weavers* Halls, and demand  
 Forty thousand pounds of the City, which was accordingly Collected for them: And *Colchester*  
 being taken by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, was Ordered to raise Fourteen thousand pounds to prevent  
 Plunder. All these things accounted, the Taxations that were Collected in this King's Reign,  
 were more than can be paralleld by any Precedent Reign: But then it must be consider'd, that  
 what was rais'd by others, and for occasions not his own, out-balance'd what was levied by his  
 Authority, and with his own Consent.

Delinquents  
 come to Com-  
 position for  
 their Estates.  
 200000 *l.* paid  
 to the *Scots*.  
 Great Summs  
 of Money given  
 to severall  
 Members of  
 Parliament.

60000 *l.* a  
 Month settled  
 upon the *Army*  
 for their Pay.

### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

In a *Parliament* holden in his First Year, An Act was made for punishing of Abuses commi-  
 tted on *Sundays*; and likewise for the King to make Leaves of Lands, parcell of his Dut-  
 chy of *Cornwall*: For easie obtaining Licencies of Alienation, and in the Pleadings of Par-  
 don in the *Exchequer*, or elsewhere: And for Restraining of ill-behaviour in Innes, and  
 Ale-houses.

In his Third Year, Personall Liberty of the Subject was settled, and the famous *Petition of*  
 Right was Signed by the King, and Laws were also Enacted;

First, For Reformation of divers Abuses committed on the *Lords-Day*, commonly called  
*Sunday*.

Secondly, To restrain the passing, or sending any to be Popishly Bred beyond Seas.  
 Thirdly, For the better suppressing Unlicensed Alehouse-keepers.  
 Fourthly, For Continuance and Repeal of divers Statutes.  
 Fifthly, For the Establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of *Bromfield*, and *Tale*, in the County  
 of *Denbigh*, and of the Tenures, Rents, and Services thereupon reserved, according to a late Com-  
 position made for the same with the King, then Prince of *Wales*.

In his Sixteenth Year, An Act was passed for preventing of Inconveniencies hapning by the  
 long Intermision of *Parliaments*; and also for the Limitation and Abbreviation of *Mitchelmus*  
 Term. Monopolies were likewise Voted down, together with *Ship-Money*; and the King passed  
 the Bill for the Triennial *Parliament*.

In his Seventeenth Year, Tunnage and Poundage were Voted down, together with the Court of  
 Wards, High-Commission, and *Star-Chamber*; And the King passed the Bill for Continuation of  
 the *Parliament* then Sitting, during the pleasure of both *Houses*.

In his Eighteenth Year, the *Parliament* Ordered the Monthly Assessment; And the King by Pro-  
 clamation demanded Ayde of his Subjects against the *Parliamentarians*.

In his Nineteenth Year, the *Parliament* Voted a Tax to be laid upon Beer, and other Portable  
 Commodities, which was called *Excise*.

Monopolies &  
 Ship-money  
 Voted down.  
 Also Tunnage  
 and Poundage;  
 the High-  
 Commission,  
 and *Star-  
 Chamber*.  
 Bills for a Tri-  
 ennial *Parlia-  
 ment*, and its  
 Continuation  
 signed.

In

1648.

Ordnance for  
a new Excise.

Bishops and  
Archbishops  
Abolish'd.

Festivals, and  
Stage-Plays  
Abolish'd.

Titles of Wills altered, and a new Seal made.

In his Twentieth Year, an Ordinance, was passed for a new Excise upon Allum, Coperas, Mun-  
mouth Caps, and Hats of all sorts, Hops, Saffron, Starch, and all manner of Silks and Stuffs, made  
in this Kingdom: And for making of *Salt-Peter*, and raising of Moneys for Redemption of dis-  
tressed Captives.

In His one and twentieth Year, an Ordinance passed for giving the *Publick Faith* of the Kingdom, for repayment of *Publicke Debts*, out of the *Twentieth* and *Fifth Parts* of *Delinquents Estates*: Also for *Authorizing Commissioners* to *Seize* and *Regulate the Heralls Office*.

In his Two and twentieth Year, an Ordinance passed for Abolishing Bishops, and Archbishops within England and Wales, and for selling of their Lands and Possessions to be leuted upon Trustees for the use of the Common-wealth.

In his Three and twentieth Year, Festivalls and Stage-Playes were Abolished by Ordinance of B  
Parliament.

And in his last Year, an Ordinance passed for better payment of Tithes and Dues to Ministers, and for punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies: And the Commons being Resolved upon the Trial of the King, Voted the Title in Write, *Carolus Dei Gratia, &c.* to be altered and referred to a Committee: That the Great Seal of England be broken, and Ordered a New Seal, with the *Cross of England*, and the *Harp of Ireland*, with this Motto, *The Great Seal of England*: And on the Reverse, the Picture of the *House of Commons* Sitting, with these words, *In the First Year of Freedom, by Gods Blessing Restored* 1648.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

THE King at his Coronation had Sworn to Maintain Episcopacy, in Observation of which Oath, he was so strictly Exact, that he chose rather to undergo those Inconveniences, which by reason of his refusal were impos'd upon him, and which indeed brought on his unfortunate and untimely End, than to Consent to things so contrary to his Judgment and Conscience. In *England* the Estate of the Church had not the least Wink of difference for divers Years, since the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, in King *James's* Time; But in *Ireland*, in the Second Year of this Kings Reign, a Proposition was made, for a further-Toleration for Popery, which the *Papists* were willing to buy at a good Price: But the Archbishop of *Armagh*, and the other Protestant Bishops, with Vehemency Protested against it: So that that Design was profoundly qualified, and the Religion of *Ireland* then Endangered by the

In his Fourth Year, Sate the Committee for Regulatinf of Religion, then Endangered by the Two Rocks of *Arminianisme*, and *Poper*.

In his Sixth Year, hapnd a notable Contest between the Jesuits, and Secular Priests in England, to reconcile whom, *Panzani, Con, Rozetti*, and others came over, and spent much Labour in vain: for the Feude instead of being Extinguished, did rather Dilate it self in *France, Majors*, and other Countries.

other Countries. In his Seventh Year, the *Sabbatarian* Controversie waxed very hot, while some Maintained the Fourth Commandment to be simply and intirely Morall, and Christians Obliged as well as the Jews, to observe everlastingly that Day. Others maintain'd, That the *Lords-Day* is an ordinary Working Day, it being Will-worship to make it a *Sabbath* by Vertue of the Fourth Commandment. This begat many Disputations, between *Sabbatarians*, *Moderate Men*, and *Antisabbatarians*; some of whom Asserted, That the poor Labourers who had no other time for Diversion, or Recreation, were not so much Obliged to the strictness of the Day, as the Richer Sort. But in *Somer-setts* the Case is Disputed more boisterously, where at their *Church-Ales and Wakes*, on that Day they fell to Fighting, which was Suppressed by Order of Judge *Richardson*: This was Interpreted by the Archbishop as an Usurpation upon Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: And the King himself was troubled to settle this Difference, between these Two Great Men, and so thought good to set forth his Declaration, For Tolerating of Sports on the *Lords-Day* in the Afternoon; in which the *Parliament* afterwards charged home upon his Account. These were but petty Business, to that which followed.

Dr. *Laud* being preferred to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was very earnest and zealous for the strict observation of the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; and for the bringing in use again of severall ancient Ceremonies that had been intermitted; and judging that the surest way to continue a Settlement in the Church, and to extirpate Heresies, was to proceed rigorously against those that would not be conformable, he thereby contracted a great Odium and Envy upon himself: from all the dissenting Party, who then went only by the name of *Puritans*, and *Nonconformists*: But that which so much the more inflamed the hatred of his Enemies against him, and increased the number of them, was this Occasion following: *Chamwell* these had received

In Scotland, the Bishop of *Dumblae*, Dean of his Majesties Private Chappell there, had received Order from *England*,

1. That Prayers should be Performed twice a day after the English manner.
2. That a Monthly Communion should be received on their knees.
3. That whosoever should officiate in Sundays or Holydaies, should do his duty as a Minister of Christ, and serve diligently among the people.

These things occasion'd much grumbling and seditious discontent among a People long possess'd against that way of Service: But in the 23<sup>d</sup>. Year of his Majestties Reign, an Injunction was sent down

A down (which was believ'd to have been done chiefly by the Arch-Bishops Advice) for the constant use of the *Service-Book* in all Churches in *Scotland*. This *Proceeding* so far exasperated the Peoples minds (not without encouragement questionless, from their chief Heads and Demagogues) that there ensued great Uproars and Commotions; which however allayed for the time, upon the remitting of the forefaid Injunction; yet at length broke out into Acts of open Hostility.

In the mean time, the Convocation of Bishops in *England*, perceiving Episcopal Hierarchy to be had in Contempt by many in this Kingdom, as well as in *Scotland*, thought good for their own Support to frame this Oath,

**I** A. B. do Swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline of Government Established in the Church of *England*, as containing all Things necessary to Salvation; And that I will not endeavor by my Self, or any other, Directly, or Indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that so Established: Nor will I ever give my Consent, to alter the Government of this Church, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now Established, and as by Right it ought to stand: Nor yet ever to subject it to the Usurpations, and Superstitions of the *Sea of Rome*: And all those things do I plainly and sincerely Acknowledge, and Swear, according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any E~~x~~ception, or Mental Reservation, or secret Reservation whatsoever: And this I do Heartily, Willingly, and Truly, upon the Faith of a Christian: *So help Me God in Jesus Christ.*

2 The Oath framed by the Bishops.

**This Oath was excepted against for three Reasons :**

First, Because the *(&c.)* did leave the Oath so loose, that neither the Makers, nor the Takers Gives Diffalt; thereof, understood the same.

Secondly, For that exacting an Oath of Dissent from Civil Establishment, in things of Indifference, was an Affront to the very Fundamentals of Government.

And lastly, That the Juror therein declares, he swears willingly, to which he was constrained under the highest Penalties.

The King had by this time rais'd an Army against the *Scots*, a Party whereof being sent before into the *North*, was Defeated at *Newburn*: The King and the Earl of *Stafford* come on in Person, but in regard his Majesty was desirous to try all fair means to avoid Blood-shed, and the Calamities of War, the matter is brought to a Treaty; and, in Conclusion, the *Scots* obtained all their Defires.

At Home, Episcopal Government was become so grievous to a great part of the people, upon whom the Non-Conforming Clergy began now to have a strong Influence, that now a Regulation would not serve their turn, mens Minds are bent upon an utter Extirpation of it, as too Oppressive and Imperious : And these *Non-Conformists*, or *Puritans*, (for so they were then called) being countenanced by the *Long-Parliament* then sitting, and encouraged by the Success of the *Scots*, began more boldly to Declaim in their Pulpits against the Bishops.

And no sooner were the unhappy Differences between King and Parliament, arrived to an utter Breach and Separation, but the Lords and Commons themselves proved as absolute Enemies to Episcopal Government as any; inasmuch as one Mr. *Thomas*, a Member of the House, having made a long Speech concerning them, wherein he had recited sundry Inconveniencies which befell this Realm, by their means: Twelve of the chiefest of them were Impeached of High-Treason; For protesting against all Acts passed by the Lords, during their Absence, they being forced to forbear the House. However Episcopacy continued yet alive, though in weak Estate, till the Year, 1646, at which time it was utterly Abolished by Ordinance of Parliament, *October the Ninth*. And the Church-Government was Constituted in the Hands of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, by whom *Presbytery* was Established for a time. But their Common Enemy being now removed, the *Non-Conformists* sadly clasp, and divide amongst themselves: the two younger Brothers, the *Independent* and the *Anabaptist*, thought their Case to be little bettered, seeing their Elder Brother the *Presbyterian*, to aim alio at a Compulsory Uniformity; but being well backed by the Army, at last through their means, obtained a Toleration of Tender Consciences.

Episcopacy  
cry'd down by  
the People;

Abolish'd by  
Ordinance of  
Parliament,  
An Assembly  
of Divines sit  
at Westminster:

Liberty of  
Conscience  
vindicated by  
the Army.

**Gggg**

## Works

1648.

Works of Piety done by this King, or others  
in his Time.Order taken  
for the Repair  
of St. Pauls.

Structures of this Nature, there hapned not any in this Kings Reign, the Times for the most part being Turbulent; Yea in the Eighth Year of his Reign, the King and the Arch-Bishop began to take Order for the Repair of St. Pauls Church and Steeple, which had suffered much since the former Reparation in the time of King James; and great Hopes there were, that the Work would have been perfected, if the unhappy Wars breaking out, had not caused them, and the other Benefactors to desist: Other Works of Piety we find not, unless we reckon the Liberal Contributions; throughout the Nation, for the Relief of the distressed Protestants; and Sir Hugh Middletons cutting the New River, from Ware to London.

A New River  
brought from  
Ware to London.

## Of Casualties hapning in his Time.

A great Plague  
in the begin-  
ning of King  
Charles his  
Reign.

In his First Year, the Plague broke out in London, more dangerously than in the beginning of this Fathers Reign, inasmuch, that the King was fain to Adjourn the Parliament, because of the thin appearance of the Members, by reason of the Raging Contagion.

In the Second Year, was a great Earthquake.

The sudden  
death of William  
Earl of Pembroke.

In his Sixth Year, dyed William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, he sopped the Night before his death, with the Countess of Bedford, at Bishops-Gate, from whence he went to Barnards-Castle; he lay up, as his usual Customs was, very late, for he was a hearty Feeder, and went to Bed very well. But not long after, he ferche a deep and deadly Groan, which caused his Lady that lay by; and she not able to awake him, called for Company, who found him breathless, in which manner he continued till Eight in this Morning, and then died, as a Figure-singer had told him before. And the same Year, May the 29, appeared a Star visible at Noon, the Sun shining clear, at what time the King Rode to St. Pauls Church, to give Thanks for the Queens safe Delivery, of her second Son, Prince Charles.

A Star appears  
at Noon, a lit-  
tle after Prince  
Charles his  
Birth.

In his Eighth Year, a Fire brake out on London Bridge, by which most of the Houses which were built upon it (which, when they were all standing, made up a very Beautiful Street) were burnt down to the Ground.

The great fire  
at London-  
Bridge.

In his Eleventh Year, by the Earl of Arundels procurement, one Robert Parr, Aged 160 years, was brought up to London; but feeding there upon other Dyer, than he had used in the Countrey, he shortly after Deceased; he was one of the Wonders of this last Age.

Robert Parr  
brought to  
London.

In his Sixteenth Year, the Earl of Haddington in Scotland, having recovered those Pieces of Ordnance, which the Garrison of Berwick had seized at Dunse, returned back to Douglas, where sitting merry at Dinner, with about twenty Knights and Gentlemen, on a suddain, the Magazine of Powder, that lay in a Vaulted Room, took Fire by Accident, whereby the Earl and his Company were blown up.

A sad Accident  
at Douglas in  
Scotland.

The same Year likewise, a Pond in Cambridge became Red as Blood, the Water whereof being taken up in Basons, retained still the same Colour: Many Sights also were seen in the Ayr, as Armies fighting one against the other; all looked upon as sad Prefages of the ensuing Broyls. Neither is that strange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention, which hapned at Withcombe, in the County of Devon, in the Fourteenth Year of this Kings Reign, where a Ball of Fire was seen to come into the Church, in the time of Divine Service, whereby three persons were killed, and threescore and two hurt, divers of whom had their Linings burnt, though their outward Garments were not so much as singed; most of the Seats were turned up side down, the Pillars, Steeple, and Church more endamaged than three hundred pounds sufficed to repair.

A Pond in  
Cambridge  
Blood-red.Strange Thunder  
at With-  
combe.

In his last year, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, were shot to death, concerning whom, it is credibly reported by Eye-witnesses, that in the place where they fell, there grew no Grass for sundry years; notwithstanding the Ground round about be very fertile.

Ground bare  
of Grass, where  
Lisle and Lucas  
were shot to  
death.

## Of His Wife and Children.

He Married Mary the Daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of France, whose Marriage was Solemnized in the year 1625, being the first year of his Reign. He had Issue by her Four Sons, and as many Daughters; his eldest Son born before the time, was Baptized Charles, and lived not above two hours: His Second Son born, May the twenty ninth, 1630, was also named Charles, and afterwards Created Prince of Wales. And in the year, 1660, Restored, (after many years Seclusion in Foreign Countries) with the universal Congratulation of his Subjects to his Fathers Throne, happily blest with the Regal Virtues of so illustrious a Monarch. His Third Son was born, October the Thirteenth, 1633, was Baptized James, and Created Duke of York; a Prince of Incalculable Courage, and Heroick Valour; as his Actions in France and Flanders, yet fresh in Memory, have given sufficient Testimony. His Fourth and last Son was born the Twentieth of

1648.

July, and Christened Henry; afterwards Created Duke of Gloucester: He, since his Brothers happy Restauration, decess'd on the 13th of September, 1660, thereby bereaving the World of those fair hopes, which had been generally conceived of his Noble and Princely Endowments. His Eldest Daughter Mary was born, November the Fourth, 1631, and afterwards Married to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by whom she had one Son Named William, Heir and Successor to his Father in his Dignities: She quickly followed her Brother the Duke of Gloucester, viz. the 24th of December, 1660, her Loss being very much bewail'd, especially by any who had Relation to her Service, as being a Princess of Universal Goodness, Charity, and Bounty. His Second Daughter Elizabeth, the twenty eighth of December, 1635. She dyed at Carisbrook in the Isle of Wight, September the 8, 1650, for meer Grief (as it is not without Reason believ'd) of her Fathers unfortunate Death. And his Third Daughter Anne, the Seventeenth of March, 1636, who also dyed very young. His Fourth and last Daughter was Born, June the Sixteenth, 1644, at Exeter, from whence she was brought up to St. James's, but afterwards Conveyed into France, by her Governess, the Lady Dalkeith: Whence coming into England, since his Majesties Arrival, she soon returned back into France, where she was married to the Duke of Anjou, Brother to Lewis the Fourteenth, present King of France; A Princess she is of incomparable Beauty, and Gallantry of Spirit.

## Of His Personage and Conditions.

HE was of a comely Sature, Tall, Streight, well timbred; which Frame of Body, rendered him excellent in all active Exercises, and therein Indefatigable both in Mind and Body; His Hair of a darkish Brown, and somewhat long; One Imperfection he had, viz. a little hesitation in his Utterance, which yet was much more abundant in the Kings of France and Spain, then living; and which he so ordered, that whereas it substracted from the Eloquence of others, yet it seemed to add some Grace and Ornament to his Speech. He is judg'd by some, that would be thought wife, to have been deficient in Policy and Point of Government; but considering to what streights he was reduc'd, and what manner of Persons he had to deal with, the Miscarriages that hapned in his Reign, ought certainly to be imputed rather to his Unfortunate Ascendant, then to any defect of Prudence and noble Parts; which that they were not wanting in him, hath been sufficiently manifested by divers of his Messages to the Parliament, and that admirable Work of his, long since publish'd to the World. He was ever Eminent for Chastity and Constancy to his Marriage-Bed, very Learned, Affable, and Courteous, and of a most unchanged Mind, in the greatest Changes of his Fortunes; Neither in Prosperity Elevated beyond his Ordinary Temper, nor in Adversity Dejected: But most unhappy in the Mischoise of his Friends, and the want of fit and able Persons about him for the most part, which proved Fatal to him, and contributed not a little to that unhappy Catastrophe, which we must now recite.

His unwearied-  
ness in active  
Exercises.His Imperfec-  
tion of speechHis failings in  
Policy.His Chastity,  
Learning, and  
Civility.His caven and  
constant Tem-  
per.The unhappy  
Choice of his  
Friends.

## Of His Death and Burial.

HIS Death was strange and unparalleled; We may read of many Kings who came to violent Ends, but never any that was so Formally and Solemnly: First, Tried for his Life, and then Judicially Executed in Publick by his own Subjects.

The House of Commons on the Fourth of January, being turned into a Grand Committee, passed the following Votes,

- I. That the People under God, are the Original of all just Power.
- II. That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being Chosen by, and representing the People, have the Supreme Authority of this Nation.
- III. That whatsoever is Enacted and Declared for Law by the Commons of England, Assembled in Parliament, hath the force of a Law.
- IV. That all the People of this Nation are included thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereto.
- V. That to raise Arms against the Peoples Representative, or Parliament, and to make War upon them, is High-Treason.

6. That the King himself took Arms against the Parliament, and upon that Account is Guilty of the Bloodshed throughout the Civil-War; and that he ought to Expiate the Crime with his own Blood.

Next an Ordinance for the Kings Tryal was resolved on, which on Saturday the sixth of January was ingrossed and Read, and Commissioners were appointed for his Tryal; and on the Monday following, Proclamation was made, That those who had any thing to say against the King, should have a Hearing given them: And this was proclaimed first in Westminster-Hall, by one Denny, who was Sergeant at Arms to the Commissioners, who Rode into the Hall with his Mace, attended with six Trumpeters, and other Officers, who also rode bare into the Hall with him; the Drums of the Guard in the mean time beating without in the Palace-Yard: And the day after, Proclamation was made to the same effect in Cheapside, and at the Old-Exchange: And in order to this Grand Tryal, Hillary Term which usually begins on the twenty third of January, was adjourned for fourteen days. The House of Lords refusing to concur with the Commons in their Ordinance for the Kings Tryal, the Commons Retolved, and Vote;

That all Members and others, appointed to act in any Ordinance, are Impowered and Injoyed to Sit, Act, and Execute notwithstanding the House of Peers join not with them.

The Ministers in general and now even the Presbyterians also (heretofore furious Enemies to the Kings Cause) Declare themselves both in their Pulpits, and by earnest Petitions to the Parliament, Zealous Depricators of the Kings Death, and every where publicly protest against this Tryall.

The Nobility offer themselves Pledges on the Kings behalf, and the People universally seem greatly troubled and astonished: Notwithstanding all which, the House of Commons and the Army went resolutely on, and according to Agreement, a High-Court of Justice was Erected; the Commissioners whereof met in the Painted-Chamber, to consult what Course to take about the Tryall of the King; the Names of the Commissioners were as follow;

Oliver Cromwel of Huntington-shire, the Grand Usurper of infamous Memory; Henry Ireton, Cromwells Son-in-Law and Creature; John Bradshaw, a Cheshire-man, and a dishonour to the Law; Thomas Harrison, a Butchers Son of Newcastle under Line in Stafford-shire, once Servant to one D Halke, an Attorney, afterward a Colonel in the Army; John Carew, the Brother of Sir Alexander Carew, who was Beheaded by the Parliament in the year 1644. Colonnell Valentine Walton, Cromwells Brother-in-Law, and once Governour of Lyn for the Parliament; Col. Edward Whalley of Nottinghamshire, once a Linnen-Draper; he betrayed the King at Hampton-Court; William Hewson, a Gentleman of an antient Family, and fair Estate in Suffolk, two more inexcusable his Treason; Isaac Penington, once Lord Mayor of London, which Office he took upon him contrary to the Kings absolute Command, the rest of his Actions being correspondent; Col. Henry Martin notorious for his ill life; his Father Sir Henry was Judge of the Prerogative Court; Col. John Barkstead, once a petty Goldsmith; but fitting Cromwells Purposes, was by him made Lieutenant of the Tower, and at this day his Head is there advanced Supreme; John Life, one of a good Family and fair Estate in the Isle of Wight, who being bred to the Law, was by Cromwel made President of his High-Courts of Injustice; William Say a Lawyer, once Deputy-Speaker for Lenthall; Gilbert Millington, once Chair-man for the Plunder'd Ministers; Edmund Ludlow, who came to be Lieutenant-General, and one of the chief Commissioners for Ireland; Sir Hardress Waller, a Souldier of Fortune, and at length Major-General in Ireland; Sir Michael Livesey, a Kentish-man, Bankrupt in Fortunes and Reputation; Robert Tichburn, from a Linnen-Draper, Lieutenant of the Tower, and next Lord Mayor of London; Owen Roe, originally a Silk-man, all along a strong Independent; Robert Lilburn, of the Bishoprick of Durham, Brother to hot-headed John; Adrian Scroop, the honour of whose Family was blemish'd by his Treasonable Acting; John Okey, first a Stoker in a Brew-house, next a Chandler by Billings Gate, at length a Colonnell and great Man in Cromwells Army; John Hewson, from a blunt Shoo-maker advanced to a Colonnell, and at length one of Cromwells rough-hewn Lords; William Goff, once Apprentice to a Salter; from whom running away to the Army, he was preferred by Cromwel, and at last was made one of his Lords; Cornelius Holland, once Servant to Sir Henry Vane, by whom he was preferred to be Clark of the Green-Cloth to his Majesty, whom nevertheless he ungratefully was the death of; Thomas Chaloner, a great Inveigher against the Kings Person, and Monarchy it self, in his popular harangues; Col. John Jones, first a Serving-man, next a Committee-man, and thence advanced to Alliance with Cromwel, by marrying his Sister; Miles Corbet, a Person of a good Family in Norfolk, had his Conditions been answerable; Henry Smith a Leicestershire man of a good Estate, and moreover made one of the Six Clerks in Chancery; Gregory Clement, once a Merchant, expell'd the House for being too publick a Fornicator; Thomas Wogan, Eleated into the Long Parliament, as a Person for their turn; Edmund Harvey, a great Committee-man and Publican; Thomas Scot, a Brewers Clerk, next a Country Attorney, and lastly, Burgess of Wickam, a furious Enemy to King and Kingly Government; William Cawley, a Brewer of Chichester, Eleated into the Long Parliament; John Downes, who of a Citizen became a Colonnell in the Army, he engaged in the unhappy Act, rather by constraint than voluntarily; Nicholas Love, Son to Doctor Love of Winchester, made one of the Six Clerks, a

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A man of great bitterness and violence in the way he went. Vincent Potter one of the Long Parliament, a Person unknown, and untaken Notice of, till this Business. Augustine Ga land, Burgess of Quimborough and Chair-man of the Committee that drew up the Act for the Kings Tryall; John Dixwell, Burgess for Dover, and made Governour of Dover Castle; Colonnell George Fleetwood, a Buckinghamshire Gentleman, and made one of Cromwells Lords; Simon Alyn, one of a fair Estate in Buckinghamshire of the Long Parliament, a great Committee-man and Sequesterator; James Temple, a Suffex man, and Colonnell in Cromwells Army; Peter Temple, once a Linnen Draper in Friday Street, till an Estate of 400 l. a year fell to him in Leicestershire, of the County Town of which he was Burgess; Thomas Waite, a Rutlandshire man, who being made Governour of Burleigh, was thereby engaged into the Faction: Daniel Blagrove, one that rais'd his small Fortune by Acting for the Long Parliament; into which he was chosen Burgess for Reading: Sir John Danvers, Brother to the Earl of Denby, who, for his Loyalty, was made Delinquent: Sir Thomas Maleverer, a Yorkshires Gentleman, of an honourable Family, was made Delinquent: Sir Thomas Williams Pursefoy, once Governour of Coventry, a Warwickshire man, likewise of a fair'd Gentility; John Blackstone, heretofore a Shopkeeper in Newcastle, for which Town he was chosen Burgess into the Long Parliament; Sir William Constable, a Yorkshires Knight, who having sold his Lands to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, got them again for nothing; Richard Deau, originally a Hoymans Servant in Ipswich, but rising by degrees in the late Wars, he becomes at length one of the Parliaments Sea Generalls; Francis Allen, formerly a Goldsmith in Fleet Street, but thriv'd most Conspicuously by adhering to Cromwel, and the unhappy Powrs, among whom he became a main man in Committees, Receipts, and Publick Dapedrations; Peregrine Pelham, a Yorkshires man, he was made Governour of Hull after Holham; John Moor, once Colonnell of the Guards; John Alured, a Colonnell of the Army, and Souldier of Fortune; Humphrey Edwards, one of the Long Parliament, Male-contented for not being prefer'd according to his Desire; Sir Gregory Norton, a poor man, though a Knight, and had a Pension from the King, for which, how well did he shew his Gratitude? John Ven, formerly a Silkman in Chapeide, who breaking, had the Government of Windsor Castle given him, for a Repair to his broken Fortunes; Thomas Andrews, heretofore a Linnen Draper of London, he was made Treasurer of the Plate that was brought into Guild-hall; Anthony Stapely, a Suffex man, once a Colonnell in the Army, and made Governour of Chichester; Thomas Hurton, a Person not otherwise known but by being a Member of the Long Parliament, and of this unhappy High Court; John Fry, a Yeoman of Dorsetshire, Committee-man, and Arrian in Print; Thomas Hamond, the Kings Jailer in the Ile of Wight, he was Brother to the Reverend Dr. Hamond; the more the pity: Sir John Bourchier, a Yorkshires Knight, a zealous Instrument of the Independent Faction; Sir Henry Mildmay, once the Kings Jeweller, and by his Majesty both Advanc'd, and favour'd with more then ordinary Benefits; an ungrateful Servant to so gracious a Master: William Lord Admonson, whose first advancement was his marrying the Lady to whom he was once a Page; Robert Wallop, a person well defended, and of a great Estate in Hampshire, and therefore much the more inexcusable for joyning in so heinous a Fact; as likewise for the same Reason were Sir James Harrington, and James Challoner Esquire; The Lord Grey of Grooby, Son to the Earl of Stamford; Colonnell John Hutchinson, and Colonnell Richard Ingoldsbey, the latter of whom brought Testimonies of the forcible Constraint and Menaces that were us'd by Cromwel to make him Sign the Act, which afterwards both he and Hutchinson solemnly disclaim'd, testifying their Repentance in a publick and extraordinary manner. These were the Members of that horrible High-Court of Justice so called, which was Erected by those who pretended a Parliamentary Authority, and Supreme Pow'r of Judicature, for the Tryal and Condemnation of their lawful Prince and Sovereign, of whom what betided for the most part, and how divers of them were brought to Condisigne Punishment, will be declar'd at large in the History of the next Kings Reign. Officers Attending the Court; Doctor Drislaus, Mr. Ashby Counsellor, Mr. Cook, Solicitor, Colonnell Humphrey Sword-bearer, Mr. Denny Jun. Serjeant at Armes, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Broughton, Clerks to the Court. Messengers, Wolfred, Pain, Radley, Powell, Isaac King the Cryer: Many besides these were Nominated, as General Fairfax, and others, but they refused the Employment.

On Friday the Nineteenth of January, the King was brought with a strong Guard of Horse from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day he was led to his Tryall; In the Morning the Commissioners met in the Painted Chamber, where they sat a while in Consultation, from thence they went into Westminster-Hall, at the upper end whereof the Fabrick was framed for this Tribunal; the President, in his Scarlet Robe, had the Sword carried before him by Colonnell Humphrey, the Mace by Serjeant Denny the younger, and a Guard to Attend him, consisting of Twenty Men with Partisans: In the midst of the Court was placed for the President to sit on, a Chair of State of Crimson Velvet, with a Cushion thereon of Crimson Velvet, and a Desk before him, on each side were Benches for the rest to sit upon, covered with Scarlet Cloth; the Court being sate, and Silence Proclaim'd, the Hall-Gates were set open, and the Royall Prisoner having been brought from St. James's through the Park to Whitehall, and from thence by Water to Sir John Cottons House, was thence Conducted into the Hall by Colonnell Templin, and a Guard of Twenty Partisans. At the Bar was plac'd for him a Chair of Red Velvet, where after he had look'd sternly round about him, upon the Court, and up into the Galleries, he sat down, without taking the least notice of his Judges; then presently he rose up again, and look'd downward on the Guards, and the Throng of Spectators: Then the Commission from the House of Commons, by which they sat, was read by Phelps the Clerk, who sat at the Feet of the President;

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President, on the right side of the Table (covered with a Turkey Carpet) whereon lay the Sword and the Mace; and after that, was read the Charge against the King, which was to this Effect.

That the said Charles Stuart being admitted King of England, and Intrusted with a Limited Power to Govern according to the Laws, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and preserving their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design, to uphold himself by a Tyrannical Power, according to his Will, thereby to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; yea, thereby to make void the Foundation thereof; He the said Charles Stuart, for Accomplishing such Wicked Designs, and for the promoting himself, and his Adherents in his and their wicked Practices; Hath Trayterously and Maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein Represented, particularly, upon, or about the Thirtieth day of June, 1642. at Beverley, in the County of York; at or upon the Thirtieth day of July, in the year aforesaid, in the County and City of York: And upon the Twenty fourth day of August, in the same year, at the Town of Nottingham (when, and where he set up his Standard of War): And on, or about the Twenty third of October, in the same year, at Edgehill and Keinton Field: And upon, or about the Thirtieth day of November, in the same year, at Brainsford, in the County of Middlesex: And at, or upon the Thirtieth day of August, 1643. at Cavesham Bridge, near Reading, in the County of Berks; And at, or upon the Thirtieth day of October, in the same year, at, or near the City of Gloucester: And at, or upon the Thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbery, in the County of Berks: And upon or about the One and Thirtieth of July, 1644. at Cropredy Bridge, in the County of Oxon: And upon or about the Thirtieth day of September, in the same year, at Bodwin, and other places near Adjacent in Cornwall: And on the Thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbery aforesaid; And on the Eighth day of June, 1645. at the Town of Leicester: And also on the Fourteenth day of the same Month, in the same year, at Naseby Field. At which several Times and Places, or most of them, and at many other places in the Land, at several other times within the years aforementioned; as also in the year, 1646. He the said Charles Stuart, hath caused many Thousands of the People of this Nation to be slain; And by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections in the Land; and by Invasions from Forrein Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil Ways and Means, He the said Charles Stuart, hath not only maintained and carried on the said War by Land and Sea, during the years aforementioned; But hath also Revived, or caused to be Revived the said War against the Parliament, and the good People of this Nation, this present year, 1648. In the Counties of Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Middlesex, and in many other Counties in England and Wales; and also by Sea: And particularly, He the said Charles Stuart, hath given Commissions to his Son, the Prince, for that Purpose. By the which Cruel and Unnatural War, by him the said Charles Stuart Levied, Continued, and Revived as aforesaid, much Innocent Blood hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury Wasted, and Exhausted, Trade obstructed and decayed, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation Incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some even to Desolation. And for further prosecution of the said Evil Designs, He the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters. All which wicked Designs, Wars, and evil Practices of him the said Charles Stuart, hath been, and are carried on, for the Advancing and Upholding of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogatives to himself, against the Publick Interest, Right, Justice, and Peace of this Nation, by, and for whom he was Intrusted as aforesaid. By all which it appeareth, That he the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said Unnatural War, and thereby Guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damages, and Mischiefs to this Nation, Acted and Committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

And for the said Treasons and Crimes, John Coke doth on the behalf of the People

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People of England, Impeach the said Charles Stuart as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a Publick and Implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of England: And therefore prayeth, That the said Charles Stuart, King of England, may be put to Answer all and every of the said Premisses; that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentences, and Judgments may be hereupon had, as may be agreeable to Justice.

The Charge being Read, which the King heard with a Countenance for the most part unaltered, only at some Passages disdainfully Smiling; the President standing up,

Sir, said he, You have heard your Charge, containing such Matters as appear in it, and in the Close it is prayed, that you Answer to your Charge, which this Court Expects.

In Answer to which, the King Asks

By what Authority they brought to Tryall a King, their most Rightful Sovereign, against the Publick Faith so lately given him, at a Treaty between Him and his Two Houses? By what lawful Authority? said he again, more Emphatically; for I am not Ignorant, continued He, that there are on Foot every where very many unlawfull Powers, as of Thieves and Robbers in the High-way. Moreover he told them, That whatsoever they did, he was resolved not to Betray the Charge Committed to him by God, and Confirmed to him by Ancient Descent.

Then the President told the King;

That he was called to Account by the Authority of the People of England, by whose Election he was admitted King.

To which the King made Answer;

That the Kingdome descended not to him by Election, but by Hereditary Right derived from above a Thousand years; That by refusing an unlawful Power, he stood more Apparently then they for the Liberties of the People of England, whose Authority was shewed in Parliamentary Assemblies; but that here appeared none of the Lords, whose presence (and not only theirs, but the Kings also) was required to the Constituting of a Parliament; but that neither One, nor both Houses, nor any Judicatory upon Earth, had Power to Call the King of England to Account, much less some certain Judges, Chosen by his Accusers, and Masked with the Authority of the Lower House. That he could not make his Defence, unless they produc'd their Authority, since it would be the same Offence to acknowledge a Tyrannical Power, as to resist a lawful One.

The President often Interrupted the Kings Speech; saying,

That they were satisfied with their Authority, and that their present Work to do Justice was upon Gods Authority, and the Kingdomes.

To which the King urged;

That it was not his own Apprehension, nor theirs neither, which ought to Decide the Matter.

Hereupon the President gave Command, that the Prisoner should be taken away, and remanded into Custody, so the Court Adjourned till the next day following, save one: It is Observable in this first dayes Tryal, that while the Charge was reading, the head of the Kings Staff fell off, which he wondering at, and perceiving no Body offer to take it up, stoop't for it himself, and put it in his pocket. As his Majesty was going out of the Court, he look't upon his Judges with an austere Countenance, without moving his Hat; and said no more, but Well Sir; after which, Bradshaw having commanded the Guard to take him away. He said at his going down, pointing with his Staff at the Sword, I do not fear that; and as He went down the Stairs, divers of the People ventur'd to Cry out, God save the King: And this was the Result of the first Daies Tryal.

Two daies after, being the Twenty second of January, the Court met again in the Painted Chamber, and considering the Kings Resolution, and to hinder him from Arguing again against the Courts Jurisdiction, they make their Pre-Order;

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- That if the King offer to Dispute the same again, the President shall tell him, That the Commons of England, Assembled in Parliament, have Constituted this Court, whose Power may not be permitted to be Disputed by him.  
 That if he refuse to Answer, it shall be accounted a Contumacy to the Court.  
 That if he Answer with a *Salvo* of his pretended Prerogative above the Court, he shall be required to Answer positively Yea, or No.  
 That he shall not have a Copy of his Charge, till he own the Court, and declare his Intentions to Answer.

On the Two and twentieth of January, the Court met again, the King was brought to the Bar, and Solicitor Croke again Accuses him, and requires, That the King may be put to it, either to give in his Positive Answer, or else the Charge to be taken *Pro confesso*; accordingly the President having in brief repeated the Passage of the last Day, required his Answer: But he persisted firm in the Disowning their Authority, and offered to give in his Reasons for it, saying;

That he less regarded his Life, than his Conscience, his Honour, the Laws and Liberties of the People; which that they might not all perish together, was a sufficient Reason why he could not make his Defence before the Judges, and acknowledge a new Form of Judicature: For what Power had ever any Judges to Erect a Judicature against their King? Or by what Power, said He, was it ever Granted? Not by Gods Laws, which on the contrary command Obedience to Princes; Nor by the Laws of the Land, which Injoyn all Accusations to be read in the Kings Name: Nor do the Laws give any Power to the Lower House, of judging even the meanest Subject. Nor lastly, Doth their Power flow from any Authority which might be pretended Extraordinary, delegated from the People, since they had not asked the Consent so much as of every Tenth Man in this Matter.

The President still Ever and Anon Interrupting the Kings Speech, and telling him, That the Court, abundantly satisfied of their Authority, would not admit of any Reasons that should detract from their Power: At last put upon him to be mindfull of his Doom: But where, said the King, in all the World is that Court, in which no place is left for Reason? You shall find, Sir, Answered the President, That this very Court is such a One. Then the King still urg'd, That they would at least permit him to Exhibit his Reasons in Writing, which if they could Satisfactorily Answer, he would yield himself to their Jurisdiction. Hereupon the President growing into Choler, Commanded that the Prisoner should be taken away: Remember, said he then, as he was going away, That it is your King from whom you turn away your Ear; In vain certainly will my Subjects expect Justice from you, who stop your Ears to your King ready to plead his Cause.

The very next Day, being the Twenty third of January, The King was the Third time brought to his Tryall, where when he came, the Attorney General stood up, and addressing his Speech to the President, with a large Preamble, moved for speedy Justice against the Prisoner, saying, That his standing in Contempt, and not Pleading, ought by an Implicite Confession to be taken *Pro confesso*. Hereupon the President stood up, and having put the King in mind of what Mr. Solicitor had moved against him in behalf of the Kingdom, urged him to give his Positive and Finall Answer to the Charge of Treason brought in against him; the King Answered, That having somewhat to say for the Liberties of the People, as he had formerly exprest, he desired to know whether he might freely speak without Interruption, or not: To which the President reply'd, That as soon as he had acknowledged the Jurisdiction of the Court, he should be heard at large, to make what Defence he could for himself, but till then, he was not to be permitted to run into any other Discourses. The King then again made Answer, That he valued not the Charge a Rush, it was the Liberty of the People he stood for; and that for him to acknowledge a new Court, that he never heard of before, was a thing he could not do: for which refusal he was ready to shew his Reasons; if he might but have time Granted him. The President having again told him, That the Court Commanded him to give in his Positive Answer. Broughton, one of the Clerks, read as followeth;

**CHARLES STEWART, King of England, You are**  
*Accused in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been Read unto you; The Court now requires you to give your Positive and Finall Answer, either by way of Confession, or Deniall.*

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- But the King still persisted in his first Resolution, alledging, That to acknowledg this new Court, was against the Priviledges of the People, and the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdome. Then the President commanded the Clerk to Record the Default, and the Guard to take back the Prisoner; which accordingly was done.

But his Fourth and last Tryall was on Saturday, January the Twenty seventh. As the King came into the Hall in his usuall posture with his Hat on, some of the Souldiers (none else, and they it is verily believed set on) cry'd out loud, *Justice, Justice, Execution*. When the Court being Sate, the King was again brought to the Bar; yet still refused to plead his Cause before them, but said; He had some things conducing to the good of the People, which he desired liberty to deliver before the Members of both Houses. But the President Replyed, That it was but a further declining of the Courts Jurisdiction, and a Retardation of Justice. To which the King made Answer; That a short Delay was much more Safe, and Conducable to the Good of the Kingdome, than to precipitate a dangerous Sentence: And therefore desired, That he might have leave to Withdraw for the present, and they have time to Consider. Accordingly they all Withdraw for half an Hour, and then returned: And the King being demanded what he had more to say? Only insisted upon being heard before the Lords and Commons. Whereunto the Court would by no means Condescend, But forthwith proceeded to pass Sentence of Death upon him: Which Sentence was utter'd in by a large and Elaborate Speech of the Presidents; wherein he first maintained,

- That the King ought not to think himself Exempted from the Law, for that the Law was his Superiour; and that the only Estate Superiour to the Law, as being the Parent and Author of it, was the People of England: Whose Representative the Parliament being the Sovereign and Highest Court of Justice, were to be look'd upon as the Supreme and most Authentick Expounders of the Law, since they are the sole Makers of it. He confess'd, that the King hath not *Parein in Regno*, and that he is *Major singulis*, but that he is *Minor Universis*, & in exhibitione juris quasi minimus. Next he called to mind, How the Barons in their Wars stood out for their Liberties against those Kings that did invade them, and play the Tyrants, calling them to an Account for those things which they did amiss: And thus, said he, we see the Nobility then took upon them Franchum ponere, to put a Curb to the Exorbitant Actions of their Kings, and if they are now un-mindfull of their Honours, and the Kingdomes Good, certainly the Commons of England will not. He said also, That the King is but an Officer in Trust, and takes his Oath at his Election to be true to the People, and that Parliaments were Instituted as Remedies, in case this Oath be not duly observ'd, to adjudge the wrongs done by the King to the People. He shew'd, That this last Parliament had been Call'd upon the same Occasion; Namely, To Redress the Grievances and Miscarriages of his Government, and that he had done all that in him lay, to Subvert this Parliament, and take away their Priviledges. Next, he endeavour'd to Evince, That his Proceeding was not without President, as was alledg'd by the Kings Party, but that it had been the Custome of other Nations in former Ages; As, France, Spain, Germany (from whence he yet brought no Examples for want, as he said, of time) to call their Kings to an Account, in case of Misgovernment: More especially, he remembred, That the Ancient Law of Arragon, whereby the Justice of Arragon hath power to Reform whatsoever Wrong is done by the King, and also to prosecute against him for Miscarriages in Governing. Also, that the Tribunes of Rome, the Ephori of Sparta, were of the same Nature. Next, he omitted not to mention the frequent Practice of the Kingdome of Scotland, in Ancient Times, to Punish, Depose, and put to Death their Kings. And moreover, he instanc'd in our own Kingdome of England, the Case of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second: And whereas the King had stood upon his Descent, the President Asserted, That although many times it had Succeeded according to Descent, yet the Kings of England ever held the greatest Assurance of their Titles, when it was Declar'd in Parliament; And however the next Person in Blood hath been still design'd, the People may upon just Cause refuse him: He Affirmed, the Liege, or Contract between King and People to be Reciprocall, a Bond of Perfection from the King, of Subjection from the People; which first (said he) being broken Subjection trahit. Lastly, He went about to prove, wherein the King stood Guilty of those Crimes, for which in the Charge he was termed a Tyrant, Traytor, and a Murderer, wishing him seriously to consider of his own Estate, and of the Guilt of his Mis-doings; and telling him, That they ought not to decline the doing of their Duty, in the Administration of Justice even to himself: And that whatsoever Revenge was Threatned by his Party, they were Resolv'd, by the Grace of God, to go on with it.

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The King once more desired, That he might be heard for the clearing himself of those heavy A Imputations which they had laid to his Charge. But the President told him, That since he had been pleas'd to Disavow them as a Court, it would be Improper for them to Hear him, nor could they admit of any further Delay. And thereupon he Commanded the Clerk to read the Sentence; which was done in manner following:

**W**HEREAS, The Commons of England in Parliament Assembled have appointed them a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and of Charles Stewart, King of England; before whom he had been Three times Convicted: And at the First time, A Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours was Read in behalf of the Kingdome of England, &c. (And then the Charge was read) To which Charge, He the said Charles Stewart, refused severall times to Answer. (And then the severall passages of his refusall to answer, were exprest,) For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth Adjudge the said Charles Stewart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy, to be put to Death, by Severing his Head from his Body.

This Sentence being Read, was approved by the Members of the Court, by holding up their Hands; The King offered to Speak, but he was instantly Commanded to be taken away, and the Court broke up. And as being hurried from the Bar, he was passing down the Staires, the ordinary Souldiers not only revild him with many irreverent and curtilous tauntes, but cast in his Face the smoke of their Tobacco; than which, a more odious and ingratefull fume could not have been presented to him, flinging their nasty Pipes at his Feet: And one among the rest most superlatively rude and insolent, was not ashamed to spit in his Face: All which Affronts his Majesty bore with admirable Patience and equanimity; and hearing them cry out, Justice, Justice; *Alas poor souls*, said he, for a Piece of Money, they'll do as much for any of their Commanders. His Majesty being Conveyed back to Sir Robert Cotton's House, Sir Hardesty Waller, Commissary General Iretton, Harrison, Dean, and Okey, Colonels, were appointed to confider of the Time and Place, for his Execution: By whom it was resolved, That he should be Executed on Tuesday, January the Thirtieth, between Ten and Two of the Clock, upon a Scaffold covered with Black, in the open Street before White-Hall Banqueting-House. In the mean time, one of his Chaplains, Doctor Juxton, Bishop of London, was allowed him to Administer those Spirituall Helps, which should be suitable to his present Condition. But he would by no means admit of Mr. Marshall, Mr. Nye, Mr. Carryll, Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dell, whom the Court had Ordered to Attend him for that Purpose. January the Twenty seventh, the King lay at White-Hall, and the next day being Sunday, the Bishop of London Preached before him in his Chamber. Monday following, he was conveyed to St. James's, where his Children had leave to Visit him, but stayed not long: Being come he gave them his Blessing, and told them, That it was the last time they should ever see him. And withall he Committed them to look upon P. Charles hereafter, not only as their Brother, but their Sovereign: Speaking those words principally to the Lady Elizabeth, to whom continuing his Speech, Sweet heart, said he, you'll forget this. No, said she, I shall never forget it whilst I live; and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promis'd him to write down the Particulars. Thentaking the Duke of Gloucester upon his knees, Sweet heart, said he, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head: (Upon which words the Child looking stedfastly on him) Mark Child what I say, added he, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King: but mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers Charles and James do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy head too at last: and therefore I charge you do not be made King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling to unexpectedly from one so young, made the King rejoyce exceedingly: And so they parted from him, with his Command to send his Blessing to his other Children beyond the Seas, and Commendation to all his Friends. The Dutch Ambassadour, in behalf of his Majesty, made Intercession to the Parliament for the Kings Life, but prevailed nothing: For Tuesday the Thirtieth of January, he was Attended with a Regiment of Foot, and a Guard of Parisians through the Park, with the Bishop of London on the one Hand, and Colonel Tomlinson on the other: He bids them go faster, telling them, That he now went before them to strive for a Heavenly Crown, with less Sollicitude then he had oftentimes bid his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem. Coming to White-Hall, he spent above two Hours in his Devotion, in his Cabinet-Chamber, where he us'd to lodge, receiving the Sacrament from the hands of the Bishop of London, who reading for the 2d. Lesson the 27th Chapter of St. Matthew, which contains the history of our Saviour's Death and Passion, and his Majesty thanking him for so seasonable a portion of Scripture: He reply'd, That no thanks was due to him

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him for that, since it was the proper Lesson appointed by the Rubrick for that day, being the 30th of January. Instead of dining, he only eat a bit of Bread, and drank a Glass of Claret Wine: Near One of the Clock, he was Conveyed through the Banqueting-House, and past through the great Window, unto the Scaffold (which was made adjoining thereunto, divers Companies of Foot, and Troops of Horse attending, and the multitude of Spectators being very great): Where being nothing Daunted at the sight of the Block and Axe, nor to behold his Executioner (who was more possessed with Fear, than He, and therefore Disguized with a Vizard), He Addressed his Speech to Colonel Tomlinson, as followeth.

I Shall be very little heard of any Body else, I shall therefore speak a Word to You here: Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think, that holding my peace would make some Men think, That I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the Punishment: But I think it is my Duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear my Self, both as an Honest Man, A good King, and A good Christian.

I shall begin First, With my Innocency: And, In Troath, I think it not very needfull for me to Insist long upon this: For all the World knows, That I did never begin a Warr with the Two Houses of Parliament; And I Call God to Witness, unto whom I must shortly make an Account, That I did never intend to Inroach upon their Priviledges: They began upon Me; It is the Militia they began upon: They Confess the Militia was Mine, but they thought it fit to have it from Me. And to be short, If any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and Mine, And likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly, that they began these Unhappy Troubles, not I. So as that for the Guilt of these Enormous Crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me out. I will not, (for I am in Charity) and God forbid that I should, lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament, there is no Necessity of Either, I hope they are free of this Guilt: But I believe, that all Instruments between Them and Me, have been the chief Cause of all this Blood-shed: So that as I find my Self clear of this, I hope, (and pray God) that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid, that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say, that Gods Judgments are Just upon Me: Many times he doth pay Justice, by an Unjust Sentence; that is Ordinary: I will only say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take Effect, is Punished by an unjust Sentence upon Me. So far I have said to shew you, That I am an Innocent Man. Now for to shew you, That I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good Man, that will bear Me Witness, That I have forgiven all the World. And even those in particular, that have been the chief Causes of my Death: Who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may Repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular, I pray God with St. Stephen, That this be not laid to their Charge: And withall, that they may take the Right Way to the Peace of the Kingdome; For my Charity Commands Me, not only to forgive particular Men, but to Endeavour to the last Gaspe, the Peace of the Kingdome. So (Sirs) I do wish with all my Soul, (I see there are some here, that will Carry it further,) that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdome. (Sirs)

Looking about him upon the People, and perceiving them to be kept off by the Souldiers.

\* At which instant he pointed to Dr. Juxton.

\* Speaking of Juxton that wrote.

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(Sirs) I must shew you, both how you are out of the Way, and put you in a Way. First, You are out of the Way, for certainly all the Way you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the Way of Conquest: Certainly this is an ill Way, for Conquest, in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a just and good Cause, either for matter of Wrong, or a just Title: And then if yee go beyond the first Quarrell that yee have, that makes it Unjust at the End, that was Just at the First: for if there be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery: As a Pyrate said to Alexander, That he was the great Robber, himself was but a Petty Robber. And so, Sirs, I do think, for the Way that you are in, you are much out of the Way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it you will never go Right, nor God will never Prosper you, until you give God his Due, the King his Due, (that is, My Successor) and the People their Due: I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his Due, by Regulating Rightly his Church, according to the Scripture, (which is now out of Order.) And to set you in a Way particularly, now cannot: But only this, A Nationall Synod freely Called, freely Debating among themselves, must Settle this: When every Opinion is freely and clearly Heard: For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly Instruct you for that: Therefore because it Concerns mine own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it. For the People, Truly I desire their Liberty and Freedome as much as any Body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedome consist in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own: it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things; And therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People into that Liberty, as I say, Certainly they will never Enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I am hither Come, for if I would have given Way to an Arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws Changed according to the Power of the Sword, I need not have come here: And therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge) That am the Martyr of the People. Introath Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this, that I have said, in a little better Order, and have had it a little better Digested, then I have done, and therefore I hope you will Excuse Me: I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those Courses, that are best for the Good of the Kingdome, and your own Salvation.

This his Speech did deeply Affect the Standers by, who yet for fear of the Souldiers, durst not make any great shew thereof. Then having put up some short Prayers, he openly Declared, He did a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as he found it left him by his Father: After which, he Discoursed a little with the Bishop, to whom he gave his George for the Prince. And having his Hair put up under his Night Cap, and being Undowned to his colour Watcoat; I go, said he, from a Corruptible, to an Incorruptible Crown, where no Disturbance can be. And so after some few Ejaculations, laid down his Head upon the Block, and stretching out his hands (The Sign agreed on) had it Severed from his Body at one Blow, by the Vizarded Executioner, who presently held it up, and shewed it to the People: His Head and Trunk were afterwards

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A afterwards Confined in Lead, and Exposed to Publick View at St. James's; till, lastly, The Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hartford, the Marquis of Dorchester, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Bishop of London, begged the Body to Bury it, which they Conducted to Windsor Chappel-Royal, and there Interred it, with only this Inscription upon the Coffin; CHARLES, KING OF ENGLAND, MDC XLVIII. Princepsne priconatus ab Inacho; Nil Interest, an pauper, & Infima de gente: Sub dio Jacobis, Victimam miserantis Oris. To this untimely and unfortunate End was brought this once great and powerful Monarch, through the evil artifices of those who having for a long time secretly contriv'd his Ruine, found means at length to bring their cruel Purposes to pass; Of his Constancy of Mind, and Christian Fortitude, there needs no better testimony then his serene and undisturb'd behaviour at the Block: how strangely must the World be mistaken, if he were a Tyrant, whom the major suffrage of Men, by far, and those the most rational, Concludes to have been the most Pious and Vertuous Prince that ever bore the Scepter of this Nation: besides, that one of his most inveterate Enemies, namely, Henry Martin hath been heard to say, That if there must be a King in England, he had rather have Him then any man living.

### Of Men of Note in his Time.

Men of Valour in his Time, were so frequent, That to Enumerate them all, were to fill a Volume; Yet we shall Particularize in some of the Chief, the rest may be seen in the History of this Kings Reign. We shall begin with Sir Charles Morgan, whose Valour is sufficiently Renowned in Germany, where, with Six thousand English Men, He more Troubled Count Tilly, the Imperial General, then the King of Denmark, could do with all his Protestant Confederates. Then Sir John Burroughs gave Eminent proofs of Courage in the Expedition of Calais and Rhe: The Earl of Strafford was, was Ex viroque, both a Valiant Souldier, and of such State Abilities (ayes the King) as might make a Prince rather Affraid, than Ashamed, to Employ him in the greatest Affairs. But when the Civil Wars broke out, the English Nation was then divided into Royalists and Parliamentarians: Of the Royalists, the most Famous were the Earl of Lindsey, Cleaveland, Northampton, and Carnarvan; The wise and Learned Lord Falkland, the Lords, Ashley, Goring, and Capell, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Henry Gage, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Bevil Grenvill, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Sir Richard Greenvile, Sir John Winter, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lyffe, Colonel John Arundell, Colonel John Trevanion, and Sir William Vavasor.

Of the Parliament Side were the Earls of Essex and Manchester, the Lord Fairfax, and his Son Sir Thomas, Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell, no less Famous for his Valour and Conduct, then infamous for his Disimulation and Tyranny, Major General Phillip Skippon, Lieutenant General Thomas Hammond, Commissary General Henry Ireton, Cromwell's Janizaries; Major General Edward Massey, once Governour of Gloucester, Colonel Robert Blake, Governour of Taunton, and afterwards Admiral, Colonel John Lambert, Colonel Charles Fleetwood, Colonel Thomas Rainsborough, Colonel John Desborough, and Sir William Waller, Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, Colonel Thomas Morgan, Colonel Poynt, and Major General Brown: whereof Massey, Ingoldsby, Morgan and Brown, will in time to come prove as good Subjects as Souldiers.

In Ireland, The Earl of Ormond, the Lord Moor, and Inchiquin, Sir Henry Titchburn, Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Michael Jones, and (whereof more advantageous mention must be made hereafter) Colonel George Monk, Eternized their own Memories by notable Performances against the Rebels.

Of the Scots, the most Famous for the King, were the Earls of Forth and Montrose, with the Lords Gordon and Ogilby: for the Covenanters, were the Earl of Leven, and his Nephew David Lesley, with the Colonels, Meldrum, Strathern, Ker Montgomery, Brown, Middleton, Bayly, and Hurry, and the last, though not the least, was the Lord Douglas, in the King of Sweden's Service.

As there was this great Plenty of Martial Men, so there was no less Plenty of Learned Men; William Laud, Archbishop of Camberbury, Bishop Prideaux of Worcester, and Bishop Hall of Exeter, whose Abilities and Learning are Conspicuous in their Treatises, Doctor Reynolds of Christ-Church in Oxford, Doctor Collins, and Doctor Comber of Kings Colledge, and Trinity in Cambridge. But He whose Fame swallowed up all the rest, was James Usher, that Incomparable Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, Famous and Renowned both at Home and Abroad, for his universal Learning, Piety, Prudence, and Moderation; Archbishop Spotwood of St. Andrews in Scotland, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. John Selden, Doctor Preston, Mr. White, Doctor Brown of Norwich, and Profound Doctor Hammond. The Worth and Excellent Parts of which Men, are sufficiently made known by their Admired Works. But we shall be Injurious to Physicians, if we forget Doctor Harvey, the Ornament of our Age and Country, by whom that deep and abstruse Mystery of the Circulation of the Blood was first Published to the World, since universally acknowledged, and approved by the ablest Practitioners of that most necessary Science.

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Poetry was never more Resplendent, nor never more Graced; wherein Johnson, Silvester, Shack, Aspere, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shirley, Broom, Massinger, Cartwright, Conly, Randolph, Walker, Fanshawe, Dunham, Cleaveland, Quailles, Carew, Davenant, and Sucklin, not onely far excelled their own Country-men, but the whole World besides. And in a Word, we may truly say, That in this Kings Reign, *Bellona* and *Minerva* contended, who should have the most Adorers: And these Lands for their Happinesse, might have proved the Envy of *Christendome*, if it had not been for *Discordia* detrimens *Viperum vitis innoxia cruentis*.

### Of the Solemn League and Covenant.

**A** Frier Men of Note, it will not be amiss to insert a thing of note. At what time the Scots, in Opposition to the *English Liturgies and Service-Book*, recommended to them by Archbishop Land, and the *English Prelacy*, had set up their four General Council-Tables: They then framed their *Solemn League and Covenant*, to be taken throughout all the Nation: But when the Parliament of England desired the Assistance of that Kingdom, a Confederacy was then entered into, between both Nations, alleged for Defence of their Liberties, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, against all men that in their Apprehensions should endeavour Oppression. One of the Conditions of this Confederacy was, That the People as well of *England and Ireland*, as of *Scotland*, should take this National Solemn League and Covenant, which followeth.

**W** E Noble-men, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; By the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion: Having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happiness of the Kings Majesties, and his Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private Condition is included. And causing to mind, the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and practices of the Enemies of God, against the true Religion, and professors thereof, in all places, specially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption, are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised: Whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick Testimonies, are now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrances, Protestations, and Sufferings) for the preservation of our Selves, and our Religion, from utter Ruine and Destruction, according to the commendable Practice of the chief Kingdoms in former Times, and the Example of Gods people in other Nations, after mature Deliberation, Resolved and Determined to enter into a Mutual and Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all Subscribe, and each one of us for Himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most High God, do Swear;

‘First, That We shall Sincerely, Really, and Constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several Places and Callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against our common Enemies; The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the Three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worship, and Catechizing; That We and our Posterity after us, may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

‘Secondly, That We shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (That is) Church-Government by Arch-Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissioners, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy, with all Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, least We partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their Plagues: And that the Lord may be One, and his Name One in the Three Kingdoms.

‘Thirdly,

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‘Thirdly, We shall with the same Sincerity, Reality, and Constancy, in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms; And to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms; That the World may bear Witness with our Consciences, of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesties just Power and Greatness.

‘Fourthly, We shall also with all Faithfulness endeavour the Discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant; That they may be brought to publick Tryal, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve, or the Supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively; or other having power from them for that Effect, shall judge convenient.

‘Fifthly, And whereas the Happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately concluded and sealed by both Parliaments, We shall each one of Us, according to our place and Interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoynd in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity; And that Justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

‘Sixthly, We shall also according to our Places and Callings, in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and the Peace of the Kingdom, Assist and Defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; And shall not suffer our Selves Directly or Indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or Terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our Selves to a detestable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and Honour of the King; But shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all Opposition, and promote the same according to our Power, against all Lets and Impediments whatsoever: And that We are not able our Selves to suppress or overcome, We shall reveal or make known, that it may be timely prevented and removed. All which We shall do as in the sight of God.

‘And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, and Provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as it is too manifest by our present Distresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof, we profess and declare before God and the World our unfained Desire, to be humbled for our own sinnes, and for the sins of these Kingdoms, especially, that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel: That we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; And we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the causes of our sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us: And our true and unfained Purpose, Desire, and Endeavour, for our selves, and all others under our Power and Charge, both in publick and private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a reall Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace: And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen Us by his Holy Spirit for this End, and to bless our Desires and Proceedings with such Success,

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as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Christian Churches, Groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to joyn in the same or like Association and Covenant; to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdome of *Jesus Christ*, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Christian Kingdomes, and Common-wealths.

I thought it not Impertinent to bring in at large this Solemn League and Covenant, since it is known to have been a matter of no less Remark and Consideration, than what ever this Age hath produced extraordinary; and though it was soon laid aside in this Nation as a thing presently out of Date, having declin'd with the Fortune of its Party that vail'd bonnet to a succeeding Generation of such as pretended to be more exalted and refin'd, and given place, forsooth, to higher Dispensations; Yet for the time it was received by us with high Veneration and Esteem from our Brethren of Scotland: It was the cause of strange and unwonted Effects, and is to this Day (as far as dares be own'd) the great *Diana* of the Presbyterian Cause, and therefore may well serve for the Epilogue to this present History, as it seems to have been the *Prologue* to the late Wars. But such is the Mutability of Affairs below, that those things which at one time have been held most Sacred and inviolable, have at another time been reduc'd to the lowest ebbe of ignominie and contempt; and such was the Fate of this once so Venerable Oath, which by the same authority by which it was at first Voted up into the strictest Observance and as it were Adoration (*viz. Parliamentary*) comes at length to be Sentenc'd and Condemn'd after the manner of most execrable Malefactors; as in due time will be more particularly related in the subsequent History.

Thus having taken a full View of the Life, the (for the most part) troublesome Reign, and the perniciously contriv'd and perpetrated death of this Magnanimous and most Vertuous Prince, we shall end at his Monument, where blotting out the Name of Tyrant, which his Enemies most unjustly went about to fix upon his Memory, we shall instead thereof engrave this following Epitaph, which (written by an unknown Authour) we have, among all the Elegies and Epitaphs that have been consecrated to his Fame, adjudg'd Worthy (for its *Much comprehended in a Little*) to be hereunto Adjoyned.

*Within this Sacred Vault doth ly,  
The Quintessence of Majesty,  
Which being set, more Glorious Shines;  
The best of Kings, best of Divines,  
Britains Shame, and Britains Glory,  
Mirrour of Princes, Compleat Story  
Of Royalty; One so Exact,  
That Praise comes short, and doth detract.  
If you would see Him to Endure,  
Behold him in his Portraiture;  
If such another you will find,  
It must by Angels be Design'd.*

Mayors

## Mayors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

In his first Year 1625.  
Sir Allen Cotton was Mayor.  
Thomas Wistram, Ellis Crisp, died.  
Jo. Pool, and Christopher Clabrow after Sheriffs.

In his second year 1626.  
Sir Cathbert Haaker was Mayor.  
Edward Bromfield, Richard Fenn, Sheriffs.

In his third year 1627.  
Sir Hugh Hamersley was Mayor.  
Maurice Abbot, Henry Garraway, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year 1628.  
Sir Richard Dean was Mayor.  
Ryndland Backhouse, William Allen Knight and  
(Baronet, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year 1629.  
Sir James Cambell was Mayor.  
Humphrey Smith, Edmund Wright, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year 1630.  
Sir Robert Duncie, Barr. Mayor.  
Arthur Abdy, Robert Cambell, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year 1631.  
Sir George Whitmore was Mayor.  
Samuel Crammors, Henry Pratt, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year 1632.  
Sir Nicholas Raynton was Mayor.  
Hugh Perry, Henry Andrews, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year 1633.  
Sir Ralph Freeman, &c Sir The. Monistson, Mayor.  
Gilbert Harrison, Richard Gurney, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year 1634.  
Sir Robert Parkhurst was Mayor.  
John Heyford, John Cordell, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year 1635.  
Sir Christopher Clabrow was Mayor.  
Thomas Seame, John Gaire, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year 1636.  
Sir Edward Bromfield was Mayor.  
William Abell, John Garra, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year 1637.  
Sir Richard Fenn was Mayor.  
Thomas Atkin, Edward Rudge, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year 1638.  
Sir Maurice Abbot was Mayor.  
Isaac Pennington, John Wollaston, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year 1639.  
Sir Henry Garraway was Mayor.  
Thomas Adams, John Warner, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year 1640.  
Sir Edmund Wright was Mayor.  
John Tomse, Abraham Reynardson, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year 1641.  
Sir Richard Gurney was Mayor.  
George Chirre, George Clark, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year 1642.  
Isaac Pennington was Mayor.  
John Langham, Thomas Andrews, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year 1643.  
Sir John Wollaston was Mayor.  
John Fenne, James Busce, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year 1644.  
Thomas Atkin was Mayor.  
William Gibbs, Richard Chambers, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year 1645.  
Thomas Adams was Mayor.  
John Kendrick, Thomas Fox, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year 1646.  
Sir John Gaire was Mayor.  
Thomas Curren, Simon Edwards, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year 1647.  
Sir John Warner was Mayor.  
Samuel Henry, John Bide, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year 1648.  
Sir Abraham Reynardson was Mayor.  
Thomas Viner, Richard Brown, Sheriffs.  
Thomas Andrews Mayor, in room of Reynardson sent to the Tower.



# CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF Great Britain.

CONTAINING

The *SERIES* of all the Principall Affairs and Transactions that have hapned in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, from the First Year of the *REIGN* of our Present Sovereign King *CHARLES* the Second, being the Year of our Lord 1648, untill this present Year 1648, being the 16th Year of his Majestie's *REIGN*.

1648.



The Govern-  
ment of the  
Nation alter'd  
from a Monar-  
chy to a Free-  
State.

A Proclama-  
tion against  
Kingly Gov-  
ernment.

**N**o sooner was the Sacred Majestie of that most Vertuous and Accomplish'd Prince (whose Unhappy Reign we have last delivered) thus removed out of the Way by so strange and bold a kind of Parricide, as hath been declar'd; but the prevailing Power (consisting of a pack'd number of the Commons in *Parliament*, and the Chief Officers of the Army, combined together with bonds of Iniquity) seeing how Successfull, and unoppos'd they had effected this so unparall'd a Deed, to which they knew the generality of the Nation not only not consenting, but plainly averse, and as far as they durst shewing their utter dislike, resolve now to proceed secure to the carrying on of their intended Designs with a high hand, and to that end they immediately fall upon the alteration of Government, thinking to make sure work by subverting the Ancient Monarchy of this Realm, and instead thereof, introducing that which they call'd a Free State or Commonwealth. For the Constituting of which the first thing they did, was to Vote and Publish a Proclamation, That whereas several Princes might be made to the Crown, &c. to the apparent hazard of the Publick Peace, No Person whatsoever should pretend to Pre-claim or any way to Promote Charles Stuart Son of the said Charles late King of England, or any other Person, to be King or Chief Magistrate, &c. by colour of Inheritance, or any other Claim whatsoever, without the free Consent of the People, in Parliament first signified by a particular Act for that purpose, any Law or Customs to the contrary notwithstanding: and whosoever should contrary to this Order Proclaim, &c. should be adjudg'd a Traitor, and suffer accordingly. This proceeding was founded upon a Maxim which they had taken up and firmly agreed on among themselves, namely, That all Power and Authority is Originally in the People. But well knowing that their Councils had soon been confounded, and themselves interrupted in the course they had begun, if they had incorporated again with those of their Members, which (haply by their procuring) had been forcibly kept out by the Army, they Resolve and Decree, That all those Members that had assented to the Vote of the 5th of December, concerning the Kings Concessions, (for that was the occasion of their Sedition) should never be re-admitted; and that those that Voted in the Negative, should presently enter their said Dissent, or before they were to be admitted. And together with the fortune of our Monarchy, was involved that of the House of Peers, who having sent to desire a Conference about settling the

A the Government, in regard the Judges Commissions were determin'd by the Kings Death, instead of an answer to their Message, receiv'd a Sentence of exaction from the Legislative Power: For the Junctio of *Commons* upon Debate, Whether the Jurisdiction of the *Lords House* should stand, concluded it at length to be *Useless* and *Dangerous*, and therefore to be laid aside; as in like manner they declar'd the Kingly Office to be *Unnecessary* and *Barrenness*, and therefore fit to be abolish'd: Only the *Lords* they so far favour'd, that they allow'd them the Priviledge of being Capable to be chosen Burgesses into the House of Commons; which two of them, namely *Salisbury* and *Pembroke*, accepted.

But the rest of the *Lords* were so highly incens'd hereat, that there was suddenly publish'd a Declaration in the Name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm, wherein they boldly asserted their Priviledges, and the Fundamentall Laws of the Nation; disclaim'd and protested against all Acts, Votes, Orders, or Ordinances, of the said Members of the *Commons House* for erecting of New Courts of Justice to Try or Execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of the Realm, for altering the Government, Laws, Great Seal, ancient Forms of Writs or Legall Procees, raising new Forces, or imposing new Taxes or Oaths, granting Commissions, or making Officers; as likewise against the Murdering of the late King, and the dis-inhering of his Son the Prince of Wales; and particularly against that Insolent and Frantick Vote (as they call'd it) of Febr. 6. concerning their abolishing the House of Peers as *Useless* and *Dangerous*. All which Acts, Votes and Orders they declar'd to be not only illegall, and therefore void, but likewise unreasonable, detestable, and destructive both to the Rights and Beings of Parliaments, the Fundamentall Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the People.

Besides this Declaration of the Peers; For as much as it was thought necessary by the faithfullst of the Kings Friends, that the Just Right and Claim of the true Heir should not appear unregarded of his Subjects; and to shew that there were not wanting those that durst venture to promote it, in despite of all the penalties denounc'd, all the Acts, Votes, and Orders to the contrary: this following Proclamation, in the Name of all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Kingdom was Printed, and dispersed in severall Places of the City of London:

**W**E the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Sea men, and other Freeman of England; Do according to our Allegiance and Covenant by these Presents, Heartily, Joyfully, and Unanimously, Acknowledge and Proclaim the Illustrious *CHARLES*, Prince of Wales, next Heir to his Father King *Charles*, (whose late wicked Murthers, and all Consenters thereunto, we from our Souls Abominate) to be by Hereditary Birth right, and lawfull Succession, rightfull and undoubted King of Great Britain, &c. And that we will constantly and Sincerely in our severall Places and Callings, Defend and Maintain his Royall Person, Crown, and Dignity, with our Estates and Lives, against all Opposers, whom hereby we Declare to be Enemies to his Majesty and Kingdomes: In Testimony whereof, we have caused these to be Publish'd throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm; The First Day of February, in the First Year of his Majesties Reign.

But little could unarmed Declarations and verball indeavours avail against the reigning Power of an armed faction, who thinking they could not better stamp a face of Authority upon their new founded Government, than by assuming new Ensigns of Sovereignty, and cancelling the old, caus'd all Writs, Commissions, and Instruments of publick concernment to be issued out under a new Style and Title, viz. of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England by Authority of Parliament*; order'd the old great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made with the Arms of England and Ireland on the one side, and this Inscription, *The Great Seal of England*; on the other side the Picture of the House of Commons with this Inscription, *In the first Year of Freedom by Gods blessing restor'd 1648*, and appointed that all the money which from that time was to be coin'd, should instead of the old Impression, bear the Arms of England and Ireland with this Motto, *God with us*. With the keering of the Seal there were encrested three joint Commissions, namely, *Whitlock*, *Keble*, and *Lisle*. Moreover they rescind'd certain Clauses in the Statutes of *1 Eliz.* and *3 Jacobi*, which intayn'd the Oaths of Allegiance or Supremacy, and urg'd an Oath of Fidelity to the Commonwealth of England, to all such as were put in places of profit or trust, or were made free of the City of London. And to accomplish all the formalities of State which they thought requisite to their Greatness, they erected a certain Convocation which was call'd a Council or Committee of State, consisting of 40 persons, Officers of the Army and others, to whom was committed the power of ordering the Land and Sea Militia, with the Magazines and Stores of the Nation; in fine, their Province was the executive part of Government, while the Junctio of *Commons* retain'd the Judiciary, and Legislative.

From their modelling of State, we shall descend to their Acts of Justice (for so it was then call'd), which because it seems they could not well be put in execution by the usual way of Tryall, according to the Ancient Law of the Land, they were perform'd by a new expedient they had found out, (which unhappily first try'd conclusions upon the life of their Sovereign himself) call'd

1648.

The House of  
Lords Voted  
down.

The Protection  
of the  
House of Lords  
against the  
Proceedings  
of the Com-  
mons.

A Proclama-  
tion of Roy-  
alists, proclaim-  
ing under-  
stand Prince  
Charles to be  
King of  
England.

The Style of  
publick Writ-  
ings, the  
Great Seal,  
and the Stamp  
of Coin alter-  
ed.

A Council or  
State Erected.

1648.

The Erecting of a High Court of Justice for the Tryall of Duke Hamilton, Earl of Holland, and Lord Capell, &c.

They are brought to their Tryall.

The Distance of Duke Hamilton's Speech before his Execution.

Of the Earl of Holland.

Of the Lord Capell.

The Earl of Norwich, and Sir John Owen saved from Execution of Death.

Divers of the Nobility and Gentry proscribed, and their Estates confiscated.

call'd a High Court of Justice, and this is forthwith to be erected anew for the Tryall of such Capital offenders against the present Power, as were next to be brought in question, being persons of the most eminent quality (the less considerable being dispatch'd with less Ceremony in other places); these grand Victims were Duke Hamilton, taken after the defeat of the Battle of Preston, The Earl of Holland taken at St. Neots after the Fight at Kingstone, The Lord Capell, and the Earl of Norwich, taken at the Siege of Colchester, and Sir John Owen taken in Wales; one of whom, viz. the Lord Capell, had made his escape out of the Tower, but not so fortunate in his escape as Colonnell Massey, Sir Lewis Dives, and Mr. Holden, (who by a cleanly conveyance, though through a Privy, got clear away) was re-taken by the treachery of one Davis a Waterman; whom he hir'd to carry him from the Tower to Lambeth.

These noble Prisoners being brought to the Bar of this formidable Court, since they could not deny matter of fact, the evidence being too apparent; It was in vain for them to alledge either the quarter given them at their taking, or the Justice of their Cause; in regard the first was easily evaded by the distinctions of their Judges; and for the latter, It was taken for granted; that the Decrees of the present Authority, back'd with uncontrollable force, were a sufficient eviction to the contrary; so that on the 9th of March, the Duke, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capell, having receiv'd th. Sentence, were brought to their execution in the Palace-yard at Westminster: the first that came upon the Scaffold was Duke Hamilton, who in his Speech before his death, declared His affection to this Kingdom, the Reason of his coming into England with an Army, that is to say, his being commanded thereto by the peremptory Command of the Parliament of his own Country, which if he had disobey'd, he had suffer'd the same penalty he was to suffer here for obeying: He said many things in vindication of himself, from the Imputation of having been inconsistent in his Religion, or false and unfaithful in his Actions and Intentions toward the King his Master; he seem'd also to intimate a readiness to serve them in what they so much desire of him, namely, the discovery of those who were the Invaders of him, so that his life might have been spar'd, with other things which concern'd his condition as a dying man.

The next that came after him was the Earl of Holland, who touch'd upon the honour of his Family, and the nobleness of his Education, profess'd his sincere and constant adherence to the true Protestant Religion, justified himself as to the matter for which he was condemn'd, alledging his defection from the Parliament, not to have been out of any ill design against the State or Kingdom, or any abjuration of his first Principles, which led him faithfully to serve the Parliament, whose Service he should not have desert'd, had not the changes and alterations among them, carried them beyond what was reasonable, or what perhaps they themselves at first intended: He pray'd God to bless this Kingdom, and to settle it in the ancient way of Government by King, Lords, and Commons; and wish'd the present change might not bring confusion upon it; he wish'd that the Kings Posterity might be look'd upon, and own'd by the People, and restor'd to their native Rights without bloodshed; that his blood might be the last that might be spilt, and concluded, as he was Chancellor of Cambridge, with his Prayers to God for a blessing upon this University.

The last of the three that suffer'd, was my Lord Capell, who having made a very able and substantial defence for himself, both from the ancient Laws and Privileges of the Nation, and from their own Acts and Consults, though all in vain; behav'd himself at his death, like what he had shew'd himself all along to be, in his residence Acting for the Kings Service, a Person of a high Spirit, and Heroick Portraiture, and deliver'd what he had to say with a fearless and undaunted Deportment; wherein after an ample Account of his Religion, professing his hearty Zeal and Devotion to the true Protestant Religion, as it was Establish'd in the Church of England, he took the Liberty to urge the unjustness of his Execution, as contrary to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the Word given him at his rendering of himself, against the Justice of the known Laws of the Land; and for no other cause, than his maintaining the Fifth Commandment: He express'd much trouble and repentance, for having been out of those that gave their Vote to the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, manifest'd to the World the high Opinion and venerable Remembrance he had of his late Majesties transcendent Virtue, nobleness of Mind, and ability of Parts: Next, he pray'd heartily for his Majesty that now is, for his happy Restoration, long life, and continued prosperity; recommending to the People, the hopes they were to entertain in him of a most accomplished Person, and most excellent Prince, from the several years Experience he had had of the greatness of his Apprehension and Understanding the Honour of his Nature, and the Generosity of his Inclinations: And so shut up all with what they all Three generally consented in, viz. a cheerful readiness to forgive his Enemies, and those that had been the occasion of bringing him to that place.

By the same High-Court were sentenc'd to Death the Earl of Norwich, and Sir John Owen; but they finding so much favour, as to have it put to the question; Whether they should live or die, Sir John Owen had his Life, upon the courtesy of several Voices in his behalf; but the Earl of Norwich had the good hap to live only by the Speaker's casting Voice, his killing and his saving Votes being otherwise precisely of an equal number: And doubtless, it had gone hard with a number more of the most considerable Persons of the Kingdom had they not in time, by seasonable flight beyond Sea, provided for their Safeties; the chief of which were (besides the King and the Duke of York) the Duke of Buckingham the Marquis of Worcester, the Marquis of Newcastle, the Earl of Bristol, George Lord Digby the Lord Cottington, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Culpeper, the Lord Byron, Sir Edward Hyde, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Grimvile, Sir Francis Doddington, with several others, who since their persons were out of reach, were Executed in their Estates, which were utterly condemn'd and confiscated to the use of the Commonwealth.

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A non-wealth; these were Delinquents beyond all Recovery: But there were a Multitude of others, which were call'd Compounders; and these were such as were admitted to the favour of enjoying their own Estates, upon condition of paying round Sums of Money for them.

Besides what was done by this new Court of Judicature, in the matter of taking away mens lives, some were condemn'd and taken off by Commissions of Oyer and Terminer: such was afterwards the Lot of Lieutenant-Colonnell Morris, and Cornet Blackburn, who for the surprisall of Pontefract Castle (which had been but lately re-taken) were hang'd and quarter'd at York; Some by Councils of War, and this was the Fate of one Mr. Beaumont a Minister, who was hang'd at Pontefract, Major Munday who was shot to death at Lancaster; and those three eminent Indevourers, though late, for his Majesties Service in Wales, Poyer, Laughton, and Powell, who notwithstanding from the consideration of what they had formerly acted for their first Masters (and indeed with far better Success) had the Indulgence of casting Lots, which two of the three should live; and those two who in their Lots had Life given them by the Lord (such was the fine Phrase they were call'd by) were Laughton and Powell, the fatal Blank was drawn by Poyer; who thereupon, on 25 of April, was shot to death near Bedford-Wall in Covent-Garden.

Among the rest of the Common-Wealths grand Delinquents, and the Kings most Loyall Subjects, there escap'd (though with life) yet not without Tryal for their Lives, at the Bar of the Kings (then call'd the Upper) Bench, Judge Jenkins, a stout Maintainer of the Kings Prerogative by the Law of the Land; and Sir John Stomell, a true-hearted Royalist of a great Estate: The first came off with a long and tedious Imprisonment; the other, with Confiscation of his Estate, which being great, was his greatest Crime.

While all this Stir was at Westminster, and other parts of the Kingdom, it is not to be imagin'd that the City of London should be altogether quiet and unmeddled with, yet was not the Scene there altogether so Tragical; To Confiscation of Life, the matter proceeded not; but to that of Estate and Liberty, and that chiefly upon this occasion; The Reigning Commons what before they had Declar'd, Voted, and Order'd fram'd ere long into a Formal Act; namely, the Exheredation of the Royall Issue, the Abolishment of Monarchy, and the setting up of a Republick, or Free-State; this they then commanded the then Lord Mayor Alderman Reynolds, to publish and proclaim in the City; which refusing to do, he was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, together with three Aldermen more; and in his Place, to serve out the rest of the year, was chosen by a Common-Hall a new Lord Mayor fit for their Turn, one Alderman Andrews, who attended with several other Aldermen as complaisant as himself, viz. Pennington, Holliston, Foulkes, Edmunds, Pack, and some others, readily obeyed the Commands of his Masters, and proclaimed their Edict in several places of the City.

This Act however, was not thought altogether likely to prove so grateful to the Nation; but that it would be needful to back it with a Declaration; which accordingly was fram'd with many plausible and specious pretences, to soothe and flatter the people; as, the promise of Deliverance from that Bondage, which was brought in by the Norman Conquest; of maintaining the ancient Laws, which they seem'd highly to extoll for their Excellency and Equality; and the consistency of them with the present Government of a Republick, upon some easie alterations of Form only, leaving the Substance intire, and reforming only the Abuses thereof; the Establishment of a firm and safe Peace; the Advancement of the true Protestant Religion; and the liberal maintenance of a Godly Ministry, the selling of Treaties and Alliances with Foreign Princes and States, the encouraging of Manufactures, for the increase and flourishing of Trade, and the maintenance of the Poor in all places of the Land. With which, and other such like glorious Offers, they thought to make themselves look'd upon, as most zealous Patriots and Promoters of their Countries Welfare.

But they ow'd their Success to a surer Prop than their Art of Remonstrating, and courting the People, by the suggestion of high hopes and expectations: They promised fair indeed, but not without the Sword in their Hands; yet their Success that had hitherto gone on with such a smooth Career was threatned with a Storm, that had it not been cunningly avoided, might haply have overwhelm'd them. The same Agitating Spirit which Cromwell had rais'd in the Army, for bringing his Designs about, had spread it self so far among the Common Souldiers of the Army (who doubtless, thought every one of them to have been a Senator) that it was like to have Levell'd his Greatness, and superinduct a New Change over this Model of Government he had help'd to set up: for the Agitators seeing themselves forgotten, and unconsulted with in the Affairs of State then managed, pretended that there was not that thorough Reformation of Abuses in Government, as their Supream Officers had made them believe they fought for; and with these Suggestions they made it their Work to possess the generality of the Souldiery, so that their Faction soon increased, under the Name of Levellers. This male-contented Humour had been for a pretty while discern'd; and this Levelling Principle foreseen to be hatching; in somuch, that their Private Meetings were forbidden by Order, several Mutineers Disciplin'd according to the Military Custome, and one Lockier a principal Incendiary, shot to death: And for a more effectual Diversion of these growing Disorders, it was thought requisite to keep those ill Humours in motion, which were apt to be fomented by Idleness, and Ease; and therefore eleven Regiments were appointed to be drawn out for the Service in Ireland, where (notwithstanding their Triumph here) there was yet a great deal of Work left for them to do: But this Invention, instead of allaying the Fury of the Discontent, enrag'd it to a higher Flame; for immediately, through the active Incitement of one Thomson, a principal

Others admitted to compound for their Estates. Several others try'd and executed by different ways.

Judge Jenkins, and Sir John Stomell try'd at the Kings Bench Bar.

An Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government. Alderman Reynolds, then present Lord Mayor, committed to the Tower. Alderman Andrews constituted in his room.

A Declaration for the justifying of the present proceedings.

The Levelling Faction defeated and dispersed.

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principall Champion of the Sedition, severall Regiments which had Confederated together, began to endeavour a Conjunction, the Souldiers of each Regiment exhorting one another, according as they had been animated themselves by the Chief Ring-leaders; to stand up stoutly for the Cause and the Liberty they had fought for; and they of Scroops Regiment having cast off their Officers; but ere they could unite, Cromwell himself, and Fairfax as yet General, with long Marches, and wonderful Expedition, came unexpectedly upon the chief party of them, and with the help of Cromwell's never failing Canning and Vigilance, soon brought the business to a period; for he having given his Word to come to a Treaty with them, for the giving of them satisfaction in their Demands; and conditioning, that neither side should come within 10 miles one of another, the Levellers thereupon thought themselves secure, and marching to Burford in Oxfordshire, berook them to their ease; of which Cromwell having notice, and being too much a Politician to let slip such an opportunity, sent Colonel Reynolds to fall in among them: And certainly it was no hard matter for him, finding them in such a careless posture, to seize the whole Body of them without any resistance or opposition, so that they were all taken prisoners, to the number of 900 Horse, and 400 Foot: The chief Ring-leaders, Thompson, and one or two more, were put to death for Example: for the rest, Cromwell, to ingratiate himself with the Army, pretended to obtain Pardon. But of all the Maintainers of this Levelling Principle, none attempted more boldly for it (though with another sort of weapon, the Pen) then Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburn, whom nothing could deter from prosecuting his Opinion in Writing, and inveighing against the Powers then in being; Sometimes he was Impison'd, sometimes try'd for his life, yet he was only overpower'd, but never quell'd, not by Cromwell himself.

The Parliament of Scotland resolve to own and Treat with his present Majesty.

Their Letter to the Junto, protesting against the Murder of the King.

The Junto's Answer.

His Majesty Solemnly Proclaim'd by the Parliament of Scotland.

All this while the Parliament of Scotland were in Consultation about a Treaty with his Majesty, whom (whether to advance their own Interests thereby, or really intending his good) they had resolv'd to own and declare for their King immediately after his Fathers death; ever since which time, those brethren (once so termed) who had been formerly so firmly confederated with the English Parliament, became thenceforth disavowers of their Proceedings, and entertain'd not obscurely thoughts of hostility against them, as will hereafter more plainly appear: For having by their Commissioners testify'd their utter detestation of any violent proceeding against the late Kings Life, and strongly mediated on his behalf, as soon as they heard the horrible Fact was peremptorily determin'd, they immediately dispatch away a Letter to the Men at Westminster, D wherein they declar'd their utter dissent, disclaim'd and protested against their Proceedings: Yet in their Letter express their dissatisfaction in his Majesties Concessions at Newport in the Isle of Wight, and their resolution not to have crav'd his restoration to his Government, till satisfaction had been given him to that Kingdom.

To which Letter and Declaration of theirs, they were re-saluted from our States here with a Confident and resolute Answer, which told them, They were at liberty to act in their own affairs as should seem best to themselves, but were not to limit or impose upon others. And next, justified themselves as having done nothing but what the Trust reposed in them requir'd, and what they knew to be approv'd of by Him that was no respecter of Persons; and that if they had offended, it was by their too long neglect of the impartial Execution of Justice in relation to the innocent blood spilt in the late Wars; That they hop'd the course they had taken with the late King, and meant to follow towards other Capitall Offenders, would be for the good of both Nations; and that if Scotland thought fit to vindicate their own Freedom and Liberty, they should be ready to afford them all Neighbourly assistance.

This Invitation at the cloie of their Answer, though cunningly and persuasively urg'd, was nevertheless so far from prevailing with the Scots, that it rather exasperated them the more, so that they continue firm in their Intentions of speedily sending Commissioners to Treat with his Majesty; But in the first place, they with all due Pomp and Solemnity, the whole Parliament of Scotland being present, and the Lords array'd in their Parliament-Robes, Proclaim him King at Edenborough Crosse, being for that Occasion hung with Tapistry; the Chancellour himself dictating to the King of Arms the words of the Proclamation, which were as followeth:

**T**He Estates of Parliament presently convened in this second Sessions of this second Triennial Parliament, by virtue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who had Power and Authority from the last Parliament for Convening the Parliament; considering, that so far as the Kings Majesty who lately Reign'd, is contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of this Kingdom removed by a violent death; and that by the Lords blessing there is left unto us a righteous Heir and lawful Successor, CHARLES Prince of Scotland and Wales, now KING of Great Britain, France and Ireland, we the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully in recognition and acknowledgment of his Just Right, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, hereby Proclaim and Declare to all the World, That the said Lord and Prince CHARLES, is by the Providence of God, and by the Lawfull Right of undoubted Succession, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, whom all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend

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A send according to the Nationall Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods, against all deadly Enemies, as their only righteous Sovereign Lord and King. And because his Majesty is bound by the Law of God, and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to Rule in Righteousness and Equity to the Honour of Gods, the good of Religion, and the wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royall Power, he shall give satisfaction to this Kingdom in those things that concern the security of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the Nationall Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant: For which end we are resolv'd with all possible expedition to make our humble and earnest Addresses to his Majesty. For the Testification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, publish this our Acknowledgment of his just Right, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, at the Market-Cross at Edenburgh, with all usuall Solemnities in like Cases, and Ordain his Royall Name, Portrait and Seal to be used in the Publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the Mint-House, as was usually done to his Royal Predecessors, and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the Market-Crosses of the Royall Burghs, and to be Printed, that none may pretend ignorance.

C GOD SAVE KING CHARLES the Second.

This was on the third of February, 1648, the like being done in all the chief Towns of Scotland; And to acquaint his Majesty both with what was done, and what was intended, there were forthwith dispatch't away to his Majesty then residing at the Hague, two of the late Kings Bed-Chamber, Sir William Murray, and Sir Joseph Douglas: Moreover, the Scots Commissioners, the Lord Lothian, Sir John Chesley, and Mr. Glendinning, were commanded home; but ere their departure, they left a Paper subscribed with their own names, and left Order to have it sent to the House, wherein they reckon'd up all their Declarations, and call'd to mind their frequent Solemn Vows, Oaths, and Protestations, for the maintenance of the Kings Person, and Just Rights: And upbraided to them their shamefull abjuration and infringement of them by what they had lately acted. This came to home, and touch'd them so to the quick, that the Messenger that brought it, was presently clapp'd up, the Paper Voted Scandalous and Seditious, and all such persons Traytors to the Common-wealth, as should offer to joyn with, or adhere to the Subscribers; whom likewise Order was taken in all haste to stop in their Journey, and ere before them: so that being overtaken at Gravesend, they were brought back, question'd, and (justifying what they had done) secur'd, till a Copy of the Paper were sent into Scotland, to know if the Parliament and Estates there would own the same. Upon which, one Mr. Belford was sent to our States, both to certifye them, that they own'd all that was contain'd in the Paper, and to Expostulate about the Imprisonment of their Commissioners, as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations. Upon which the Commissioners were set at liberty, and return'd home. However, these proceedings on either side increas'd the Difficults and Jealousies of Each the Other, and seem'd to preface what afterwards the matter came to, down right blows. The first Alarm on their side, was the report of some English Forces marching toward the Borders of Scotland. On ours, the News of their Vowing 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse to be rais'd; which Preparation nevertheless was upon another Occasion than this difference with our Republick, namely, for the opposing and quelling of a Party in the North of Scotland, headed by Monroe, Middleton, the Gourdens and Mackenzies, rising purely upon the Kings Interest, without any Demurs or Conditions, and therefore by the Kirk and Estates of Scotland as little own'd, as were the Kings most profest Enemies; so far as the Covenanters in this one particular sided with the English Junto, that they endeavour'd as much as might be to depreas and discountenance the Malignant Party (so those were call'd who taking part with the Kings Friends in England, and other parts, were the most really and professedly devoted to his Majesties Service); with these they refus'd to have Intercommunion: nor would they in any of their Transactions with his Majesty, admit them into their Councils. There were also of the Scots, some so strictly addicted to the Kirk and Covenant, that they only intended the Advancement of them, and minded not any other Interest either of King, or Free State, but rather oppos'd them both; of which Faction, Col. Kerr, and Stranghern were thought to be two principal Men. Nor were there wanting in that Nation, such as held secret Correspondence with the Army and Power of England. Of such a Quadruple division did Scotland at that time consist: But they were most considerable both for number, and the Power they held in the Parliament and Committee of Estates, who persisting in their Intentions of Addresses to the King, continued yet fix't to their Kirk and Covenant, rather endeavouring to draw him over a Profelyte to them, than for his sake to abandon them. Of all these, the Royalists conceiving themselves (as indeed they were) the most constant and reall Assertors of the Kings Cause. (whereas it was thought they of the Covenant in seeking unto him, sought their own Advantages by him, not intending to admit him but upon their own Terms; as, That he should Sign their Covenant, Submit to the Kirk Censure, Renounce the Sins of his Fathers House, and the Advice of his Mother: With things of the

Messengers sent from the Scots to the King at the Hague.

The Scots Commissioners stop in their Journey, and question'd by the Junto.

The Scots by their Message justify what their Commissioners had done.

A Rising for the King in the North of Scotland.

Severall different Factions in Scotland.

1648.

The Northern  
Rising in Scot-  
land suppress'd  
by Kerr and  
Strauchan.

The reigning  
Faction of  
England invite  
the Scots to  
join with them  
against the  
King.

Montrose's be-  
gins again to  
appear.

The King's  
Condition and  
Entertainment  
in Foreign  
Parts.

Dorians sent  
Agent from the  
Junto into  
Holland, and  
there slain.

The Scots  
Messengers  
driven back  
by them.

the like nature,) took all opportunities to raise all the Forces they were able by their own Contrivances and Endeavours. And of this they gave some Testimony by the forementioned Insurrection of the *Mackenzies*, joining with *Montrose*, *Middleton*, the Lord *Rea*, and others, in which attempt, *Innerneis* was seiz'd for the King; several others being likewise expected to have join'd with them, had not *Kerr* and *Strauchan*, being sent against them, with wonderful expedition, taken them at disadvantage, set upon them, and utterly dispers'd them: and besides their ill success, these things gave a very fit occasion to them at *Westminster*, To lay before their late Brethren of Scotland the inconvenience of their owning the King or any of his Affairs, to tempt them to a speedy and utter breach with him, and to court them with the proffer of their utmost assistance against him and all his Adherents. Nor was it altogether not to be fear'd what effects such subtle Insinuations might have produc'd; yet such was the aversion of the Covenanters toward our Common-wealthsmen, as well as against the Malignants, so call'd, that all their Rhetorick prov'd in vain, deceiving their expectations, notwithstanding that much more formidable Efforts were afterwards made by the Royalists in Scotland, chiefly under the Auspices and Conduct of the Marquess of *Montrose*, who having been Commanded by the late King at the Infatigation of the Covenanters, to quit Scotland, and to cease from Arms, began now to appear again, having receiv'd Commission from his present Majesty to raise Forces for him in *Holland*, *Germany*, and those Parts. This the Covenanters, however they could not choose but know of, yet dissembling, it seems, their knowledge of it, they went on in their Overtures of Treaty with the King, who on the other side, finding those of the Covenant to be, at that time, in a better posture and capacity to help him, than his own genuine Friends, who were in all places at a low Ebbe; and considering that his expected Levies would be but a weak foundation to rely upon, did not think it safe to reject the Overtures that were made to him by the Scots, from whom he had assurance of Commissioners shortly to be sent to Treat with him.

His Majesty ever since the unhappy declension of his Fathers Fortune in the late Wars, had betaken himself to a Sure Refuge in the Dominions of Foreign Princes and States; than he was like to have found in his own, as the lamentable usage his Royall Father underwent among the Usurpers of his Dignity, made it suddenly to appear; a much more favourable than which he could not in all probability have expected, since there would soon have been found out pretences against him likewise, to the deprivation at least of Liberty, if not of Life. During his Retreat abroad, there want not sufficient proofs of his Industry, Valour, and Counsel, for the recovery of his Right, which will at large hereafter appear in the severall Transactions he went through, the many great Affairs he dextrously manag'd, the many Toils and Hazards he hardly endur'd, besides what hath been already related of his Conduct at Sea, and the fair way he was in for gaining the Command of the whole Fleet, had not that been wanting which is the Life of all great Designs; through which necessity of his Condition, he was forc'd to have recourse to those Princes his Friends and near Relations in *France* and the *Low-Countries*, who knew to Entertain him according to his and their Quality; but as to any considerable Supply toward the regaining of his Kingdoms, there appear'd the same either incapacity or coldness as among Friends of a lower rank. He was at present resident at the *Hague* with the Prince of *Orange*, who had a particular Kindness both out of a generous Commiseration of his Estate, and by reason of his Alliance with him by the Marriage of his Sister the Princess Royall. Nor in the Prince only, but also in the generality of the *Dutch* People, there were to be discern'd a manifest good will and Inclination toward his Cause, and a detestation and contempt toward those that were the detainers of his Right; as was plainly discover'd both upon other occasions which happened afterwards, and by an Accident which fell out before his departure from the *Hague*; One *Dorians* a *Republican* Dutchman, made Doctor of the Civill Law in the University of *Oxford*, thence in the time of *Warr* prefer'd to be Judge Advocate in the *Parliaments* Army; afterwards employ'd in drawing up of the Charge against his late Majesty of glorious Memory, being at last sent Agent into his own Country from their Brother *Republic* of *England*, took his Residence at the very Place where the King had his, the *Hague*: Which confronting presumption and boldness in a person that had so notoriously contriv'd against his Royall Fathers life, was so disdainfully resented and stomack't by the high spirited *Cavaliers* there, that one among the rest, one Col. *Whitford* a *Scotchman*, took the resolution to assault him in his Chamber, where he gave him his death's blow: upon which though a pretended Hue & Cry was made after the Assassinate by the Magistrates Order, yet the people were so far from shewing any forwardness in the Prosecution, that they rather further'd his Escape, than endeavour'd his Apprehension. In like manner, not long after was one *Alcham*, being sent Agent into *Spain* from the same Powers, assaulted at *Madrid*, together with his Interpreter *Seignior Riba*, by one *Sparks*, who had the same success as the other in Killing, but not in making his Escape; For by the Command of the King of *Spain*, more officious, belike, to our rising States, he was dragg'd out of the Sanctuary to which he fled, and Executed.

During the King's Abode at the *Hague*, the two Messengers Sir *Joseph Douglas*, and Sir *William Murray*, that had been sent to him from the Scots, were by Tempest driven back: Whereupon they were once in the mind to have sent them again with others join'd in Commission with them; but upon mature Debate, and second Counsels, they concluded first to send a particular Envoy with certain Propositions in order to a Treaty, and to know his Majesties Intentions therein; in the mean

1649.

The King re-  
moves from  
Holland into  
France.

The diligence,  
and careful  
Provision of  
the Common-  
wealth Party  
for their fu-  
ture Establish-  
ment.

Their Prepa-  
rations for the  
reducing of  
*Ireland* to their  
Power.

The Marquess  
of *Ormond*'s  
diligent acting  
for the King's  
Service in  
*Ireland*.

A mean time, his Majesty left *Holland* for the present, and took his Journey toward *France*, intending to make some short stay at *St. Germain* with his Mother, the *Queen Dowager of England*, and from thence to pass over into the Isle of *Jersey*, thence to give a Meeting to the Scots Commissioners, and the Princess his Sister, he was splendidly entertain'd at most of the chief Places he pass'd through, at *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, and *Breda*, by the States of *Holland*; at *Amster* and *Brussels* by the Arch-Duke, by whom he was likewise preiented with a most magnificent Chariot, and eight galled for so illustrious a Guest: Upon the Frontiers of *France*, he was by the Duke of *Lorraine* Royally entertain'd and conducted toward *Compeigne*, where he was met by the French King, and by him accompanied to *Paris*, and from thence to *St. Germain*. Here, while for a season he made his abode, there came to him, out of *Holland*, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Tork*, who from the ample Expressions of Civility and Kindness made to him by the French King, and Cardinal *Mazarine*, took occasion to implore Aid in behalf of his Brother, and though he fail'd in the main of his Request, yet to oblige him with somewhat more than Compliments, and the specious Promise of very much Favour and Assistance, as soon as the King should have the Power and Opportunity to serve him, he was presented with Ten Thousand Crowns, besides many other Honours and Munificencies that were perform'd both to the King and him, during their stay in *France*. While thus his Majesty was sojourning in Foreign Courts, and rejected by the most Inferiour of his Subjects here, yet receiv'd and treated like himself by the greatest Princes abroad, his Tenants at *Westminster* were wholly taken up in the care of settling themselves, of maintaining their new Purchase, and of enlarging, as much as might be, their Dominions: All which to accomplish, it is easie to imagine how great their Advantage was, in having the whole Wealth of the Nation, either in Possession, or in their Power; forasmuch, as the Argument of a drawn Sword is not to be disputed; the Revenues of the Crown, the Revenues of the Church, the Confiscations of their Grand Delinquents Estates, the Compositions of those of the lower Classis, all the Kings Mannors, Houses, House-hold-Goods and Furniture, to be expos'd to Sale, together with Forreist Lands, all this they possist; and for the raising of more, they by Act impos'd a constant Tax of Ninety Thousand pounds a Moneth, besides the Command of the City's Purse, upon all emergent occasions: Out of which, though (after all Publick Charges cast up, the Pay of so great an Army, the Provision of so strong a Navy, and all other things defray'd, without which they had not been safe,) they had a pretty long Bill to pay; yet they neglected not to provide very comfortably for themselves, while Opportunity lasted, having the Convenience of gratifying and enriching one another, in a Parliamentary Way, out of other mens Estates: Nor could the Possession of one rich Kingdom satisfie their aspiring Minds; *England* was already wholly subjected to their Power, by an unhappy Destiny, *Scotland* not yet mature for their Invasion, *Ireland* is next the Object of their Ambition, the next Exercise of their successfull Arms: the truth is, it did not a little concern the Safety of their ill-gotten Dominion, to look after that Kingdom in time, lest the King should have been in soon as he had gain'd it totally to his Obedience; which was in a very fair way to have been accomplish'd, though the Care and serious Negotiation of the Marquess of *Ormond* (invested by the late King with the Dignity of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*); for seeing now a Necessity of closing with the Confederated *Irish*, and uniting all Interests there against the Common Enemy, he concluded a Peace with the most considerable Party of the Confederates, upon their Submission, and certain Articles, which (according to the Necessity of Affairs) yielded them many ample Privileges and Advantages: There join'd also with the Lord-Lieutenant my Lord *Inchequin*, the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, and the Earl of *Casthaven*; so that there had been a General Association for the King in all parts of *Ireland*, had not those in *Ulster* under General *Owen Roe O'neal*, a Person wholly guided by the Pope's Nuntio, and one of the most deeply engaged in the *Irish* Rebellion, stood out against the Lord-Lieutenant, and very much obstructed and oppos'd the Peace he made with the rest: yet with this very Faction did our Reformers here, who made so heinous a matter of the late Kings Treaty with the *Irish*, condescend so far to a Treaty, that what was Transacted in that nature between *Owen Roe*, and Colonel *Monk* (who having been long imprison'd by them, was at length releas'd, and sent over into *Ireland*, having it seems made a Vow, never to draw Sword more against the King in *England*) they secretly conniv'd at, however in open shew they were compell'd, by the shame of their former Pretences, to disown: but doubtless, *Monk* durst not of himself have proceeded so far in that business, nor granted *O'neal* what Conditions he desir'd, had he not had some private Instructions, or at least Encouragement from some of the Grandees here. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, the Lord-Lieutenant with what Power and Influence he had in *Munster*, *Connaught*, *Leinster*, and other Parts of *Ireland*, sought by all means to get together a compleat Army, both for the reducing to Obedience *O'neal* and his Followers (toward which, the rest of the Confederate *Irish* themselves were the forwardest Undertakers, so great a Feud there was then between them), and for the gaining of those Places which yet held out for the *English* Republick, which were onely *Dublin*, *London-Derry*, *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and *Droghda*, of any regard: Of which, the three last surrender'd to the Kings Forces, upon the Defeat of *O'neal* by Colonel *Mark Trevors*, who together with the Lord *Adair*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, had

1649.

Dublin Belieged  
by the Marq.  
of Ormond.

The Siege  
rais'd by Jones  
with the utter  
Defeat of the  
Marquess's  
Army.

The Siege of  
London-Derry  
rais'd by Sir  
Charles Coote,  
falling out of  
the Town.

Cromwell sent  
with an Army  
to subdue Ire-  
land.

He takes Drogh-  
da by Storm,  
and puts all  
within it to the  
Sword.

Killick, Carrick,  
Wexford, and  
Kilkenny taken.

The chief Coun-  
sels of the lo-  
sing of Ireland.

had but a little before declar'd for the King, and come in to my Lord Inchequene; the first, namely, A Dublin, being of chiefest Consequence, and therefore most labour'd for by my Lord Lieutenant, was govern'd by Collonel Michael Jones, who, by all means possible, both peremptory summons, and fair Invitations, had endeavour'd to win, to a Surrendry of the Town; which when he found to prove altogether vain and effectless, he resolv'd to lay close Siege to it with his whole Power: Which, what with the English he himself commanded, and others under Inchequene; and what with the Conjunction of Taffe, Preston, and others of the Confederate Irish Forces, that had Declar'd for the King, made up a gallant and well-furnished Army. (a gallanter and richer Army had scarce been seen in all the late Wars:) It was upon the 21 of June, 1649, that the Siege begun, and had in all probability succeeded, to the gaining of the City in a short time, had not the Difficulties and Discouragements on the part of the Besiegers been as great, as were the Encouragements and Advantages on the part of the Besieged: Here an Unanimity among the Garrison Souldiers, free from Factions and Divisions, a notable Vigilance and Courage in their Government, animated through Discontent, to fight against the Cause he had deserted for the Refusal of desir'd P.ferment, the City being re-inforc'd with a Supply of Three Thousand Horse and Foot, and a compleat Army suddenly expected out of England to their Relief: On the other side, Grudges and Animosities between the English and Irish in the Lord-Lieutenants Army; and thereupon a manifest Carelessness and Indifferency in some of the Officers and Souldiers, as seeming not to regard how the matter went; a necessity of drawing off a considerable part of the Army under my Lord Inchequene, for the Security and Defence of Munster against the threaten'd Invasion of the Army from England; To which may be added, my Lord-Lieutenants unwillingness to attack the City, out of a tender respect to what Inconvenience might have befallen the English Protestants within, had the City been taken by Assault: Embolden'd by these Considerations, the Besieged took the Courage; first, with slight Excursions, and afterwards (having discover'd the Security and Careless Posture (a thing most destructive in Martial Affairs) of those that were set to Guard a certain Fort which they attempted) with their whole Strength to fall out upon them; not fearing to venture even upon the main Army; and so far did Fortune favour their bold Attempt, that being led on by the weak resistance they met with, to venture farther and farther, in a short while they utterly defeated them, with little loss on their own side, killing and taking prisoners very many: among whom, the chiefest of Note were, Sir Richard Butler of the town, Sir William Vaughan of the flint; and possessing themselves entirely of the whole Camp, abounding in very rich Booty and plenty of all things, the Marquess himself not without much danger and difficulty making his Escape. In like manner, and it such about the same time, was the Siege laid against London-Derry, in the Kings behalf, by Sir Robert Stuart, and Collonel Merwin, rais'd by a resolute Sally of Sir Charles Coote the Governour thereof; and that so much the more advantageously, as not long before the Town had been reliev'd by Omsal, and Collonel Monk. Immediately upon these Successes, not to give the Royal Party time to recover Strength, all Disturbances being quieted in England, and the Discontented Faction of the Army call'd Levellers utterly suppress'd, Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General of the Junos Army, is made choice of (happily through his own Contrivance or Procurement) to be sent into Ireland with four Regiments of Horse, seven of Foot, and one of Dragoons, and invested with the Title and Authority of Lord Governour, or Lieutenant of Ireland: The next in Power under him, was his Son-in-Law Major-General Ireton, who follow'd with 40 Sail of Ships for the Transportation of his Army. He, after a short stay at Dublin, march'd with great Expedition against Drogheda, for the regaining of that place; which thereupon was fortified by the Marquess of Ormond, with a Supply of 2500 Foot, and 300 Horse, of the choicest of his Forces, with divers resolute and stout Commanders, among whom Sir Arthur Aston, heretofore Governour of Reading for the late King, was made Governour: There wanted in the Defenders neither Courage nor Fidelity, for the keeping of the Town; but such was the Force and Fortune of the Assaultants, that after several furious and successful Onsets (which yet cost them dear enough) the Town was at length taken by Storm; and in Revenge of their resolute standing out, both Sir Arthur Aston the Governour, Sir Edmund Farnley, Collonel Warren, Tempest, Finglasse, with other eminent Commanders, and all the rest that were within the Town, whether Garrison Souldiers, or Inhabitants, without regard either to Age, Sex, or Condition, were by Cromwells Order, with a Cruelty far unbecoming the Zeal and Religion he pretended put all to the Sword, except some very few persons, who made a shift to hide themselves, till the Massacre was over, and the Edge of Destroying Fury abated.

The next place besieg'd being Wexford, having newly receiv'd Sir Edmund Butler for Governour, with a Supply of fifteen hundred men, was soon yielded (through the Treachery of one Strafford, suffering the Castle, of which he was Governour, to be surpriz'd) even in the very sight of the Marquess of Ormond coming to the Relief of it.

Then follow'd the taking of Koffe, though upon Honourable Terms, made by the Governour Luke Taffe, with Carrick; and not long after Kilkenny (being betray'd by the Townsmen), and so from time to time, the rest of the most important Towns and Castles in all Parts of Ireland; besides several Field-Fights successfully fought by the Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, Zanchy, Reynolds, Henlow, and Venables: And no great wonder, since they were continually supply'd by their Masters in England, with all things requisite, to animate and support mens Courages, having a competent Number of Ships attending to that end upon all Occasions. On the other side, many Relo-

lue

1649.

late Efforts were made by the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquess of Clarrickard, the Earl of Castlehaven, the Lords Inchequene, Taffe, Clarendon, Ards, Sir George Monro, Lieutenant-General Ferris, and other Maintainers of the Royal Interest: But so far from success, (through the growing short of Pay, and the increasing of Division; and the want of the Kings Presence among them; which as it was earnestly desir'd, and for one while daily expected, so some think it would have very much conduc'd to the upholding of his Interest in that Kingdom) not only great Numbers of their Men, but even whole Towns and Cities fell off to the well-paid, and therefore prevailing side, (as Prosperity ever engages more, than all other Considerations, though never so Sacred) the rest that were kept together by the prudent Conduct of their Leaders, must needs succeed, as men that fought with disheartned and deprest Spirits. So that in less than a year, all Ireland was in a manner totally subdued to the Power of the Republick: To whom nevertheless, the English Plantations in Virginia, and the Caribee-Islands, under the Government of the Lord Willoughby of Parham, refusing Subjection, publicly declar'd for the King as their lawful Sovereign: Whereupon they were interdicted all Traffique and Commerce, and thereby driven to great Straights; and soon after a Squadron of Ships was sent from hence against them, under the Command of Sir George Ayscough; whereby in a short time they were brought to a forc'd and unwilling Concomity.

The English  
Plantations in  
America,  
brought under  
the Subjection  
of the Com-  
mon-wealth.

The King's  
Rupert having  
been driven  
out of the  
Kingdom.

As the Kings Fortune by Land, such was it also by Sea, improsperous and much to be deplor'd; for Prince Rupert having been Constituted Admiral of what Naval Force his Majesty had remaining, and for a while much infest'd the Coasts of England, and taken several rich Prizes, was at length block'd up in the Harbour of King'sale, by some of the Junos Ships; and upon the taking of the Town suddenly after by Cromwell, being forc'd to break through with he loss of three of his Ships left behind him, had enough to do, making all the Sail he could, to get clear off with the rest; which yet having at last obtain'd, he sail'd directly for Lisbon, the chief City and Port of the Kingdom of Portugal; where notwithstanding all the Dissuasion and Opposition of Englands Commonwealth, which proceeded for the time to open Hostility with that Kingdom, he was both receiv'd into Protection, and nobly entertain'd by King John of Portugal. Here the Prince tarried, till he had tir'd out the Junos Admirals, that lay a good while waiting before Lisbon, in expectation of his coming forth; and then steer'd his Course for Malaga, in which unhappy Voyage, meeting with ill Weather, and certain Dutch Men of War, he first lost his Brother Prince Maurice, who was cast away in the Vice-Admiral; and afterwards his whole Fleet, excepting two Ships, himself with much ado escaping, and recovering the Coast of France.

His Majesty having staid some time at St. Germain, without receiving the expected Message from the Scots, takes his leave of the Queen-Mother, and the French Court, and steers his Course for the Ile of Jersey, which was the Place judg'd at that time most commodious for the Reception of such as should be sent Envoy's or Commissioners to him from Scotland: And about the beginning of September, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of York, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, his whole Retinue amounting in all to about 300 Persons, lands in the Island, having a little before his departure from St. Germain, Confer'd the Order of the Garter upon Prince Edward, and the Duke of Buckingham, the same Honour being design'd for the Marquess of Ormond. And on the same day, those illustrious Persons receiv'd the Garter the Honour of Knighthood upon Sir Richard Brown formerly Baronet, Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and Resident for his late Majesty in the Court of France, ever since the beginning of the late Troubles.

Upon his first Arrival he was Proclaimed King, and the Lord Jermyn, now Earl of St. Albans, made Governour of the Island, under whom Sir George Carteret was Constituted Deputy Governour: *Guernsey* being possess'd by the Parliaments Forces, all except *Cornet Castle*, a Declaration was thought fit to be sent thither, to invite the Governour and People of that Island, to submit to his Majesties Obedience: But neither did this Invitation any whit avail, nor those Opportunities, that were lookt for, succeed, for the gaining of *Dartmouth*, and other places in the *West*, by the help of certain Male-Contents of the Army, who were ready to have taken hold upon any occasion, to rise against the Power then Reigning, had they not been immediately suppress'd, and brought to nothing.

The Committee of Estates at St. Johnstons, spent a good portion of time in Consulting about the Letter to be sent to the King, and about a fit Person to be sent with it unto him; made choice at length of Mr. George Windram Laird of Libberton, who all the while shew'd much unwillingness to take that Employment upon him, and desired to have been excus'd: so that much Importunity was us'd to bring him to accept of it; nor had he been prevail'd with, but that they condescended to remit of the strictness of their Demands.

On the five and twentieth of September, Windram was dispatch'd away with his Message to the King; he first put in at Zealand, where he lay for some time, expecting a convenient Passage over to Jersey: After his Arrival, he waited for an Audience, till an Agent that had come from Ireland was dismiss'd; and then being admitted to the Kings Presence to deliver his Message, he presented him with the Desires and Offers of the States of Scotland, which were to this Effect:

Mr. Windram  
Laird of Libberton,  
sent Com-  
missioner  
from the E-  
states of Scot-  
land, to the  
King.

The Message  
sent by the  
Scots to the  
King.

I. That His Majesty would Sign the Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms, and pass an Act for all Persons to take it through the Kingdom of Scotland, and Ratifie all that had been done there concerning the same.

Iii 2

II. That

1649.

I I. That he would pass divers Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, which were Ratified by their two last Sessions: As for his Approbation of their Disclaiming Duke Hamilton's Design; For the receiving of the severall Acts made by the English for the Militia; For the Kings of Scotland to have no Negative Voice in that Parliament.

I I I. That he would withdraw his Commissions to the Marquess of Montrose, for raising of Forces, to be sent over from any Parts beyond the Seas, into the Kingdom of Scotland; and that he would give present Order for the stopping thereof.

I V. That he would put away all Papists from about him, and let none be of his Council but known Protestants.

V. That he would appoint some Place about Holland, to Treat with Commissioners from the Estates of Scotland, who would then send a Splendid Deputation of Eminent Lords of Scotland to him, to Treat and Conclude there upon all Particulars; and that from that time that he should come into Holland, they would provide for him what should be necessary, to make him and his Train to reside there in a Regal Manner.

V I. That he would give a speedy Answer to their Desires.

These Propositions from the Scots having been receiv'd and read, a time of serious Deliberation was requir'd, ere a positive Answer to them could be agreed on; and some Protraction in the Business was necessary, in respect of the Resolves that were to be expected out of France, and other Parts, concerning them; his Majesty having so great Respect for the Queen his Mother, and so high an Opinion of her excellent Vertue, and prudent Fore-sight of Things, that he thought fit not to make an absolute Conclusion, in any Matters of Grand Importance, until he had first acquainted Her with them, and expected her Advice about them; (Montrose being also a Person so much concern'd, it was thought mainly expedient to send with all speed that might be, to acquaint him how Matters went.) Besides what Delay was occasion'd by the dividedness of Opinion, among the Lords of his Majesties Council at Jersey, about the Scots Message; some there were, who relying with much Confidence, upon the Success of Montrose's Designs, Countell'd the utter Rejection of these Propositions, as Dishonourable and Disadvantageous to his Majesties Affairs; but the greater part of those about him were of Opinion, That the safest way would be to accept of those Conditions that were offered, and to make a speedy Agreement with that Party of Scotland that was the most prevalent, and by whom he had far greater probability of obtaining the Crown, than by Montrose's Designs, which were full of Hazard and Uncertainty. To the same effect likewise came Letters from the Queen, urging, That if the Scots Propositions seem'd at present too severe and Insupportable, there might hereafter be offer'd Opportunity enough, as soon as he had obtained the Kingdome, to make them sensible of their mistaken and over-acted zeal, drawing them by degrees to a willing condescension from the excessive rigour of their Injunctions, and thereby to free himself, at least in some measure, from the Inconvenience of them; so that whatever his own Repentments were (as haply those Conditions were not very agreeable to his Mind and Inclination), the main of his Counsellors tended to this: That according to the Exigence of his present Condition, it was absolutely necessary to Comply and Agree with the Kirk of Scotland. And how little shew there was of Contradiction in Montrose himself, appears by his own Letter to the King, the Substance whereof was;

I. That his Majesty would hearken to the Scots Commissioners, so far, as if possible, to make an Agreement with them, so that he might be honourably, and with Safety, admitted into Scotland.

II. That he would not break off with the Kingdome of Scotland, but (so that himself might be safely restored to his Rights and Dignities) that he might give Consent to have him Banish'd the Kingdome of Scotland, that so himself might receive no prejudice by him.

To which the King returned this Answer;

That he had found him so faithfull all along, and to have perform'd such Eminent Services, both to his Father, and to himself, that he could not in Justice, or in Honour leave him; and therefore desired him to urge him no further to it.

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Of the Two contrary Disputes that were manag'd in the Kings Councell at Jersey, the one for the rejecting of the Treaty, alledging, That the Scots, how fairly sever they promis'd the King, would in all likelihood, when they had him in their power, be induc'd either out of Fear, or for hopes of Gain, to deliver him up to the English, as they had formerly done his Father. The other for entertaining it, Persuading his Majesty by all means not to break off with the Scots, but to make use of all Opportunities and Offers that presented themselves to him, to get Footing in Scotland. This last Advice being in all likelihood the most safe, and most Contentaneous to Reason, and being back'd by the great Sway and Power which the Queen had with the King her Son, was after long Consultation, and many Reasons urged on both sides, carried by the Suffrage of the Major, and the most predominant Party: yet several Occasions so interven'd, that the Laird of Liberton could not be dispatch'd homeward so soon as was expected, and therefore Sir William Flemming was sent as Agent before-hand to Edinburgh, from whence he was to give Advice of the State of Affairs in Scotland, that thereby the Council might the better know how to proceed in the framing of the Answer.

Besides these Transactions with the Scots, great hope there was still remaining, of raising a sufficient Force in England, among the Friends and Favourers of the Royal Interest there: Upon this Design several were sent from Jersey into the West of England, among whom, Two principall Men, Sir John Berkley, and Colonel Slingsby, who went up and down among their Correspondents, earnestly stirring them up to take Arms for their Prince, were accidentally discovered by a Country Fellow; and thereupon notice being given to the Committee of the Country, were enquired after, and apprehended at Sir Charles Terwinnion's House, by one Captain Kuck-wich, and sent Prisoners to Truro in Cornwall.

Sir John Berkley, and Col. Slingsby apprehended in England.

The King had at this time Ambassadors and Envoyes Residing in the Courts of sever I great Princes and States; as, the Emperour, the King of Spain, the Duke of Moscow, the State of Venice, the great Prince of Turkey, and others, to Solicite their Aid and Contribution for the recovery of his Father's Kingdoms. Many Complements, no doubt, they received, and many fair Pretences of their good Will to help him, as the Custome of the World is, as well among Princes, as those of lower degree, but for the most part little or nothing beside; so little regard was the Petition of a Person Depress'd in Fortune, though a Prince. The most Solemn Embassie; and which was thought most probable to take Effect, was that to the King of Spain; which how it succeeded, will appear by the Answer given to the Lord Cottington, and Sir Edward Hyde, his Majesties Ambassadors, to that King, when at length they were admitted to have Audience; The Substance of the Embassie was:

Ambassadors from the King resident in the Courts of several Princes.

I. That the Parliament of England having been in Arms against his Father, had prevail'd against him, and caused him to be put to Death.

II. That he being the Son and Heir of the said Charles late King of Great Britain, and Ireland, was kept out of his Kingdoms by the aforesaid Parliament.

III. That he desir'd his Neighbourly Assistance, and that he would afford him what Aid he could, to establish him into his Rights and Dignities in the Kingdoms.

The Lord Cottington's Embassie to the King of Spain.

To this the King of Spain made Answer;

I. That he was sorry for his Fathers ill Success, wishing that he had been more Prosperous.

II. That he Condol'd with him for his Fathers Death, and was much Affected with Sorrow, at the manner of it.

III. That concerning the Difference between him and the Parliament, and the Right, on the one or the other Side, they being Matters out of his Territories and Jurisdictions, he could not take Cognizance of them, nor should he meddle therein; But for any thing within his own Dominions, he should be ready to do him what lawful Favour he could.

The King of Spain's Answer.

It is in vain to sue for help to those, against whose Interest it is to afford it. This King, notwithstanding the Sorrow he profess'd for his late Majesties Death, thinking it to be most for his Profit to comply with the prevailing Party, was the first that own'd the Power of the English Commonwealth, and shew'd himself desirous to enter into a League with them.

As for the Dutch, though they shew'd themselves not very forward to afford the King any great matter of assistance, yet they manifested a kind of favour and good will to his Cause, by the disrespect they gave to the Junco's Agents, viz. Walter Strickland, and some that were sent afterwards in the nature of Ambassadors, and the affronts they suffer'd to be put upon them by the common people.

The Czar of Moscow did more than any other Monarch resent the Murder of the late King; for upon the first knowledg thereof, he commanded that all the English Merchants should depart from his City of Mosco, and in a while after he expell'd them his Dominions, and confiscated their Priviledges. This Generous proceeding made the King expect a good assistance from him in Money, for the distance of his Dominions made all other Aid too difficult; And

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this he did the rather, because the Father of this *Czar* was by King *James* supplied very largely in a time of as great Distress as the King was now in. Wherefore the Lord *Cutpepper* was sent in an Embassy thither, who when he arrived at *Moscow*, had but a very cold Reception: For the Chief Ministers of that Country were so jealous, that they suspected his Credentials, and open'd all his Pacquets: But after a while, when by an accidental arrival of an Envoy from *Poland*, they had certain Intelligence of the King's being in *Scotland* in the Exercise of his Authority, and the total Submission of that Kingdom to him, and his hopes of gaining *England* and his other Dominions: They, at last made up a Loan to the King in *Furrs* and *Rye* to the value of Ten Thousand Pounds, according to their Rates, which they over-valued at near Twenty per Cent, and were so strict, as not to deliver either the *Furrs* or the *Corn*, till the Embassadour had given Bond in the King's Name, to make repayment in Two years. And when this was done, he took his leave, least upon any advice of Alteration in the King's Affairs, their good humour might alter: Yet to Complement the Embassadour at his departure, the *Czar* told him, *He would in a more effectual manner have assisted the King, towards the Recovery of his Kingdoms, had he not been engag'd at that time in a War with Poland.*

*Guernsey Island* attempted by the King.

*Guernsey Island* being a place of Importance, and which would have much Conduct to the King's Advantage, some Endeavours were made for the Attacking of it, and the King's Friends within the Island, upon secret Intimation of some men to have been landed for that purpose, were ready to have Contributed their Assistance; But Colonel *Russell* who was Governour for the Parliament, having a fresh Supply sent him of about Five hundred Men, not only Secur'd the Island from all danger of an Assault, but gave a strong Alarm to *Cornet-Castle*, whereof Colonel *Burgess* was appointed Governour in the Room of Sir *Baldwin Wake*, who was Drowned: Nor was it thought safe to continue much longer in the *Isle of Jersey*, in regard therewas a strong Rumour of a Fleet of Ships ordered by the Parliament to be suddenly set out for the Reducing of that Island: So that Care was taken for the speedy dispatch of the Answer to the Committee of Estates of *Scotland*: To which end, the King and his Lords late every day close in Council about it, and though an absolute Resolve could not then be concluded touching every particular of the Scots Message, yet great Diligence was used to deal so effectually with the Laird *Liberton*, that at his Return he should so represent all things, and with such Advantage, that they might tend to a perfect Agreement, which already was brought to far, that a Treaty was desired to be shortly held at *Breda*, for the more ample discussing of all matters yet in Contraversie. The Answer being drawn up, together with a Letter directed to a Committee of the Kirk Assembly, the Laird *Liberton* took his leave, and departing from *Jersey* into *France*, took Shipping at *Havre-de-grace*, for *Scotland*. And now it was also judg'd high time for the King and his Attendants to leave *Jersey*, and betake themselves to some more secure Place of abode; To that purpose several Reasons were presented to him by the Lord *Hopon*, and others of his Council:

The Lord *Liberton* departs from *Jersey* to return for *Scotland*.

I. That whereas there was a Considerable Fleet of the Parliament of *England*, come already to *Portsmouth*, with store of Provisions; it was necessary to prevent the danger that might fall upon them, in case the said Ships should make an Attempt upon the Island, which was the more probable, because there were already Men Landed in *Jersey*.

II. That if they should lye under that Hazard, they knew not where to expect Relief, except all other Services should be neglected, and Prince *Rupert* and *Montrois* called thither, which would be the Ruine of their Designs.

III. That their Removal would give great Satisfaction to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and be an Encouragement to their Friends in *England*.

IV. That thereby they should be the more free from Hazards and Dangers, both as to themselves and others that should make Addreses to them.

The King leaves *Jersey*, and returns into *France*.

These things being Maturely Considered, a speedy removal out of the *Isle of Jersey* was resolved upon, and from thence the King went back again into *France*, where he Resided with his Mother, the Queen of *England*, till the time appointed for the Treaty at *Breda* drew near.

Immediately after the Departure of *Windram*, a Letter was sent away to *Montrois*, to acquaint him with the Result of these Transactions at *Jersey*; which Letter was as followeth:

Most Dear and Well-beloved Cousin,

The King's Letter to *Montrois*.

WE E have received Letters from Our Kingdom of *Scotland*, of which you receive herewith a Copy, by which Our Subjects Demand of Us, That We would please to acknowledge, for lawful, their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly; which being obtained of Our Grace, they offer to send Us their Deputies, with full Commission to Treat with Us, of the means to re-establish Peace and Obedience in that Kingdom. We have made them an Answer, That We have made known to their Envoy the place where We desired their Deputies should come to Us with all diligence

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gence: And to the end you should not apprehend that by Our Letters, or by the Treaty, We had any Design to hinder the Affairs We had Committed to you; We have thought fit to let you know, That as We judge the Levies you have made for Our Service, to have been a powerfull Motive to Oblige them to send their Deputies, and to enter into Treaty with Us; So We also believe, that the Progress you shall make in your generous Designs, will dispose them to Treat with the more Moderation, to the end the whole Realm may again happily return under Our Obedience. We assure you, We have not the least thought to derogate from that ample Commission which We have given you, nor do diminish that Authority in which We have Invested you by Our Letters Patents: And We do promise you also, if it shall come to pass, that We shall enter into any good Intelligence with our Subjects, We shall have so much Care of your proper Interest, that all the World shall see how much We esteem your Person, and what Confidence We have in your Conduct and your Courage, whereof not only the late King Our Father, but Our Self also have receiv'd proofs, both by what you have done and suffered for Us: Mean time, you shall understand that We have qualified the Assembly of Our Subjects, with the Appellation of *The Committee of Estates*, which We have done only for this Treaty; which if it shall not succeed as We desire; as We know already this Qualification of the Privy Signet does not at all Authorise them to be such: So We shall then forthwith Declare for what We hold them, notwithstanding this Title which We have given them, both for their own proper satisfaction, and as also to make known to all the World, that We desire to bring back Our Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland* to their Duty, rather by wayes of sweetness and Amity, than by the Rigour of Our Arms, if their Obstinacy and the Injustice of their Demands should constrain Us to recover it by force. We therefore do hereby give you full Power to proceed Vigorously in your Enterprises, not doubting, but all Our Loyall Subjects of *Scotland* will join themselves with you, and by that means, all those who are otherwise disposed, will submit themselves to Reason in that Treaty which We now accept, or shall be forc'd thereto by Arms.

To this We permit you to publish these Presents, and to Communicate them to such as you shall judge fit. So We pray God to preserve you most Dear Cousin.

Written from *Jersey*, 30. of January, 1650.

The Laird *Liberton* being returned to *Edenborough*, great expectation there was of what Answer he brought from the King, to the Propositions that had been sent him, and what likelihood of his Compliance with them: To particular persons that enquired any thing of him, concerning the Result of his Negotiation, he answered with a Politick Reservedness, as not intending to impart the utmost that he knew; only in general terms he spoke as handsomely as he could in Favour and Advantage of the King, and of his Inclination to Correspond with them in all things which he thought just and reasonable. Moreover affirming, that he had Declared this to be his Resolution, To do for, and stand by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in an especiall manner. This gave occasion to people to pass their Centures upon the Laird *Liberton*, according to their severall Fancies; Some saying, That this Embassy of his had made him a Compleat Courtier; Others, That by his long Converse with the Royal Party, and the private Instructions of some of the Council at *Jersey* prevailing with him, he was himself become a Royalist.

The Laird *Liberton* arrives at *Edenborough*.

As soon as the Committee of Estates, and Assembly of the Kirk were met, he delivered his Message and Letters to them from the King, acquainting them also by Word of Mouth, how far he seem'd Inclined to Condescend to their Propositions, Namely,

He delivers his Message and Letters to the Committee of Estates and Assembly of the Kirk.

As to the Ratifying all that the Parliament of *Scotland* did in their Two last Sessions, so far as concern'd the Kingdom of *Scotland*, That there be a general Act of Oblivion: And that *Montrois* and *the Duke Hamilton's* Engagements bear no publick Office without Consent of Parliament. And for the Concluding of a perfect Agreement, if it were possible, with his Subjects of *Scotland*, he had willed and appointed a Solemn Treaty to be held at *Breda*, upon the Fifteenth of March next ensuing. The form of the Message to the Committee of Estates, was as followeth:

For

1649.

## For the Committee of the Estates of Scotland,

CHARLES R.

The Kings  
Message to  
the Committee  
of Estates.

WE have received your Letters lately presented unto us, by Mr. Windram of Libertoun, and we accept Graciously all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity therein contained towards us, with your tender Resentment of Our present Condition, and the just Indignation which you profess to have against the Execrable Murder of Our Father; And we believe that your Intentions are as full of Candor towards us, as we are and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right Intelligence betwixt us and Our Subjects of Our Ancient Kingdom of Scotland, which may be an assured Foundation of their Happiness and Peace for the time to come, and an Effectual Means to root out all the Seeds of Animosity and Divisions caused by these late Troubles. And also to reunite the Hearts and Affections of Our Subjects one to another, and of them all to its their King and lawfull Sovereign; to the end that by their Obedience to Our Royall and just Authority, we may be put into a Condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to us, according to our Charge and Office of a King. And as we have always resolved to contribute what ever is to be done by us to obtain these good Effects, and for the just Satisfaction of all Our Subjects in this Kingdom.

We have now thought fit upon the return of Mr. Windram, to Command and desire you to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and Agree with us, both in Relation to the Interest and just Satisfaction of Our Subjects there; as also concerning the Aid and Assistance which in all Reason we may expect from them, to bring and reduce the Murderers of Our late most dear Father of happy Memory, to Condign Punishment, and to recover Our just Rights in all Our Kingdoms. And we will that they attend us on the Fifteenth Day of the Month of March, at the Town of Breda, where we intend to be in Order thereunto: And in Confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you, and to all the World, that we sincerely desire to be agreed; we have resolved to Address these unto you, under the Name and Title of a Committee of Estates of Our Kingdom of Scotland; And will, and expect that you use this Grace no otherwise for any Advantage, to the prejudice of us, or Our Affairs, beyond what we have given this Qualification and Title for, Namely, only, For the Treaty, and in Order to it; Although we have Consideration sufficient, and very Important to Dissuade and Oblige us, to do nothing in this kind Antecedently at this time. Also we hope the Confidence which we Declare to have in your clear and Candid Intentions towards us, will furnish you with strong Arguments, to form in your selves a Mutuall Confidence in us, which by the blessing of God Almighty, by your just and prudent Moderation, and by that greatest desire that we have to Oblige all Our Subjects of that Kingdom, and by the Means of the Treaty which we attend and hope for, may be a good Foundation of a full and happy Peace, and an assured Security to this Nation for the time to come, which we assure you is wished of us with Passion, and which we shall endeavour by all means in Our Power to Effect.

Their Considerations about it.

To the same Effect also, was the Letter to the Committee of the Kirk, which as soon as they met, was delivered to them: The Message having been received and perused by the Committee of Estates, they choise out of themselves a Sub-Committee, consisting of Nine Lords and Burgesses, to consider what was most expedient to be done therein, and to present their Opinions to the whole Committee of Estates, which not long after Conven'd again for the receiving of the Reports from the Sub-Committee, and so to prepare and state the Matter, that it might be presented to the Parliament of Scotland, which was shortly to Assemble: And moreover, for the more speedy and effectual carrying on of the Business, there was afterwards Chosen a Joynt Committee, part of the Committee of Estates, and that of the Kirk, by common Consent, to consider what was to be done, about sending of Commissioners to the King, and to make Report, the One, to the Committee of Estates; The Other, to the Committee of the Kirk. Much Debate there was, and it is said, much Clashing betwixt those of the Committee of Estates, and those of the Kirk, in regard the last Sort being more Rigid and Jealous of the Kings Designs, would have had New Propositions drawn up, much higher by far than any thing that had been formerly presented; As, That if he came into Scotland, he should be altogether guided by them, and he should cast off Mentors, and all others of their Enemies.

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Commissioners sent to Treat with the King at Breda.

A With other things of the like Nature; but those of the Committee of Estates were the more prevalent, and at length, the Matter was accorded between them, and Commissioners were joyntly Chosen by them to be sent to the King. Those sent from the Committee of Estates, were the Earl of Castles, the Lord Lothian, the Laird Bury, and the Laird Liberton, Sir John Smith, and Mr. Jeffries. Those from the Committee of the Kirk, were Mr. Broady, Mr. John Lawson or Levinston, and Mr. James Wood.

The Commissioners Arriving at Breda, before the King was come thither, went the next day to meet him on the Way, and at Berghen-ap-Zoom, they met, and came together to Breda, on the Sixteenth of March; on the Eighteenth they were Visited by the Earl of Lauderdale, Callender, and Dumfries, and the next day they were Conducted by the Lord Wentworth, Captain of his Majesties Guards, in the Kings Coach, which was sent to receive them, and brought unto the Presence Chamber, where the King sat ready to give them Audience, the Lords of his Council, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen being present; The Earl of Castles made his Address in the name of the rest of the Commissioners, and presenting the Message from the Committee of Estates, spake to this Effect:

That the Kingdom of Scotland upon his late Message, together with the Consideration of all former Overtures with him, have now again sent to him these Propositions, which they humbly tender to his Majesty; Not that they have thoughts to force him to a Compliance, through his Necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him by Importunities; but by making their Loyall Addresses to him, by this their humble Submission, in which, their Desires, they hope, will appear so reasonable and just, that he will soon condescend unto them: which they humbly beg at his hands. Assuring him, That by that means he will be most powerfull in the Advancing and Establishing his Throne; it being the Nature of his Loyall Subjects, and all truly Noble Minds, to be soonest overcome with such Allurements.

The Earl of Castles his Speech to the King.

That in these their humble Addresses, they did manifest to the World their Loyalty and Constancy to him, neither was it their purpose to Flatter, but to be Faithfull and Free. That if he would please to Condescend to what was propounded by the Kingdom of Scotland, it would make him happy, and give them some hopes to live at Peace, under the shadow of the Wings of his Government.

Then the Commissioners from the Kirk presenting themselves, one Mr. Levinston made a short Speech, in which, He prest his Majesty to hearken to the joynt Desires of the Estates and Kirk of Scotland, that so he might enjoy the Blessing of God, and be received by his People in Comfort and Peace, to promote the Work of the Lord, and make them happy.

Mr. Levinston's Address to him.

Afterwards their Commissions being demanded, they produced them, and at the same time delivered him the Propositions and Letters from the Estates and Kirk of Scotland: the Propositions were as followeth;

The Propositions of the Estates & Kirk of Scotland.

I. That all those who have been, and continue Excommunicate by the Kirk of Scotland, may be removed from having Access to the Court.

II. That he would be pleased to Declare, that he would by Solemn Oath, under his Hand and Seal, allow the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and that he would prosecute the Ends thereof in his Royall Station.

III. That he would Ratifie and Approve all Acts of Parliaments, enjoying the Solemn League and Covenant, and Establishing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of worship, the Confession of Faith, and Catechisme, in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the Generall Assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he would give his Royall Assent to the Acts of Parliament, enjoying the same in the rest of his Dominions; and that he would observe the same in his own Practice and Family, and never make Opposition therein, or endeavour any Change thereof.

IV. That he would Consent and Agree, that all Matters Civill might be Determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all Matters Ecclesiasticall, by the ensuing Generall Assembly of the Kirk, as was formerly Condescended and Agreed to by his late Father.

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The Kings Answer.

After the reading of these Propositions, and the Letters, the King returned Answer;

That he would take these things into Consideration, and doubted not to give them such a full Answer, as should give them and his Kingdoms of Scotland ample Satisfaction.

And so they were for that time dismiss.

In this Treaty at Breda, as formerly in those Overtures at Jersey, were many Demurs in regard of Montros's Interest, and thereupon it was further demanded of the Scotch Commissioners, by the King;

whether these Papers they had delivered to him, contained all Particulars which they had to Propound or Desire: whether they had Power to Recede from any Particular proposed, or to be proposed? Also, what they had further to propound, for the carrying on of his Service against England?

To which they Answered, That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their Power and Instructions.

Then followed much Dispute and Arguing on both Sides, concerning the severall Heads of the Treaty: The main thing stuck at by the King, was, the Business of the Covenant; which was as mainly prest upon him by the Commissioners, who also gave a Solemn Visit to the Prince of Orange, desiring him to be a Mediatour betwixt them and the King; and it is said, that they endeavour'd to have Transfer'd the Treaty to the Hague, as hoping to find there more effectual ways for a Mediation: which Intention of theirs notwithstanding was soon altered. About the same time, the King withdrawing himself for a while from Breda, gave occasion to the generality of people to suspect that he had a Resolution to break off the Treaty; but by his quick Return thither again, it appear'd only to have been Intermitt'd, and not quite broken off, for then they renew'd their Consultations, and the rest of the Propositions were taken into Debate; as, That for the Confirming of all that had been done by the Parliaments of Scotland in some late Sessions. And, For the not admitting Montros, or any of his Adherents into that Kingdom.

There likewise came the Earl of Carnarvon, and Mr. Murry of the late Kings Bed-Chamber, from Scotland, with Letters containing further Instructions from the Committee of Estates, to the Commissioners at Breda.

While this Treaty at Breda was in agitation, Montros being, as it is probable, not altogether ignorant of Proceedings there, and fearing lest, if the Agreement between the Scots, and the King, should be absolutely made up, and that Article among the rest which concern'd him in particular, should be Sign'd before his Arrivall in Scotland, his Hopes and Endeavours for his Princes Service would thereby be utterly overthrown, and he himself, as he had formerly been forc'd to leave Scotland at the Command of the late King, and through the Instigation of the Scots, should now at the Command of the Son, the same Parties Instigating, be forc'd to keep away from thence, made therefore all possible speed into Scotland, notwithstanding the many discouraging and prosperous Accidents which befell him at his setting forward; As, the tardiness of Col. King in coming up with certain Horse that were promis'd from Sweden; his being deserted by Col. Ogleby, and Col. Cockrane, who being intrusted with certain Sums of Money for the raising of Men and Arms, the one in Poland, the other at Amsterdam, neglect their Commissions, and convert the Money to their own private use. And, which was a much worse disaster, the loss of half the number of his Ships, namely two of the four which were given him by the Duke of Brandenburg (some say the Duke of Holstein), cast away upon the Rocks on the Coast of Orkney, together with a third part of those 700 Men he had got together, Holfewers and Hamburgers for the most part, the rest given him by the King of Denmark, with the two Ships that were left him, and a small Frigate of 14 or 15 Guns (wherein he himself was Imbarqu'd) which together with about 1500 Arms, was bestow'd upon him by the Queen of Sweden, he Arrives about the middle of April 1650. among the Orkneys or Isles of Orkney, accompanied with the Lords Frendraught and Pittsfordler, Sir John Murry, George Drummond of Ballach, and severall other persons his Friends and Confederates; here he spent time in the raising of new Forces for the increasing of his Army, which he had the better opportunity to do, in regard those Isles were altogether clear and unpossess'd by any from the Estates that might give any opposition; so that as soon as he had compleated what Recruits he thought convenient of these Orkney Souldiers, such as they were, a fort of rude, raw, and undisciplin'd people, and far short of that Courage and Stoutness for which they have been fam'd in Ages past, he made a Shift to Transport over his Men into Scotland, leaving Colonel Johnston, and Henry Graham his natural Brother for the keeping of Kirk-wall in Pomona the chief of the Orkneys, and landed at the utmost Point of Land North-west, call'd the Point of Cabness, expecting the coming up of Pluscardy to his Aid with 2000 Men, to be rais'd out of the Earl of Seaforth's Territories; but his Expectations were much too slow in the fulfilling, for the small respite of time that was given him: for so speedily was the Parliament of Scotland Alarm'd

The Earl of Carnarvon and Mr. Murry arrive at Breda, with further Instructions to the Scotch Commissioners.

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Montros's lands with Forces in Scotland.

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Alarm'd, and so vigorously bestir'd they themselves, that the News of his Arrivall was scarce sooner known, than a Compleat Army was upon their March to oppose him, under the Command (the Horse being 30 Troops) of David Lesley; the Foot (being 7000) of Major General Halber, besides which, Colonel Stranghan was sent before with a Party of Horse consisting of his own Troop, Colonel Montgomerie's, Col. Kerr's, and Lieutenant Colonel Hackitt's, in all about 300; and indeed there needed, as it hapned, no other Army, for all that Montros was able to do in that time towards the strengthening of himself, was little or nothing more than the taking of Dunblow House, which was soon Surrender'd to Col. Verry, upon Demand, the Lord thereof being fled before to Edinburgh: So soon a Remora was the Earl of Sunderland in his Way, who though he had not Force enough to encounter the Marquess, yet the Power and Sway he bore all those adjacent Parts about, where Montros had to do, both kept back the Countrey from coming in to him, and hindred severall of the Gentry from appearing, who otherwise were inclinable enough to have given their Assistance: So that Stranghan surprising the Montrossians with the speed and unexpectedness of his appearance, and finding them much disorder'd and tir'd with seeking to recover a certain Pass, which aiming at, they yet fail'd of obtaining, improv'd his advantage, and after some Repulse at first, redoubled with such fury upon them, that the unseason'd Orkney Men immediately yielded themselves, and in a short time (though not without much resolution shewn in their resistance) the Germans also. Thus was Montros's his Vigorous and Loyal Undertaking for his Sovereign's Service, the Labour of much Time, and carried on with Incredible Pains, Difficulty, and Danger, dissipated in a Moment by a Party far Inferiour in Number, and doubtless no whit Superiour in Skillfull and Valiant Leaders (not to mention Montros, who was accounted, and worthily, the greatest Captain of his Age): Such was the Misfortune of this at least bravely attempted Enterprize; probably in regard of the great disadvantage wherein Montros's his Men were set upon; their Necessities and despair of Succour and Supply's in a Countrey surrounded with Enemies; or perhaps a kind of Surprissall or Pannick fear among the generality of the common Souldiers, upon an Apprehension that Lesley's great Army had been come up against them: However it were, so great was the Defeat, that of the whole Body of the Montrossians who Engaged in this Battell, there Escaped not above an Hundred, from being either taken, or slain: Among the Prisoners, were, Sir John Verry, Major General of Montros's his Army, the Lord Fendraught, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, Colonel Hay of Noughton, Colonel Gray, Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, with other considerable Officers: Montros himself made a Shift to escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, together with his Belt and his Coat with the Star, and shifting himself into an ordinary High-Lander's apparell. In this Fight, the Royall Standard was taken: upon which was Portraictted the Head of the late King lying a bleeding, and severed from the Body, and this following Motto, Judge and Revenge my Cause, O Lord. And the Lord Pittsfordler's Son who was Standard-Bearer, was slain: Colonel Stranghan received a Shor upon his Belly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his Belt and Buff-Coat, he had no harm thereby.

So Welcome was the News of this Victory to the State and Kirk of Scotland, that they bestowed as a Reward upon Stranghan a Thousand pounds Sterling, and a Chain of Gold: Upon Lieutenant Colonel Hackitt a Thousand Mark Sterling. But that which Crown'd this Victory to them with the highest Joy and Satisfaction, was the getting of Montros's his Person into their Power: As indeed it was impossible for him to make his Escape, so narrowly was he Way-lay'd all the Countrey round, and so strict a Search and Inquiry was order'd to be sent after him, besides a large Reward promis'd to whomsoever should be his apprehender; Yet for the space of 3 or 4 daies, he made a Shift to keep himself undiscover'd, by wandring up and down in the open Fields with one Associate only in his misery, till being very near famish'd with hunger, it was his fortune in the end to fall into the hands of the Laird of Aston, a Person who had formerly adher'd to the Marquess, and been befriended by him, and of whom, upon that Consideration, he doubtless hop'd for the Favour of not being discover'd by him, if not of assistance towards his Concealment: But Aston, whether for fear of what he must have suffer'd if he had been known to have Conceal'd him, or for want of opportunity in regard of his Followers that attended him, or setting his thoughts upon the propos'd Reward, (as the regard of Gain for the most part outbalances that of Friendship) was not to be perfwaded or induc'd by any respect of old Friendship or Relation, to suffer him to Escape; so that being seiz'd and secur'd with a strong Guard, (and having in vain supplicated for death by the hands of those that took him) he was presently sent and deliver'd up to the Custody of David Lesley, and by him hurried away with all speed to Edinburgh, much insulted over in the severall Places he came through, only the People of Dundee (though none more endamag'd by his Souldiers in the former Warr) were very Civill to him, furnish'd him with all things necessary, and were so far from insulting, that they very much commiserated his condition: The chief Favour he obtain'd in his Journey, was the permission to call in, as he came along, at the House of his Father in law, the Earl of Southesk, to see two Children of his that were there. At Leith he was met by the Magistrates of Edinburgh in a kind of farall Pomp, and as it were to welcome him to the satisfaction of their revenge; he had the reproachfull honour, while the rest of the Prisoners went by him on foot, to be mounted on a Cart-Horse, (for the better advantage of exposing him to the Peoples gazing and revilement) till he came to the end of the Cannon-Gate Street, where the Executioner in his Livery Coat, and severall other Officers, attended with

Montros's defeated by Stranghan.

He is taken Prisoner.

Brought to Edinburgh.

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with a Cart, having a high Chair placed in it like a *Sella Curulis*, wherein (though himself the Captive fast bound and bare-headed, while the Executioner had his Bonnet on) he rode as in a triumphall Chariot; the Disgrace which his Enemies intended him, turning to his Honour, by representing the Heroick Magnanimity of his Nature, which could not choose but Triumph in the midst of Captivity. In this manner, reprosch't of many, (as it is usuall when men are in Adversity) pried of others, even some who were of the ingag'd in the general enmity against his Designs, whom yet the Majestie of his presence, and the undisturbed patience and constancy wherewith he deman'd himself, melted into a sensibility of the misery of his condition; He was convey'd to the Tolbooth the place of his Imprisonment, where the next day being Sunday, the 19th of May, he receiv'd new matter for the tryall of his patience; by the troublesome Visits of divers of the Ministry and the Parliament, who while they began to persecute him with their pretended Exhortations, which serv'd but to aggravate the fence of his affliction, he told them, *That, whereas they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, He thought it the most honourable and joyfull Cavalcade that ever he made: God having all the while most comfortably manifested his Presence to him, and furnish'd him with resolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whose Cause he suffer'd.* The next day being Summon'd to appear before the Lords, Barons, and Burgeses, Assembled in Parliament, he came into the House Apparell'd in a very rich Suit, thick over-layd with costly Lace, and over it a Scarlet Roker, a Beaver Hat with a very rich Hatband upon it, Carnation Silk Stockings, Garters, and Roses, with other Habilliments suitable, all which he had caused to be made for him, immediately upon his coming to Edinborough, as if he had been going rather about some Festivall than Tragical Affair: As soon as he was brought to the Barr of the House, the Lord Chancellor (who according to the Custome of that Kingdome is always Speaker) told him first, *That he must kneel at the Bar.* Whereunto he Answered, *My Lord, I shall with all my heart observe any Posture you shall appoint me, to appear before you in, whereby I may manifest to you, that I freely submit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this present Parliament in a more especiall manner, because you have concluded so near a Conjunction with his present Majesty my Master in the late Treaty.* Then the Chancellor made a Speech to him, the Substance whereof was this:

SIR,

The Lord  
Chancellours  
Speech to him.

I Am Commanded to mind you of the last Judgment of God befallen you, for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might justly provoke God thus to divert your Counsell and Affairs, for having been so eminent an Author and Actor of Mischief against this Nation; You Abandoned the Covenant, and despised the Oath of God, and did invade your Native Country, and with most Inhumane and Barbarous Cruelty did burn and waste divers parts thereof, and have spilt much blood of his Majesties good Subjects, taking Advantage of that time, when the Prime Commanders and Forces thereof were Employ'd elsewhere. For these Crimes you were Excommunicated by the Church, and sore Faulted by the Parliament of this Kingdome, and yet still continued in the highest Contempt against God, under that fearfull Sentence of Excommunication: And to this day have you remained without the smallest shew of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now justly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation.

Hereupon Montrose humbly desiring to know of his Lordship, Whether it were the Parliaments Pleasure that he might be permitted to speak what he had to say for himself; and humbly craving that Liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellor, That the Estates in Parliament did give him free liberty to speak what he could say for himself. Then Montrose;

My LORD, said he,

His Answer.

I Am glad that I may have Liberty to answer for my self, though I am here your Prisoner, yet my Cause is good; Nor is there any Breach of the Covenant on my part, in which I Swore to be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors. Concerning what I have done in relation to the wars and Affairs of this Kingdome, I had not only a Generall Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done, from his Majesty, which I was Engag'd to Obe by the said Covenant. And concerning my coming over now, I was Ascertain'd that you had profess'd to comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs in which he hath Employed me; and upon that Account it was that I have Aided. I desire to refer my self, and do submit unto this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, to be my Judges in this Case, whom I own as a true Parliament, by Authority from his Majesty, and I shall be content, however it shall please God to deal with me. As for my life, if you

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you take it away by this Authority, it is well known unto the World that I regard it not: Death is a Debt which all owe, and must once be paid by every One: And I shall be willing and much rejoyce to go the same way which my Master pass'd before me; and it is the Joy of my Heart, not only to do, but also to suffer for Him.

Moreover, he added to this Effect, That he appear'd before them with so much the greater respect and reverence, by reason of the Agreement he heard they had made with his Majesty; That he never was ingag'd in the League and Covenant, and therefore was not justly to be condemn'd for opposing it, since he was sensible of how sad consequence it had prov'd to these distressed Kingdoms, and the Wellfare of his late Majesty, against whom those that rose up in Arms in England were plainly assist'd and upheld by a Faction of this Kingdome: That as he had never been the occasion of shedding blood but in battell, and by the necessity of War, so he had been ever carefull to prevent all disorders as much as could be, and to save as many lives as possibly lay in his power. That what ever he had aid'd formerly against them to make a diversion of those Forces that were going from thence against his late Majesty, was merely in Obedience and Zeal to his Majesties Service, at whose Command he as readily submitted to lay down his Arms and retreat, as he had before cheerfully taken them up in his Majesties defence. That as for his coming in at that time, it was in order to the accelerating of the Treaty betwixt his present Majesty and them, to the end that his Majesty being not driven to rely wholly upon their assistance, might be enabled to make the better Conditions with them. That since he had done nothing but what became a good Christian, a good Subject, and a good Neighbour, he desir'd them not to be rash or partial in their Judgment, but to judge him according to the Laws of God, of Nature, of Nations, and of the Land, as they would answer the contrary to the Righteous Judge of the world.

After he had been thus Examined and Tryed, and Commanded to withdraw, the Parliament were not very long Debating the Matter, ere they unanimously resolv'd to proceed to Sentence of Condemnation; which, he being called in again, was Denounced against him in this Form:

You are to be carried back to the Place from whence you came, and from thence you are to Morrow, being the One and twentieth of May, 1650. to be carried to Edinborough-Cross, and there to be Hanged upon a Gallows Thirty Foot high, for the space of Three Hours, and then to be taken down, and your Head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, and hanged on Edinborough Tolbooth, and your Legs and Arms to be hanged up in other publick Towns in this Kingdome, and your Body to be Buried at the place where you shall be Executed; except the Kirk shall take off your Excommunications; then your Body shall be Buried at the Common Place of Buriall.

The Sentence pronounced against him in Parliament.

After the Denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his Countenance, or seem'd in the least manner to be moved, he was again guarded back to Prison, where being again haunted and importun'd by the Ministers, he express'd how much he was beholding to the Parliament for the Honour they had put upon him; for that he accounted it a greater Honour to have his Head stant upon the Prison Gate for this Quarrell, than to have his Picture in the Kings Bed-Chamber; and left his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honour'd him in designing lasting Monuments to some of the chiefe Cities to bear up his Memoriall to all Posterity; wishing he had had £100 enough to have sent a Piece to every City in Christendome, to witness his Loyalty to his King and Country.

The next day being the One and twentieth of May, the day appoint ed for this Tragedy, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time, so winning was his Deportment, and his Speeches so powerfull, that they made a very great Impression upon the Spirits of the People, in so much, as some who observ'd the Passages of his Death, were of Opinion, that he had drawn away more from the Kirk-Party by his manner of dying, than he could have Vanquish'd in the Field by the Force of Arms.

Upon the Scaffold he deliver'd his Mind to the People in this following Speech:

I Am sorry if this manner of my death be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the wayes of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the wayes of the righteous? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his malice? They who know me, should not dis-esteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind: ye I must not say, but that all Gods Judgments are just; for my private sins, I acknowledg this to be just with God, I submit myself to him; but in regard of Man, I may say they are but Instruments: God forgive them, I forgive them; they have

His Speech.

K k k

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have oppressed the Poor, and violently perverted Judgment and Justice; but he that is higher than they will reward them. *What I did in this Kingdom, was in obedience to the most just Commands of my Sovereign, for his defence in the day of his distress against those that rose up against him. I acknowledged nothing, but fear God, and honour the King, according to the Commandments of God, and the Law of Nature and Nations: and I have not sinned against man, but against God, and with him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near to him. It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the Censure of the Church, this is not my fault, since it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my Princes most just Commands; for Religion, his Person and Authority: yet am I sorry they did excommunicate me, and in that which is according to Gods Lawes, without wronging my Conscience or Allegiance, I desire to be relaxed; if they will not, I appeal to God who is the Righteous Judge of the world, and who must and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me, that I should blame the King: God forbid; for the late King, he lived a Saint; and dyed a Martyr; I pray God I may so end as he did: If ever I should wish my Soul in another man's stead, it should be in his. For his Majesty now living, never People, I believe, might be more happy in a King; his Commands to me were most just, in nothing that he promiseth will he fail, he dealt justly with all men, I pray God he be so dealt withall, that he be not betrayed under trust as his Father was. I desire not to be mistaken, as if my carriage to you at this time, in relation to your wayes, were stubborn; I do but follow the light of my own Conscience, which is seconded by the working of the good Spirit of God that is within me. I thank him, I go to Heavens Throne with joy, if he enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with Courage and Confidence to embrace it, even in its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my condemnation; yet I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out of my duty to God, and love to his people. I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity and prayers. I shall pray for you all, I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my good will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conscience.*

Having concluded his Speech, and afterwards with closed eyes and lifted up hands, spent a good while in private, in pouring forth his Soul to God, and recommending his Spirit into his hands, who was pleas'd (as he said) to give him a full assurance of his Mercy in Jesus Christ. He receiv'd from the Executioner a certain Cord, by which hung his Declaration and History, to hang about his Neck, affirming, *That he thought not himself more honour'd by the Garter, which honourable Order his present Majesty had been pleas'd to confer upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he would embrace about his Neck, with as much Joy and Content as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold. Adding, that if they had any more Dishonour (as they conceiv'd it) to put upon him, he was ready to accept it. And then presently with a cheerful Resignation submitted himself to the Execution of the Sentence.*

Thus was this Famous, but Unfortunate Man, Sacrificed to the Revenge of the Scotch Covenanters, after a most shameful and despicable manner, even at that very time when they were Treating with their King, whom they knew full well to have a very great Regard and Affection for him. Together with Montros, though not in so disgraceful a way, were Executed Sir John Urry Major General to Montros, and Colonel Spotswood Laird of Darcy, (who had both the Favour to be Beheaded) with some others of Note that came along with the Marquis into Scotland.

While these Transactions were in Scotland, the Treaty still went on at Breda, yet not without some Controversie and Demur, especially about the Business still of the Covenant: The King urging, *That there was no reason why he should relinquish the Religion for which his Father had dyed a Martyr; and that whilst he was willing to permit to his Subjects Liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their so earnestly pretended desires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the same Priviledge which he was so ready to give them. That the Covenant by them tendered, is the Subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to swear to himself, so that he thought it sufficient to passe an Act for his People to take it. As for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the hands of the Estates for five years; Provided, That afterwards it might return to himself. He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland: Provided, That he himself might have always three Chaplains with him of his own Election.*

And some other particulars there were, which ere they were fully agreed on, news was brought of the Scots extreme Rigour and Cruelty towards Montros, upon which it was believ'd by many, that the King would have been so far Incens'd, as utterly to have broke off the Treaty; but it seems he judg'd it not Conveuable to his present Affairs, to take so much notice of it, as thereby to break off with his Subjects of Scotland, but rather to make the utmost Tryall of the Reality of their Intentions toward him; So that notwithstanding Montros his Death, a speedy Conclusion was put unto this Treaty: However, the King did not omit to express his ill Resentment of their Proceedings, by this ensuing Message sent them by Mr. Murry.

That

*That he was very sorrowful and grieved, to hear a Report which came to him by Credible Persons, that notwithstanding those hopefull Overtures lately made between him and them, tending to their Peace: Yet that there hath been some Blood shed of late of his good Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that the manner and result thereof according to the Report he had heard of it, did very much trouble him; but that he might know the Particulars more certainly, he desired to understand the Business fully from themselves, of whom he requir'd an Account.*

To which they return'd for Answer, this lame Excuse:

*Having profess'd their Affections to him, and how much they Rejoyc'd at his Engagements to concur with them in a happy Agreement; They desire him not to stumble at some seeming Obstacles, as the Death of Montros, or their Reducing of his Forces; Assuring him, that there was nothing in what they did, but to Accomplish his Ends, and to serve his Interests to his best Advantage.*

Notwithstanding the Conclusion of the Treaty at Breda, there were not wanting some endeavours, among those of the Parliament of Scotland that were of the disaffected Faction to his Majesties Person and Cause, to have made void the Treaty, and frustrated all that had been done, taking advantage of his not presently coming over, and of his ill Resentment of their Cruelty towards Montros; and so far they brought their business, that they prevail'd to have it put to the Vote, Whether any more Addresses should be made to the King? There were Thirty who gave their Negative Voyces, but by the Major Part it was carried in the Affirmative: And then upon another Message was resolv'd upon to be sent unto him; wherein they Invited him, *To make all possible speed in coming to them, and Protested that they would Assist him with their Lives and Fortunes, to Establish him in his Throne. Yet withall (having belike intercepted some of the Kings Letters which did not well please them) they forbore not to signifie unto him their having some Testimonies to produce of his Acting contrary to his Promise to them at the Treaty at Breda; however, that they were willing to pass over what was past (Wonderful Clemency!) so that he would without delay, according to the Articles of Agreement, come over into Scotland, and Comply with his Parliament, and the Kirk.*

And thenceforth there being a general Expectation of his Coming, great Preparations were made for his Reception, Two of the chief Houses in Edinburgh were Richly Furnish'd, (Though St. Johnstons happen'd to be the chief Place of his Reception, in regard Edinburgh lay too much expos'd to Cromwells Army, into whose possession also it suddenly fell,) the Parliament likewise took into Consideration the Nominating of Officers for his House, who were such onely as they thought fit to place about him, for he was not only not permitted to have those to wait upon him, whom he chiefly Favoured, and whom he thought were best Affected toward him; but besides this, severall great Scotch Lords, as Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, and Searforth, with many other Persons of Quality, who were with him all along in Jersey and Holland, were Prohibited by Proclamation from returning into Scotland.

About the beginning of June, the King took Shipping for Scotland, at Scheveling in Holland; He lands at and after a happy evasion of double danger that threatned him in his Voyage, (one from a suddain Storm which arose and cast him upon certain Danish Islands, yet without any losse or shipwrack, but on the other side, much respect and Civill usage from the Inhabitants; The other, from a Fleet of Parliament Vessels which were sent out under Popham to intercept his passage) Landed safe at a Place called the Spy, in the North of Scotland. The Estates in the mean time, and Parliament of Scotland, Employed their Consultations about the forming of an Army for the Service of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was publish'd for the Training of every Fourth Man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Arms, the Earl of Leven was made General of the Foot, and Holborn Major General; David Lesley Lieutenant General of the Horse, and Montgomery Major General, the Supream Command of the whole Army being reserved for the King himself, whom at his first Arrivall they Entertained with high Compliments, and much Acclamation, and seem'd to Congratulate his coming with great Demonstrations of Joy and Affection: And on the Fifteenth of July they again solemnly Proclaimed him King at Edinburgh Cross, and had Design'd (had not certain Obstacles come in the way) to have Crown'd him the following Month: But he had not been long among them, ere they began to discover their Native rigour, imperiously to take upon them according to their usuall manner of Kirk Authority and Discipline, and to obtrude upon his Majestic such curbing Conditions, as but very ill suited with Regall Dignity.

At Dundee new Propositions were by Commissioners from the Parliament and Kirk sent unto him to Sign: And not long after when the Town of Aberdeen presented him with 1500 pounds, the Committee of Estates sent to divers Places, enjoying them what ever Money or Plate they had to bestow, to bring it into the Publick Treasury appointed by that Committee; So that it seems the King must not be Master of any Money more than what they were pleas'd to Allow him. Then they began afresh to busie themselves about reforming his Retinue, and purging his House

K k k 2

of

1650.

The Kings Letter to the Scots about their severe proceedings against Montros and others.

Their Answer.

Another Message of the Scots to the King.

Preparations for his Reception.

Is proclaimed King at Edinburgh Cross.

New Propositions sent him to sign.

The Treaty at Breda concluded.

1650.

The Republic of England thought it best by a seasonable prevention to invade them first, and thereupon resolved upon open War with Scotland, and the preparing of an Army to send against that Kingdom. They had at this time sufficient Forces to spare, and no great Matter to divert them; Ireland was in a fair way to be wholly subdued, and Cromwell leaving his Son-in-law Ireton, Deputy in his stead, and other well instructed Commanders to finish the Conquest there he had so successfully begun, return'd into England, just upon the Critical point of Time, when General Fairfax was upon laying down his Commission; either of himself declining to engage in a War against his Brethren of Scotland, or cunningly wrought thereunto by some of Cromwell's Instruments in the House of Commons and Army; however it were, Cromwell after many self-denying Compliments, was at length (full fore no doubt against his will, only out of tender care of the Publick Weal, for he, poor man, was no Alpirer or Self-seeker, and at the earnest importunity of those who were sufficiently assur'd of his Condescension) perswaded to take upon him the Supreme Command of the Army, with which he advanceth toward Scotland about the latter end of June, and being entered upon the Borders, sends from the Head-Quarters at Berwick a Declaration from the pretended Parliament of England, and another from the Army, to justify their Proceedings, and to shew the Grounds and Reasons of this their Advancing against them. As for the Scots, they seem'd to be much startled at this sudden Invasion, without any Warning given, and digested severall Papers to Sir Arthur Haslerigge, in which they expostulated the Matter, and urg'd the Solemn Covenant, and the former Union between the Two Nations: but neither what the one side declar'd, or what the other urg'd, could ought avail to allay the Hostility that was begun between them.

Cromwell returns out of Ireland.

Is made General of the Parliaments Forces in the room of Fairfax.

Cromwell marches into Scotland with an Army.

The Scots routed at Mulselborough.

of those Malignants, as they call'd them, whom he had gotten into his Service, Interdicting them also all Employment both about his Person, and in the Army: As for himself, he had a strong Guard continually about him, to Attend him, and watch his Motions.

The Republic of England, having sufficient Intelligence of the Scots Proceedings in their Treaty with the King, and of their Engagement therein to Establish him in the Throne of England, thought it best by a seasonable prevention to invade them first, and thereupon resolved upon open War with Scotland, and the preparing of an Army to send against that Kingdom. They had at this time sufficient Forces to spare, and no great Matter to divert them; Ireland was in a fair way to be wholly subdued, and Cromwell leaving his Son-in-law Ireton, Deputy in his stead, and other well instructed Commanders to finish the Conquest there he had so successfully begun, return'd into England, just upon the Critical point of Time, when General Fairfax was upon laying down his Commission; either of himself declining to engage in a War against his Brethren of Scotland, or cunningly wrought thereunto by some of Cromwell's Instruments in the House of Commons and Army; however it were, Cromwell after many self-denying Compliments, was at length (full fore no doubt against his will, only out of tender care of the Publick Weal, for he, poor man, was no Alpirer or Self-seeker, and at the earnest importunity of those who were sufficiently assur'd of his Condescension) perswaded to take upon him the Supreme Command of the Army, with which he advanceth toward Scotland about the latter end of June, and being entered upon the Borders, sends from the Head-Quarters at Berwick a Declaration from the pretended Parliament of England, and another from the Army, to justify their Proceedings, and to shew the Grounds and Reasons of this their Advancing against them. As for the Scots, they seem'd to be much startled at this sudden Invasion, without any Warning given, and digested severall Papers to Sir Arthur Haslerigge, in which they expostulated the Matter, and urg'd the Solemn Covenant, and the former Union between the Two Nations: but neither what the one side declar'd, or what the other urg'd, could ought avail to allay the Hostility that was begun between them.

The English Army move forward again into the Scottish Country, and toward the latter end of July they came to Dunbar in the County of Lothian, from Dunbar to Haddington, whence Major General Lambert, and Col. Phaleys being sent with a Party of Horse toward Mulselborough, were set upon in the Rear; but after a sharp Dispute maintained for a good while, (in which Lambert himself was wounded, and had like to have been taken prisoner) the Scots in the end were repulsed with loss: The very next day they were again encountered by Major General D. Montgomery and Colonel Stranghan, in which Engagement the Scots not only fail'd of having the better, but were Routed and put to very notable Disorder and Confusion, being pursu'd so far, that their very Camp had been in danger of Surprizal, had not the King himself appearing unexpectedly among them, though much against the will of the Ministers and Grandees, oppos'd the hazard of his Person, and the authority of his Presence, against their precipitated flight and hurry. Upon this success, Cromwell marches on, and encamps within a little of the Scotch Army, endeavouring to draw them to a Battle; which when he saw he could not, he ascends Penland Hills, and takes Cullington House, and Readhall; in the last of which, the Lord Hamilton was taken prisoner, and divers others, besides the gaining of Store of Ammunition and Provisions.

The Commons in England at the same time, were no less Active in carrying on the Designs and Interests of their Common-wealth; in order to which, they proceeded with their wonted Rigour against severall Persons taken as Actors against their Government, and charg'd with receiving Commissions from his Majesty; upon which occasion, Dr. Levens is made an Example of their pretended Justice, and hang'd on the 13th of July over against the Royal-Exchange. And on the 22d. of August Colonel Eusebius Andrews, formerly Secretary to the Lord Capel, taken by the Treachery of the Bernards, heretofore his Major, having in vain alleg'd both Law and Equity in defence of his life, before the High Court of Justice so called, was Beheaded on Tower-Hill; his Man Captain Binstly also as an Accomplice with his Master in this pretended Treason, was Executed at Tyburn: And now even many of the Presbyterians being become as great Opposers of the Republick, as the Royalists themselves, Sir John Gell appears to be of that number, though heretofore a very great Champion of the Parliaments Cause, and about this very business was try'd for his life at the said High Court; but having the favour to be found guilty only of Misprision of Treason, he came off with the Sentence of perpetual Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Estate. Moreover, to obliterate and abolish as much as in them lay, all Memory of the late King, all Monuments and publick Memorials of him in all places, are order'd to be thrown down especially his Statue at the West-End of Pauls, and that among the Statues of the Kings his Predecessors in the Royal-Exchange, under the void Nich whereof, they caus'd to be written in Golden Letters, *Exit Tyrannus Regum Ultime*; as the Kings Arms had been eras'd in all publick Places to make room for the Harp and Cross, so that it was a kind of Petty Treason to own his Majesties Picture in publick, so much as in a Sign.

The Battle at Dunbar.

The Scotch and English Armies having for some space moved at a small distance one from the other on each side of a Bog which lay between them, without engaging, only saluting one another now and then with a few great Shot; Cromwell not being able, though very desirous, to force the Scots to an Engagement, and being reduc'd to great scarcity of Provisions, retires back to Penland Hills, from thence again to Mulselborough, and not long after to Dunbar, at which time, it is thought, he was meditating a secret Flight into England, by reason of the straits he was driven to by want of Victuals; and the Scotch Army pressing with advantage upon his Rear so far,

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far, that at last David Lesly having the Command of an high Hill, at the foot whereof he planted the Main of his Army, had to coop't up the English Army within a narrow Neck of Land, that there was a kind of universal Jubilee in the Scotch Camp, upon a confident assurance to have beaten the English at their pleasure; but they were then nearest to their overthrow, when they thought themselves already Conquerors: For Cromwell, whose unwearied vigilance, to give him his due, made him so never to be overcome, after the gaining of a Pass at a place call'd *Cop-paspeh*, between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, which the Scots had possess'd themselves of, to hinder the English from making their Escape homewards, not only winded his Army by degrees out of those Straights to which they were reduc'd, with wonderfull Secrecy and Resolution, but in the end making seasonable use of the Scots presumptuous Confidence and Security, made that Victory his own, which the Scots had so surely promis'd to themselves, and that so absolutely, that they could never recover that fatal blow; which opened a wide Gap to the intire Conquest of their Country. This Memorable Battle, wherein Cromwell was lifted up from the bottom of Despair, to the height of Triumph, was fought on Tuesday the third of September, the greatest part of the Foot were either slain or taken prisoners, all the Horse fled; most of the chief Officers, and among the rest, the Lieutenant General Sir James Lindsay, Sir William Douglas, the Lord Crawford, the Lord Libberton, the Scots Agent to the King at Jersey, who had receiv'd his Deaths Wound in the Fight, Adjutant General Bickerton, Scout-Master Campbell, were taken, with all their Ammunition and Artillery, a very great quantity of Arms, and 200 Colours, which were hung up for Trophies in Westminster-Hall. I have been told by some that were present in this Fight, That Lesly would have had a Way left Open, to have given free liberty to Cromwell's Army; but the Grandees of the Kirk, who it seems were more the General than he, would not permit it. Questionless, so stout and well provided an Army as the Scots had at that time, could not have been so easily discomfited, and that by an Enemy whom they had at so great a disadvantage, by down-right force of Arms; so that it is with probability enough believ'd by some, that as the Marshalling and ordering of the English Army, was chiefly the Work of another Person, who had the least share of the Credit of that Action; so Cromwell's chief part was a more close and mysterious way of operation; and whether the Silver or the Leadn Bullet did most execution as well in this as many other of his Conquests, I leave to common Conjecture. Immediately after this Victory, some Regiments were sent to take possession of *Leith*, and to fortifie it, as being a most Commodious Haven to receive Provisions out of England; Cromwell with the main Body of the Army entered into *Edinburgh* the Mother-City of Scotland, the Cattle holding out a strong Siege which presently after was laid to it.

This throw'd Defeat of the Scotch Army at Dunbar, though of fatal Consequence to his Friends of the Kirk, did not yet give occasion of so much trouble and grief to his Majesty, as did the loss of Two Persons most near to him in Relation and Friendship, namely his most virtuous Sister the Princess *Elizabeth*, who died on the 8th of September at *Carisbrook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*, most probably through a lingering sorrow which had stuck to her heart ever since her Royal Father's Death; and (who died ere the end of the month following) his Brother in law the Prince of *Orange*, a most reall Friend and Assistant of his Majesty with the utmost of his Power upon all occasions; soon after whose death, his Lady the Princess *Mary* was brought to bed of a Posthume Son.

Now that which caus'd his Majesty to be the more indifferently affected with this Overthrow, was the consideration that the Covenanters by how much the more successful, so much the more Imperious would they have been towards him: And so ill did he already brook their hard Impositions, their earnestness to purge his House, and their Extorting a Declaration from him against his own Proceedings and best affected Party, that great Differences and Animosities daily encreased between him and them, inasmuch, that at length taking horse in his ordinary Habit, accompanied with three only of his most trusty Attendants, as if he intended onely to ride out a little way a Hawking, he departs secretly toward the North of Scotland, where he heard the Marquess of *Montrose*, the Earls of *Athol*, and *Seaford*, the Lords *Ogleby*, *Newburgh*, and Major General *Middleton*, with the *Gordonians*, and the men of *Athol* were ready to appear for him, with no contemptible Forces; however, he would not presently call himself upon them, till such time as he had sent to know for a certainty what capacity they were in of helping him, and how far he might trust to the Will and Power of their Undertakings, but went directly to my Lord *Dedp's* House in the North Confinnes of *Fife*, intending there to have remain'd private, till the return of their Answer, and accordingly either to have repair'd to them, or again betaken himself beyond Sea.

This sudden and secret Departure of the King, did very much trouble the Committee of Estates at *St. Johnstone*, especially for that their own Jealousies gave them to apprehend that he was going towards *Middleton*, and the *Athol* Men. Nor was indeed his Departure so secretly carried, but that upon Inquiry made, they soon had Information of his being at my Lord *Dedp's* House: Then was it much controverted and disputed according to the diversity of Opinions among them, what course they should take in reference to his Return: Some, that were of the more arrogant sort, were of the mind, That since he had thus deserted them, they ought not to trouble themselves any more about him, but to leave him to himself and his own ways: Others judg'd it more convenient, To send to him, to let him understand their Resentment of his going from them, and adhering to Malignants, Which last Opinion favouring far more of Indulgence and Moderation, was suddenly scrud up to a perfect condescension and compliance, through the Power and Influence of severall great Lords and leading Men even of the *Presbyterians* themselves, who sensible at length of what these Breaches and Divisions would produce, and of the necessity of uniting against the Common Enemy, began fer-

The Death of the Princess Elizabeth, and of the Prince of Orange.

The King departs secretly from St. Johnstone in discontent.

1650.

The Estates at St. Johnstons send Major General Montgomery to bring back the King.

The King returns back with Montgomery to St. Johnstons.

The Remonstrance of the Western Covenanters in Scotland.

A Declaration sent from the Synod of Glasgow, to the Estates and Kirk of St. Johnstons.

riously to close, in favour and advantage of his Majesty, with those of the Royalty who were by degrees crept into Play. So that it being concluded by the Major part (by much) of the Estates, That not any possible Expedient for the bringing back of the King unto them should be omitted, Major General Montgomery was Commanded with a Party of Horse to March immediately to my Lord Dundup's House, and to endeavour by earnest Supplications to bring his Majesty back to St. Johnstons along with him. Montgomery arriving at the place, and having found for certain that he was there, first Surrounded the House, and then sent in to the King to acquaint him, that he came thither, Employ'd by the Committee of Estates, to entreat his Majesty to return back. Whereupon being admitted to the Kings Presence, he fell at his Feet, and humbly besought his Majesty to forget whatever had been committed hitherto towards him of unbecoming or distastfull or derogatory to his Authority, and to assure himself, that upon his Return he should be observ'd with greater Duty and Respect for the future: and urg'd to him withall, the ill consequence of his deserting of those who had so eminently appear'd for him. In fine, the King, though ill digesting the remembrance of those Restraints and Neglects he had so lately induc'd among them; and at the same time being earnestly Solicited by the *Condonists*, and the *Abol* Men that rose for him in the North, to adhere totally to them, undertaking to secure him against the Kirk and all others that should oppose him, which caus'd a little delay for a while, and made some begin to doubt the Success of this Negotiation; yet being overcome at length by Montgomery's repeated Importunities, and the powerful persuasions of some other persons as Discreet as Loyal, who undertook to mediate in the business, he condescends to return with Montgomery to St. Johnstons, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the Moderate of all Parties, as well Covenanters as Royalists; by the mutual accord and good correspondence of whom, things went on with a much more prosperous and smooth Career than formerly; yet not without some little disturbance, through the contumacious flaming out both of the one and the other extreme on each side. On the Kirk's part, a different Faction of Covenanters, that associated chiefly in the West, and some parts of the South of Scotland, more rigid and cross-grain'd than the rest, bandying into a distinct Sect, as men utterly dissatisfy'd with what was acted at St. Johnstons: On the Royall, the foresaid Confederates in the North, about the quieting of whom there had like to have been warm work, had not the matter been discreetly manag'd. As for those other Malecontents of the Kirk, they set forth a large Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates, wherein They Taxt themselves too much Hast and Precipitation in their Treaty with the King, of their Entertaining and Receiving him among them, before he had given any convincing Evidence of a real Change (as they call'd it); say, whereby divers actions (as they presum'd to alledg) he had manifestly the contrary. Moreover, They declar'd their utter dislike and disavowing of theirs, and the Kings Proceedings, taking upon them to pronounce, That his Profession of the Cause was merely Counterfeits, as they would have to appear, by his favouring and frequenting the wicked Company (to wit) of Scotch and English Malcontents; therefore that they absolutely refused to know him to his Power and Authority. They also Declar'd against their Intentions of leaving England for his sake, being a Nation not Subordinate to them, without consideration of the lawfulness, or the necessity thereof.

The most Eminent Men of this Faction, were Colonel Kerr, Colonel Stranghan, the Lord Warriston, and Sir John Cheffly: Nor were they without a Committee, or Synod of their own, called, The Synod of Glasgow, from whom there was also issued out a Declaration (to the same Effect, as the foren mentioned Remonstrance) which they sent by four of their Commissioners to those of the Kirk at St. Johnstons: But this Declaration of the Synod of Glasgow, as also the Remonstrance of the Western Association, were very much disguised by the chief Ruling Men, even of the Kirk Party themselves, who mainly endeavoured to bring off Kerr and Stranghan to a Conjunction with them; and to that end, they sent the Earl of Cassilis, the Lord Brody, Mr. Robert Douglas, and others, to Treat with them; but they still stood high upon their Terms, and peremptorily Declar'd as well against King and Lords on the one Side, as against Sectaries (for so they call'd the English Army) on the other, and resolv'd equally to oppose both.

These things however did not at present so much exercise the care of the Committee of Estates, as how to bring in Humble and Middleton, and the rest in the North, for they refused to submit (though the Kings Authority was made use of to Command their Coming in within Fifteen or Twenty dayes): And having taken Aberdeen, March'd directly up towards St. Johnstons, killing upon Sir John Browns Regiment, and routing it; By the Way they were Accosted with an Act of Indemnity which they sleighted; and would not thereby be drawn to a Submission, unless according to their further Demands, they might be received into Places of Trust; which with some other of their Propositions not being yielded to, they came with Two thousand Foot, and Nine hundred Horse, within a Mile of the Town; and David Lesly being at hand with a Thousand Five hundred Horse, it was thought the Business would have come to an Engagement, had not the King seasonably interpos'd, and caus'd this Quarrell to end in a Treaty, which otherwise might have prov'd a bloody Conflict. The Ministers at Stirling were so far from Consenting to this Treaty, that they put the Sentence of Excommunication upon Middleton; which Act very much displeas'd those at St. Johnstons, who now began to see a Necessity of taking in all Parties to oppose the Common Enemy: Arguile and Douglas were earnest for it, and Cassilis by degrees was brought to Comply; So that the Earl of Linlithgow, and others that were grand Actors in the year 1648, were declar'd capable of Trust by the Kirk, and the Estates having resolv'd upon a

general

1650.

A G and Convention held at St. Johnstons.

A general Meeting to be held at St. Johnstons, consisting of the King, Lords, Barons, Burgesses, and Assembly of Ministers, to Consult for the good and safety of the Kirk, King, and Kingdom; Summon'd the Commissioners of the Kirk at Stirling, to Adjourn their Sitting thither, and to appear among the rest at this Grand Convention: To this they of Stirling sent back an Excuse by their Messengers, alledging severall things against this Convention, and advising them to be at a greater distance from the King and his Council, and to think upon Stirling as a more Convenient place for their Meeting: To which the Estates return'd Answer; They held St. Johnstons the fitter Place, and that if they wou'd not joyn with their Meeting, they should look upon them accordingly, and Consult for their own Securities. Whereupon after much Debate, and many of them expressing their Dissent, it was at last carried in the Affirmative by the Major part of Voyces, for their going to the Grand Convention at St. Johnstons: but the Committee of War remained at Stirling; and now there seem'd to be an unanimous Agreement amongst the severall Factions against this Common Enemy, namely, The English Army; only in the High-Lands some Forces yet stood out and refus'd to submit, whereupon Middleton was Employed with a new Commission and Instructions from the King, Estates, and Kirk, to go and Treat with them; divers of the Scotch Lords that had been formerly in Disfavour with the Kirk, were now received in, as Duke Hamilton, the Lords Lauderdale, Leith, Buchheim, Dedop, Craford, and others who were design'd to have Commands in the Army, and some of them were admitted to Sit in Parliament.

Colonell Kerr in the West of Scotland was at length so far Induc'd to Comply with the Grati-dees of the Kirk, that he took Prisoner, Colonell Stranghan, who still stood out and inclin'd to Side with the English: But not long after, Kerr himself giving an On-set to the English Forces under Major General Lambert, was Rout'd, his Men put to Flight, and he himself with others of his Chief Commanders taken Prisoners.

As ill succeeded it with a Party of English in Norfolk, who about the same time gathering together in Arms against the Common-Wealth, declar'd for King Charles the Second, and the restoration of the Ancient Government of the Land; but upon the approach of some of the County Militia, and Two Troops from Lyn, they presently disperit themselves and fled; being pursued, severall of them were taken, and about 20 of them Executed by the Sentence of a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose at Norwich.

The Siege of Edenborough Castle having been strenuously carried on for the space of Three Months or thereabouts, many strong Batteries had been made, and Mines wrought against it; on the Twenty fourth of December it was Surrender'd; with all the Arms and Magazine that belonged to it, into the power of Cromwell, by the Governour Colonel William Dundas, Son in law to old General Leyen, besides other Castles and strong Houses that were taken by Surrender, as Newbit, Herbywick, and Roswell: So great indeed was their Success, that what ever they Attempted, succ'd or, last they Effect'd their Design.

The first Memorable Translation after the Agreement between the King and the Estates of Scotland, was the Solemnity of his Coronation at Scoon, the wonted place for the Coronation of the Kings of Scotland in former Ages, there having been Crown'd in this place 47 Kings besides his present Majesty; it was Celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bone-fires, shooting off of Guns, and with as much Pomp and Ceremony as the present State of Things would permit; The Nobility, Barons, and Burgesses went from St. Johnstons to Scoon in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; the whole Scotch Army, which stood all the Way, as a Guard between those Two Places, making a Lane for them as they went along. In the Presence Chamber, where the Lord of Arguile attended as Lord Chamberlain for that day, was Plac'd a Chair of State, where the KING sat with all his Lords and Attendants about him: After a low Obeysance made to him by all the Company, the Marquess of Arguile made a Speech;

Wherein he declar'd the Affections of the Parliament, Assembly and People to him, and of their hopes of good from him, to make them happy in bringing England and all their Enemies in Subjection to Him and Them. Moreover he added, That the Parliament of Scotland were come to present his Majesty with the Crown, Sword, and Scepter.

Then he was attended by all his Train marching in Order before him to the Kirk of Scoon, where in the midst of a large Stage of 24 Foot square, another was erected with an ascent of two steps, and on the top thereof a Chair of State was plac'd for his Majesty to sit on; the State of Crimson Velvet, under which the King went, was supported by the Lords Drummond, Carnegie, Ramsey, Johnstons, Brechin and Teffer: His Train by four other Earls Sons, the Lords Erskine, Montgomerie, Newbottle, Macchlen; the Supporters of the Canopy being likewise supported by six others, the Sons of Noblemen: On the Kings right hand went the Lord Great Constable, on his left the Lord Great Marshall; the Honours were carried before him by the Chiefest of the Nobility: Immediately before his Majesty went the Earl of Arguile carrying the Crown; Next before him the Scepter was carried by the Earl of Crawford Lindsey, the Sword by the Earl of Keith, the Spurs by the Earl of Eglington: As soon as they were entred into the Kirk, and his Majesty

Col. Kerr de- tected and tak- en Prisoner by M. Gen. Lambert.

A Rising in Norfolk soon suppress'd.

Edenborough Castle taken by the English.

The King Solemnly Crowned.

1650.

Majestie Seated in his Throne, he took the usuall Oath which his Predecessours the Kings of Scotland were wont to take at their Coronation. One of each of the Three Estates of Scotland, namely, the Marquis of Argyll, (as being of the Nobles) one Baron, and one Burgess, holding the Crown among them, offered it to the King; then they delivered it to Three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament, to present it unto him. At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the Three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this Form:

SIR,

I do present unto you, King Charles, the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.

Then turning his Face towards the People, he said;

Are ye not willing to have him for your King, and to become Subject to him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the People Cryed out with a loud Voyce, **GOD SAVE KING CHARLES THE SECOND.** Then after he had been Anointed by the Three Ministers, with the Regall Unction, the Crown was set upon his Head by the Marquis of Argyll; the Scepter was also given into his Hand by the Earl of Lindsey, and the Sword carried before him by the Earl of Rothes. As soon as the Crown was put upon his Head, he made this short Speech to the People:

I Do Esteem the Affections of my good People, more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by Gods Assistance, to bestow my Life for your Defence, wishing to live no longer, then that I may see Religion and this Kingdome flourish in all Happiness.

Adding many other Expressions of his Love and Affection to the People; and afterwards Mr. Robert Douglas made an hortatory Oration, or Sermon to his Majesty.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful Entertainment prepared, the King sat at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Careless and Testimonies of Joy all Dinner time between them: After which, they all went back to St. Johnstons, in the same Order and Pomp they came from thence to Seque.

The next thing in preparation, was the raising of a Numerous Army, for which end, the King himself Designed to go Northward, and to set up his Standard at Aberdeen, intending to appear in the Head of the Army as Generalissimo, and under him Duke Hamilton was appointed Lieutenant General of the Army, and David Lesley Major General; Middleton was to be Lieutenant General of the Horse, and Major General Massey (a person very constant to the Service of his present Majesty, though formerly of the opposite side) to Command in Chief all the English Forces; Holburn was sent for away from his Government at Sterling, and Sir John Brown appointed Governor in his room: As for Siraraghan, he was proceeded against by Sentence of Excommunication, for Complying with the English Army, and declaring against the Proceedings of the Estates of Scotland.

The Parliament of Scotland having been Adjourn'd, sat again, about the beginning of March, and hard tickling there was for several Lords of the Royall Party to be admitted to their Seats in the House, as Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Calder, the Earl of Crawford, Lindsey, and others, who had come in and submitted to the Kirk; and as they were Persons of Eminent Quality, they had much Favour and Indulgence shewn them at that form of Submission, called, *The Stool of Repentance*; for it was observ'd, that Hamilton did his Penance after a very stately and pompous manner, there being plac'd a Table for him covered with black Velvet, and a Cushion of the same: Upon that Day he also kept a great Feast, to which were invited divers Lords and other Eminent Persons, as well of the Presbytery as the Royalty.

At the beginning of this Session, there was appointed a Committee of Parliament, consisting of Duke Hamilton, the Marquis of Argyll, the Earls of Eglington, Glencairn, Dumfries, Warr, Callender, Chancellor Loudon, and the Lord Kirkcubright, to consider of the Affairs of State; and to examine and proceed against all men that obstructed or oppos'd the present Designs, inasmuch as divers had their Estates Sequestred, and some were tryed for their Lives, for holding Correspondence with the English Army; who on their parts also were not idle, but after the taking of the Castle of Edinburgh, set upon Hume and Timptall, Two very strong Castles, which had somewhat hindered the Passage between Edinburgh and Berwick; these places were not long Besieged before they were yielded up, the first to Colonel Fenwick, the other to Colonel Monk.

The Assemblies of the Presbyters at Sterling and Aberdeen, shew'd themselves Discontented at the New Levies, in regard that so many whom they counted Malignants; were to be admitted to Commands in the Army, as well as to have their Seats in Parliament; whereupon the Commissioners of the Kirk at St. Johnstons, endeavoured to remove their Scruples by a Declaration, and likewise

likewise put them in mind of certain Acts, which commanded Silence in matters of this Nature, and forbid any one to speak against the publick Transactions of the State. And so it was Resolved by the leading Power, that the Levies went on with all possible speed: The King himself was very Active in giving out Orders, and providing all things Expedient for the raising of a great Army, and at a General Rendezvous, which was held at the East of Fife, he came into the Field, to encourage the Souldiers with his Personal Presence, and made a Speech to them, wherein he Exhorted them to be Valiant and Faithfull in his Cause, telling them moreover, That he would rather choose to die in the Field, than to be driven up into the Mountains. Afterwards he went to the Assembly at Aberdeen, to endeavour by his Presence and Authority to Compose the Differences among the Ministers there; and the better to improve his Interest, and maintain Correspondence abroad, he sent over the Earl of Dumfries Ambassadour to the States of Holland, (having had long before for his Resident at the Hague, one Mac-donnell, formerly Governour of Overysse.) At the same time the Lord Croft Negotiated for him as Ambassadour, at the Court of the King of Poland, besides those in Spain, and other Parts abovementioned; By all which Embassages he gained many Compliments and fair Promises, though little or no Advantage besides: but none of them all met with such hard Entertainment as Sir Henry Hyde, Lieger at Constantinople, who contending with Sir Thomas Bendish that lay there Ambassadour at the same time, from the Republick of England, was by the Visier Bassa (one that, like a right Politician as he was, favour'd the strongest Party) delivered up to the Disposall of Pendsib, and by him sent over into England, where being tryed for his Life, and Condemned by a High-Court of Justice, he was Beheaded over against the Royall Exchange at London. The same Fate too after (on the Twenty ninth of March, 1651,) befell Captain Brown Bushell, an expert Sea-man, and one who heretofore had been for the Parliament, but had of late behav'd himself stoutly for his Majesty by Sea.

In the Parliament of Scotland, sitting at St. Johnstons, Duke Hamilton and the Royall Influence seem'd at present to bear the greatest Sway; whereupon the Marquis of Argyll and other Lords of the more Covenanted Strain, began to be much discontented, as thinking themselves under a Cloud, and laid aside: the Earl of Loudon who had been ever of Customs Lord Chancellor, was removed from his Presidentship, and in his Room, the Lord Burleigh Substituted: As for the Earl of Sutherland, he absolutely refus'd to Concur with the present Transactions. Among the discontented Ministers, the chief were Mr. James Guthrie, who having been long since confin'd for his Clamouring against the Proceedings of the State, continued still under Restraint; Mr. Andrew Cant, who had long been Courted to a Neutrality at least, if not to an absolute Compliance, nevertheless he remained so far refractory, that he joyned with the Synod at Glasgow, in declaring against what was done at St. Johnstons; and Mr. Duram, who having been appointed by the Kirk to attend the King as his Chaplain, left the Court at length, and betook himself to Retirement: Mr. Patrick Galahy was also of the same Stamp, (yet he and some others at a Conference, with Cromwell, and Lambers, at Glasgow, maintained a zealous Dispute with them, against the Invasion of their Country by the English Army.) On the other side, Mr. Robert Douglas, and Mr. David Dicks, were so far Favourers of the Royall Affairs, that they inveigh'd vehemently against all such as went about to keep up the Name of Malignants, or to make Divisions among the Levies. Adding, *That now they must all become one man's Beasts.*

The Parliament at St. Johnstons not having as yet done any considerable Matter, only expected the Compleating of the Levies, Adjourned till the Seventeenth of April, and Devolved in the mean time the Civill Power into the hands of a Select Council, the Military Power into the hands of a Committee of War, consisting of Twenty Persons, out of each of the Three Estates.

Speciall Care was taken about Fortifying the Town of Sterling, the King himself going often thither to view the Works, and hasten the Compleating of them, intending that Place very suddenly for his chief Residence: he had obtained from the Parliament a little before their Adjournment, an Additional Act for Compleating the Levies up to Fifteen thousand Foot, besides the Horse, so that all things were busily preparing for sudden Action.

Nor were the English less diligent in pursuing Advantages, than the Scots in strengthening and re-inforcing themselves. Blackbush's strong Hold between Edinburgh and Sterling, being Attacked by Colonel Monk, was within a short while delivered up upon Articles of Agreement very Advantageous to the Besiegers; but a matter of much more trouble to the Kings Party, was the taking of the Earl of Eglington, and one of his Sons not long after by Captain Crook, at Dunbar: that Lord being a person of much Power and Consideration among them.

The Republick of England having made so large a progress in the Conquest of Ireland and Scotland, thought it a Business no less conducing to their Interest, to bring into their power those lesser Islands that as yet held out for the King: Guernsey they had already in their possession, all but Cornet Castle; the next they set upon was the Isle of Scilly, in which there were only Three Places of any great Importance, the Isles of Treves, Briers, and St. Maries: The two first were quickly taken by the means of Three hundred Sea-men that were Landed there by General Blake, joyning with certain Land-Forces that were also sent into the Island; but the last being a Place of a very strong and almost Impregnable Situation, could not be won in a short while, yet in the end that also was gained.

The Earl of Dumfries sent Ambassadour from the King into Holland.

Sir Henry Hyde beheaded over against the Old Exchange at London.

1651.

Captain Brown Bushell beheaded, The Royall Party prevailed in the Parliament of Scotland. Divers of the Covenanted Lords, discontented and under a cloud. Ministers dissatisfied at the Proceedings of the Committee of Estates.

The Parliament of Scotland adjourn'd.

Sterling fortified by the Kings Party.

The Earl of Eglington taken by Captain Crook.

Certain places in the Isle of Scilly reduced to the power of the Commonwealth.

The Kings Standard set up at Aberdeen.

Divers Lords of the Royall Party received into the Kirk.

Hume and Timptall Castles surrendered to the English.

1651.

At the next meeting of the *Parliament of Scotland*, they sat very close in Consultation, about their *Militia*, and other weighty and pressing Matters of State: The Court at present was kept at *Sterling*, which was also the Head-Quarters, the whole *Scottish Army* being Quartered thereabouts. *Middleton's Northern Levies* amounted to near upon Eight thousand, and it was much controverted, Whether those Forces should make up a distinct Army by it self (as *Middleton* himself flood upon) or joyn with the Southern Army; however, to prevent Emulation and Discontent between *Lesly* and him, about the Supreme Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it upon himself: The Grand Business under Debate in this present sitting of the *Parliament*, was about a Message from the King, in which he desired,

The Kings  
Message to the  
Parliament of  
Scotland.

I. That the Act about the Clases of Malignants might be Annul'd, and another Act B pass'd for the Repealing thereof.

II. That there might be no mention of the Name of Malignants any more amongst them.

III. That Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Seaforth, Callender, and others, might have full Command.

To the granting of these things, the Marquess of *Argyle* was a main Opposer, so that not without much difficulty and hard tugging it was, that after a long time the Business was effected.

The Kings  
Birth-day celebrated by the  
Scots.

The Twenty ninth of May was Celebrated by the Scots with much Rejoycing and Festivity, as being the Kings Birth-day, in order to the Observation whereof, the *Parliament* Adjourn'd that day, and his Majesty and most of the Nobility Dined together at a great Feast. There was also a Solemn Appearance and Training of the Souldiery, and at Night all the Streets Blaz'd with Bonfires, and the Canons play'd from *Sterling*, *Brunt Island*, and the rest of the Scots Garrisons, but not any one Town shew'd their Affection in so particular a manner to his Majesty as the Town of *Dundee*, from which a very large Contribution was gathered toward his Assistance, the Citizens also presented him with a rich and stately Tent, together with Six Pieces of Ordnance, and set out a Regiment of Horse at their own Charges.

The Parliament of Scotland ends.

About the beginning of June, the *Parliament of Scotland* ended, having before their Dissolution, given large Commissions and Instructions for the Pressing of Men in all the parts of Scotland, beyond *Fife*, and in the *Western Parts*, to hasten their new Levy, which was to consist of Fifteen thousand Foot besides Horse. It concluded in a very calm and peacefull manner, which tended to an uniting of all Interests, and the Composing of all Controversies and Differences among them, and an unanimous Consent for the repressing of *Cromwell*, and his *English Myrmidons*: For the Ratifying of this Union, they had pass'd the Two Grand Acts so long contented for; the Act of Indemnity, and that for Repealing the Clases of Malignants.

The English  
eager to give  
Battel to the  
Scots.

The *English Army* waiting greedily for an Opportunity to bring the Scots to a Field Engagement, made their Approaches as near to them as they could, and while the *Scottish Forces* lay encamped in *Sterling Park*, and toward *Torwood*, they Quarter'd about *Lithgow*, and still watch'd for Advantages to set upon them; the Scots on the other side kept themselves close in their Trenches, and declin'd coming to a Battell, thinking it better to stay till the full Number of their Army were made up by those Levies, which were still expected to come out of the West and some other Parts; for the Expediency of which, *Argyle*, *Huntley*, and *Seaforth*, were dispatch'd away to their severall Territories, besides the additionall Forces which *Middleton* expected out of the North, to make up his Levies complete. *Massey's* Instruction was to have sail'd into England with a Body of *English Horse* and Foot, and together with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to have joyn'd with a Party in *Lancashire*, that had design'd to rise for the King, and to that end had a correspondence not only in Scotland, but also at London, where the Plot was chiefly contriv'd and promoted; but upon the taking of a Ship at *Ayre* in Scotland, which had been bound for the Isle of *Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Brickhead*, an Agent in the Business, the whole Confederacy was discovered, and thereupon were apprehended about it, Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Gray's Inn*, and Mr. *Gibbons*, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Doctor *Drake*, and several other Presbyterian Ministers (once inveterate Enemies to that Cause for which they now Conspire) who were brought before a High-Court of Justice, and tryed for their Lives; and a little before the *Scottish Army* enter'd England, two of them, namely Mr. *Love*, and Mr. *Gibbons*, were beheaded at *Tower-Hill*; so that by reason of this discovery, *Massey* was for the time frustrated of his intended Expedition. However, suddain Action was resolv'd on, in regard the *English* press'd so close upon the *Scottish Army*, that they were in election either to be speedily forc'd to a Battell, or else to be streighned in their Quarters, and reduc'd to a scarcity of Provisions: Now the Consultation was, Whether it would be more convenient to fly and fight the *English Army* in Scotland, or to give them the Go-by and slip into England? Many there were that gave their Opinions Pro & Con; but the King absolutely declar'd his Sentiment to be for an Incurision into England, as hoping still, notwithstanding the late discovery, that he had a sufficient power of Friends left,

An intended  
Rising in Lancashire.  
The Plot discovered.

Mr. Love and others tryed for their lives.  
Love and Gibbons beheaded.

that

A that would readily joyn with him upon his coming in: nor was it long ere this Design was put in Execution.

In the mean time, the *English Army* having offer'd Battell to the Scots at *Torwood*, and not being received by them, made it their next work to land some of their Forces on *Fife* side; and to that end, Colonel *Overton* was sent with Sixteen hundred Foot, and Four Troops of Horse, who at a place called *Queens-Ferry*, forc'd his Landing with small ado, and very little loss. *Cromwell* at the same time marching with his whole Army close up to the Scots, with an intent to have fall upon their Rear, in case they should have mov'd that way, and have attempted to disturb the Emarch against them under the Command of Sir *John Brown*: To oppose whom, and assist and reinforce that Party of the *English* already landed in *Fife*, Major General *Lambert*, and Colonel *Okey*, with Two Regiments of Horse, and Two of Foot, were Transported over the water, and joyning Battell with Sir *John Brown*, gave him a most sad overthrow, took himself, Colonel *Buchanan*, and Fourteen hundred more, and slew about Two thousand; by which Victory, the *English* gain'd to firm a Footing in *Fife*, that they were not easily to be repell'd: and soon after, *Brunt* now the King and his Army were driven out of pure necessity to take that course which long since had been designed for their greater advantage and convenience, which was to march away directly for England; for General *Cromwell*, that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterling*, saw it necessary first to set upon Sir *Johnstons*, which after one dayes Siege was gained: Next, Intelligence that that place was quit by the Scots and Royall Forces, who as soon as they heard Sir *Johnstons* was delivered, immediately began their March Southward. The main of *Cromwell's* Army came back again over the *Firth*, making what expedition they could to overtake them; but the Scots were some dayes march before them in their way to England: Major General *Harrison* with about Three thousand Horse and Dragoons being advanced the nearest of any part of the *English Army*, was ready to attend this Motion; also Major General *Lambert* with about as many more, was ordered by a Council of War to speed after them, and endeavour to fall upon their Rear: General *Cromwell* began his March from *Leith* towards England with a Thousand Horse and Foot; the same day the Royall Army enter'd upon *English* ground by the way of *Carlisle*, which was on the sixth of August. Upon the expectation of their coming into England, a Party in *Wales* began to rise, intending to have joyn'd with the Earl of *Derby* from the Isle of *Man*; but this Design undertaken, as it was, precipitately, and managed without order, soon vanish'd to nothing: By that time the King was come with his Army as far as *Lancashire*, he was somewhat hard beset by the Forces that follow'd him out of Scotland, besides those that in a short time were rais'd in England: he had in his Rear General *Cromwell*, who had left *Monk* with a sufficient Power to carry on the Work in Scotland: On his Van were the two Major Generals, *Lambert* and *Harrison*, unto whom there came up Two thousand of the Country Militia out of *Staffordshire*, and Four thousand under the Command of Colonel *Birch* out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and other parts: and to flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkshire* appear'd in the field with a Formidable Body: Moreover, the City of *London* pow'd out her Numerous Militia upon him, and the adjacent Counties were by strict Order of the *Junto* enjoin'd to set out Men and Horse at their own Charges: nor was of about 5000 Men, which were dropt away by degrees, there remaining not complete, as was generally suppos'd, by that time they came into England, above Eleven or Twelve thousand Men. That which was the Kings grand Expectation also fail'd him, namely, the general coming in of the Country; for the most considerable Supply that came in to him, was only one Troop of Horse Commanded by the Lord *Howard* of *Estrich* his Son: nor is it much to be wonder'd at, since the *Junto's* Forces had so powerfully overspread the Country, that none could well have opportunity to stir in behalf of the Royall Affairs; so that before the deciding Blow was given, they might well have been judg'd to be in a very lost and hopeles posture: yet, that there was not wanting a great portion of Courage and Confidence among the Joviall Cavaliers even to the very last, may appear by certain passages of the Noble Earl of *Lauderdale's* intercepted Letters, the one to his Lady, the other to the Lord *Beloevis*:

Never Men (saith he in one of them) were more hearty, for all their Toil, and seriously you would not know this Army; a natural Purge is wholesome, (speaking of those that withdrew themselves) and I hope ours is so, since the ill Humours are gone: the Country is kind, and we might have Men enough; his Majesty received the Lord *Howards* Son graciously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have no reason to believe he will be the last that will return to his Duty.

And in the other he hath to this Effect;

His Majesty is advanced into England as far as *Perith*, with a very good Army, able by the blessing of God to do his Business: they are, I dare say, near double the number of those

1651.

The English  
land Forces on  
Fife side.

Sir John Brown  
defeated by M.  
Gen. Lambert.

Brunt Island &  
Inchgaray  
Castle taken by  
the English.

St. Johnstons  
Castle taken by  
Cromwells Forces.

The King enters  
England  
with an Army

The powerful  
opposition that  
came against  
him.

The Earl of  
Lauderdale's  
intercepted  
Letters.

1651.

those with which the King of Sweden enter'd Germany: Never was any Army so Regular as we have been, since we came into England; I dare say we have not taken the worth of six pence, and what you hear of our Misfortune in Fife, or what ever our Enemies Print or Write, trust me, this is the best Scots Army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this Cause with their Kings, have upon a specious pretence most of them left us. This is a naturall Purge, and will do us much good.

And the Lord Wentworth in his Letter to my Lord Crofts, thus:

**B**R Gods grace we are come as far as Perith in Cumberland, with a good Army of Fourteen or Fifteen thousand Foot, and Six thousand Horse, all absolutely at the Kings Command, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Command of his Father.

But others there were of them that seem'd more sensible of the badness of their Condition, inasmuch as Duke Hamilton to my Lord Crofts, writ thus:

Duke Hamilton's to my Lord Crofts.

**W**E are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of our present state: We have quit Scotland, being scarce able to maintain it; and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I confess, I cannot tell you whether our Hopes or Fears are greatest, but we have one stout Argument, Despair; for we must now either stoutly fight, or die: all the Rogues have left us, I shall not say, whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands.

The King proclaimed at the head of the Army. The Fight at Warrington Bridge. The King comes to Worcester.

The King at his first Entrance upon English ground, was proclaimed King of Great Britain at the head of the Army, with great Acclamations and shooting of the Cannon then at Perith in Cumberland, and so afterwards at every Market Town through which he marcht. Having made his way over Warrington Bridge, notwithstanding Lamberts endeavour to stop that passage, and both Parties engaging near Knotsford Heath, though with some little loss on the Kings side: He came on the Twenty second of August to Worcester, where after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept that City, he quickly entred, through the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only not oppos'd his entrance, but also helpt to beat the Parliaments Soldiers out. It was for some while much in dispute among the chief Officers of his Army, Whether it were most convenient to take up their Quarters at Worcester, and there to Fortifie themselves; or to make a resolute venture and to march with all speed up to the City of London: but in consideration of the long and tedious marches they had lately had, and of the sick and weary estate of the Army, it was at length resolv'd on as a thing most agreeable to their present condition, to stay where they were, and to make good some Passes that were thereabouts. On the Twenty seventh day they kept a Solemn Fast, and the next day had a general Rendezvous, at which the Country came in far more considerably than at any time before, since their arrivall in England. The King as he was in his march to Worcester, dispatcht away Messages and Invitations unto severall Governours of Towns and Castles, to deliver up unto his use those places which they had in their possession, and principally to Sir Thomas Middleton Governour of Chirk Castle in Shropshire, and to Colonel Mackworth Governour of Shrewsbury: To the first, the Earl of Derby also writ, and the Letters were sent by one Simkis, whom Sir Thomas caus'd to be seiz'd and sent to Wrexham. To the Governour of Shrewsbury were formally sent and delivered by a Trumpeter both a Letter and a Summons, which I thought remarkable enough to be here inserted, together with Mackworths Answer: The Letter ran thus:

His Letter and Summons to Col. Mackworth Governour of Shrewsbury.

**C**olonel Mackworth, Having sent you herewith a Summons, to Render into my hands my Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, I cannot but perswade my self you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an Ancient House, and of very different Principles (as I am inform'd) from those with whom your Employment ranks you at present: If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not only pardon you what is past, and protect you and yours in your persons, and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future Trust and Favour, and do leave it to your self to propose the Particular, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve myself your Friend,

C. R.

Together

1651.

Together with this Letter was sent this following Summons:

Colonel Mackworth,

**B**Eing desirous to attempt all fair ways for recovering Our own, before we proceed to Force and Extremity, and (where the Controversie is with Subjects) accounting that a double Victory which is obtained without effusion of blood, and where the hearts that of right belong to us, are gained as well as their strengths. We do hereby Summon you to Surrender unto Us Our Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, as in Duty and Allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to do, thereby not only preventing the mischief which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the first Door to Peace and Quietness, and the enjoyment of every one both King and People, that which pertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at Our Camp at Tong Norton, this 20th of August.

Unto this Letter and Summons the Governour of Shrewsbury returned this Answer:

For the Commander in Chief of the Scottish Army.

SIR,

**B**y your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one containing a Proposition, the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do), you may believe I will be faithfull to my Trust; to the Violation whereof, neither Allurements can perswade me, nor Threatnings of Forces especially when I but Paper ones, compell me: What Principles I am judg'd to be of, I know not; but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same Employment with me; who should they desert that Cause they are Imbarqued in, I resolve to be found, as I am unremovable, the faithfull Servant of the Commonwealth of England,

Colonel Mackworth's Answer

H. Mackworth.

About two or three dayes before the Kings Arrivall at Worcester, the Earl of Derby having landed at Weymouth in Lancashire, came to him with Two hundred and fifty Foot, and sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the Isle of Man, and immediately returning back into Lancashire to raise a more considerable Force, he soon got together by the influence he had in those Parts; a Body of Fifteen hundred, with which he was halting toward Manchester, where he was assured of five hundred more that intended to have joyn'd with him, and was likely in a short while to have encreast to a very great number; whereupon Colonel Robert Lilburn with his own Regiment, and three Companies, and a few Horse out of Cheshire, endeavour'd with all speed to joyn with Cromwells Regiment of Foot which lay about Preston, and so to set upon him. To prevent which Conjunction, the Earl of Derby prest upon Lilburns men, and forc'd them to an Engagement, just as they were about to have drawn off and marcht in the flank of him to meet the Regiment at Preston; the Dispute was very sharp and doubtfull for the space of an hour, but in conclusion the Earl of Derby's men, being but new Levied, and therefore for the most part raw and undisciplin'd Country people, were put to a general confusion and flight; the Earl himself was wounded, and was very near being taken Prisoner, which yet he escap'd, and having conceal'd himself for some time at Boscobell House, where his Majestie afterwards was shelter'd, got safe at length to Worcester. There were taken Prisoners of Quality of his Party, the Lord Warrington, Sir Thomas Tilsley, Major General Sir William Throgmorton, Colonel Matthew Bainton, Colonel Rich. Legg, Col. Ratcliff Gervet, Major Trollop, and others (who were persons of sufficient Gallantry and Conduct themselves, had their men been answerable), together with divers inferiour Officers, and a number of private Soldiers.

The Earl of Derby raiseth Forces for the King.

The Earl of Derby routed by Col. Lilburn.

It was not above a day or two after this Victory, ere General Cromwell came before Worcester with an Army of Seventeen thousand Horse and Foot, besides those that were commanded apart by Lambert and Harrison, and other Supplies that came from other parts. On the West-side of the City over Severn lay the main of the Scotch Army in the compas of two miles; they within the City made severall Resolute Sallies, but the Belaguers being so numerous and potent, they were beaten in with some loss: The second day of Cromwells approach, Fifteen hundred Horse and Foot sallied out at Sidney Gate, with intent to have set upon a House about two miles from the City, Mann'd by Two hundred Miqueeters, wherewith the Junios Army taking Alarm, the Scots were forc'd to retreat with the loss of Fifteen of their men slain; however, all possible diligence

Cromwell comes before Worcester with his Army.

The Scots falling out of Worcester, are repuls'd with loss.

1651.

The Pass at  
Upton taken by  
Lambert.The Fight at  
Worcester.The King  
makes his  
Escape.Sterling Castle  
delivered up to  
Monk.

gence was used for the well Fortifying themselves within the City, and making good the Mount at the South-East end.

The next Re-encounter was at the Pass at Upton, which Major General Massey kept for the King; hither Lambert came from Evesham, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons, who though a great part of the Bridge had been broken down upon news of their coming, made a shift to get over, fir'd into the Town upon the Scots, and got possession of the Church, which Massey's men in vain sought to recover, and at the appearance of the Horse they fled, and were for a little way pursued; Massey himself was wounded, and had much ado to escape with his Freedom, having his horse killed under him: presently after this Dispute, came up Fleetwood with his whole Brigade to help to maintain this Pass.

The Third of September (the same day in which a Twelve month past, was fought that Famous Battle of Dunbar, so unfortunate to the Scots) was that fatal Day which gave the deciding blow to that Controversie which had so long been disputed by Arms between the Royall and the Republick Party; to which last, the fortune of this day also (like as continually before in a long Series of Successes) fell, and being the last Battell of any Note that was disputed between these two Interests, gave for a time the full possession of Three Nations, to those that fought for pretended Liberty and a Common-wealth, against Regal Government.

Lieutenant Gen. Fleetwood having left a force sufficient to keep the Pass at Upton, made it his next care to come to a Conjunction with the rest of the Army, and so that end he took order for the making of two Bridges, the one over Severn, and the other over Tame, at a point where those two Rivers meet; to the Assistance of Fleetwood, and to oppose those Horse and Foot which were drawn out to hinder his passage, Cromwell himself led on Col. Hacker's Regiment of Horse, and the two Foot Regiments of Col. Fairfax and Ingoldsbys, and together with Major General Deans and Colonel Goff's Regiments which scour'd the Hedges, forc'd the Scots to retreat to Powick Bridge, where they re-enforc'd themselves, and for a while sustain'd a very sharp Encounter, but in the end gave ground and fled back to the City.

At the same time that this Conflict was maintain'd, they sallied out on the other side of the City, and gave a notable desperate Charge to that part of the Common-wealths Army that lay that way, the Fight continued for the space of three or four hours eager and fierce, and was prosecuted with much Gallantry and Resolution on the Kings Side, till at length the Besiegers overpowering the others in number, bore them down before them with such irresistible Force, that they put them to utter disorder and flight, and pursuing them to the very Gates, rush'd in pell-mell among them; and in a short while possess'd themselves of the Royall Fort and the City; and thus the Victory was gain'd before one half of Cromwell's Forces (so numerous they were with the Auxiliaries) came up to engage their Enemy, who seeing all lost on their party, and that Victory had absolutely abandon'd them, began then to think of nothing but how to shift every one for themselves; As they fled confusedly through the City, the general Cry among them was, *O save the King, save the King*. Nor was the King himself unmindful, as soon as he perceiv'd which way the Victory inclin'd, to provide in time for his escape, having in the Fight perform'd all the Offices both of a Valiant Person and Vigilant Commander, riding continually about to encourage his Souldiers; and when he perceiv'd them begin to fail, he was heard to use this Patheticall Expression, *Rather shoot me, then let me live to see the sad Consequence of this Fatal Day*. Many Parties of Horse were sent out through all Coasts after the flying Troops, few of the Infantry eluding the Field alive, but about Three thousand Horse, whereof a thousand were taken about Bendish by Colonel Barton more by others in other places: many by rising parties of the Country people were taken or knock'd on the head: *So incident it is to men in extremity adversity, to have all the Will their Enemies*.

In the main Fight, the number of the slain were judg'd to be Three thousand, and of the taken, Ten thousand, whereof the chief Persons of Note were Duke Hamilton, Robert Earl of Cambridge, Alexander Earl of Kelly, John Lord Snytlare, Sir John Packington, Major General Admonsgerry, Major General Pichard, Mr. Richard Fanshawe the Kings Secretary, the General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant General of the Foot, the Marshal General, six Colonels of Horse, (one whereof was Colonel Graves) thirteen of Foot, nine Lieutenant Colonels of Horse, eight of Foot, six Majors of Horse, thirteen of Foot, thirty seven Captains of Horse, seventy two of Foot, with a number of other inferior Officers, an hundred and fifty eight Colours, the Kings Standard, his Collar of S.S. Coach and Horses, and other things of great value: Major General Massey though he had made his escape out of the Field, yet by reason of his Wounds, he was disabled from getting clear away, and brought to so weak a condition, that he surrender'd himself to the Mercy and Civility of the Countess of Stamford, whose Son, nevertheless, the Lord Gray of Groby secur'd him as a Prisoner, to be sent up to the Juno, as soon as he should be recovered of his Wounds.

And as if Success had been now entail'd upon the English Common-wealth, this grand Victory was attended on by divers others of a less magnitude, though considerable enough, which were gain'd in Scotland by Monk and the Forces left there, and as it were trod upon the heels of one another.

At the same time that Cromwell with his Army march'd for England, Sterling Castle was besieg'd, which after a short Siege, was delivered upon Articles, with all the Warlike Ammunition which was in it, being a very large quantity, Five thousand Arms, and forty Pieces of Ordnance, all the

1651.

Old General  
Lesley and di-  
vers others ta-  
ken at Ellis in  
Perth.Sir Philip Musgrave  
taken at Dumfries.Dundee taken  
by Storm.The King  
strictly pursu-  
ed.

the Records of Scotland, the Chair and Cloth of State, the Sword and other rich Furniture of the Kings, the Earl of Marr's Parliament-Robes, Coronet, and Stirrups of Gold: over the Door of the Chappel that belong'd to the Castle, this Motto was observed: *F. C. R. Nobis hæc invicta miserum Centum sex proavit, 1617.* which shews, that this place when King James came to the Crown, had remain'd unconquer'd for the space of One hundred and six Kings Reigns; and so it also remain'd all his time; and his Sons, but not his Grandchildren.

As soon as Sterling Castle was taken, the next place that Monk set upon was Dundee, during the siege of which, there met together at Ellis in the County of Perth, divers Scotch Lords, Gentlemen, Ministers, and others, to the number of about Three hundred: the principal of whom were old General Lesley Earl of Leven, the Lords Ogilby, Craford, and Lindsey, upon a design to have levied a great power of men for the King, with intention in the first place to have rais'd the siege of Dundee: how secretly soever this was thought to be carried, notice was quickly brought to the Lieutenant General, from whom Colonel Alured being dispatch'd away with Six hundred Horse, and four Troops of Dragoons, surpris'd them on a sudden, overthrew them with ease, slew many, and took General Lesley Earl Marshall, Craford, the Lord of Leith, and all the chief of them Prisoners. About the same time, certain Horse and Dragoons fell upon Five hundred Scots at Dumfries in Galloway, and either killed or took all of them: Among the taken were Sir Philip Musgrave Mayor of St. Johnstons, who had a Commission to be Major General of all the Forces to be rais'd for the King in the four Northern Counties, and with him divers Lords and Gentlemen of Quality: Upon Summons sent to Major General Lumsdaine Governour of that Town, he sent this Answer:

**W**E E received yours, for Answer whereunto, we do by these acquaint you, That we are Commanded by the Kings Majesty, to desire you and all Officers and Souldiers, and Ships that are at present in Arms against the Kings Authority, to lay down your Arms, and to come in and joyn with his Majesties Forces in this Kingdom, and to conform and give Obedience to the Kings Majesties Declaration sent you herewith, which if you will obey, we shall continue;

Your faithful Friend and Servant in the old manner,

Robert Lumsdaine.

Notwithstanding this Resolute Answer, it was but a very little while ere the Town was taken by Storm, and in it the Governour himself and some more slain; soon after follow'd the Rendition of St. Andrews and Arbroath, with other Towns, Castles, and strong Places; which either voluntarily came in, or rendred upon Summons.

The King after the Fight at Worcester, was he of all the rest most narrowly searcht for, and strictly pursued, and for whose sake the greater diligence was used to follow, way-lay, and intercept all the several parties of the routed Scots that fled, in regard he was the principal cause of whatever had given check to the Junos proceedings; he was the prime Wheel upon which all the lesser Motions depended: But notwithstanding all the Search and Inquiry that was made for him, no news could be heard, or any one certainly tell what was become of him, which gave occasion to many to conjecture, some one thing, some another, according to what their Fancies diversly suggested to them; Some were of Opinion, that he was gone Northward; some, Westward rather; others, that he made choyce of London for his safest place of Retreat: the Truth is, As soon as the Enemy had forc'd their Entrance into the City, all the care then was to secure his Majesty's Person, and to that end the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Colonel Williams Charles, Col. Wogan, Captain Ashley, Kemble, and other stout Persons made all the force they could to keep them engag'd in Sudbury Street, while his Majesty impurs'd took his way with a Body of Horse, through St. Martins Gate about six of the Clock in the Evening; and at Barbons Bridge, which was about half a mile from the Town, he made a Halt, to advise with those few Nobles and Gentlemen that were with him, (namely, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, the Lords Talbot, Levison, and Wilmore, Col. Edw. Rofsarock, Colonel Th. Blayue, Mr. Marmaduke Darcy, Mr. William Armorer, Mr. Hugh May, and some others) what course were best to be taken, and the Resolve was, that since there was no possibility of rallying again; (as his Majesty was desirous to have attempted, and to have try'd his fortune in the Field once more) they should make with all speed toward Scotland; and hereupon one Walker formerly a Scout-Master in the Kings Army, was made choyce of for a Guide, but the fast coming on of a very dark night, whereby Walker became unable to guide any farther, put them to another stand about Kniver Heath near Kidderminster; and then the chief Consultation was, how with safety they might obtain a little repose for that night, especially in regard of his Majesty, whom much tole and pains taken in that day's Engagement had render'd, as well as the rest of his Company, exceeding weary: In this case, the Earl of Derby by his own experience, had the advantage of giving the best Advice, he therefore recommended Boscomb House, where he had found a most secure Harbour for himself, after the misfortune of his late Defeat at Wigan, as the fittest place for his Majesty to take Sanctuary in, till some better convenience could be found out for his clear Escape, the Keeper

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of that House, and his Relations, having, though poor, yet approv'd themselves persons of most incorruptible Fidelity: This Motion pleasing, and Mr. Charles Giffard, with his Man Francis Yates, being made choice of for the Guides of the way, they arriv'd by break of day at a house a little on this side *Boscomb*, and in the keeping likewise of one of the *Penderells* (of that name were five Brethren of the above-mentioned persons); this house (now belonging to the *Giffards*) was in former times a Monastery of Cistercian Nuns, from the white Habits they wore, call'd *White-Ladies*; which denomination notwithstanding the abolishment of the Order, hath yet remain'd adhering to the house: here his Majestie was committed to the care and fidelity of *George Penderell* and his Brothers, who were each of them presently sent for; the rest of the Company after a very short stay, took their Leaves of the King, and departed together (all but the Lord *Wilnot*) to shift for their Safeties elsewhere, (in regard to great a company could not conveniently lye conceal'd in one place) leaving his Majestie in a handsome disguised posture for Concealment, he having chang'd Garments with *Richard Penderell*, and had his hair thorn after the most rustical Cutt that could be devis'd, (in which office the Lord *Wilnot* is reported to have play'd the Barber) and sullied his Hands and Face, into the semblance of the coarsest kind of Complexion; and that this place might only be concern'd in his Majestie's Safety, my Lord *Wilnot* also took his leave, with a resolution to have gone for *London*, *John Penderell*, another of the Brothers, undertaking to Conduct him as far as his knowledge, through the safest and most commodious Way; and the place was appointed where the King and my Lord should have met, in case they had both got safe to *London*, namely, the Sign of the *Green Dragon* in the Vinty in *Thames-Street*. In the mean while, his Majestie thus transform'd as you have heard, arriv'd in *Richard's* Leathern Doublet and green *Kendal Breeches*, with a Wood-Bill in his hand, assuming the person of a Wood-Cutter, and the name of *William Jones*, was led through a back way into a Wood called *Spring-Coppice*, belonging to *Boscomb* house, and about half a mile from *White-Ladies* by *Richard*, who attended the King to accompany and wait upon the King, in readiness to whatever service of his he might stand in need of, while the three other Brothers Coasted about the Confiners of the Wood, to make Discoveries and give Intelligence if occasion were. And in a lucky time it was that his Majestie had betaken himself to his Wooddy shelter, which though it could not defend him from the R in which fell in great abundance that day, yet it secur'd him from a worse Storm; for within a very little while after his Majesty had left the House, there came a Party of Horse of Col. *Alexander's* Troop, quarter'd at *Cosfall* about 3. miles from thence, to search the house for him; wherefore in respect of the strictness of the Search, it was thought the safest course for the King to remain in the Wood, which all that day he did, with his Attendant *Richard*, being much incommodated by the Wetness of the weather; which nevertheless to render the more tolerable, a Blinck was brought him into the Wood by the Wife of *Francis Yates* afore-mention'd, as also a Dish of such Country fare as her Cottage afforded. However, the King was a little surpris'd at the sight of a strange face, till demanding of the Good Woman, *If she could be faithfull to a Distressed Cavalier?* Yes Sir, answered she, *I will die ere I will betray you.* Which Answer gave his Majestie very good satisfaction. At night he was brought to *Hobbs Grange*, the habitation of *Richard Penderell*, where the Mother of the *Five*, expressing great joy, that it should fall to the lot of her Sons to be the Instruments of his Majesties safety, heartily entertain'd him in a cleanly but such a homely fashion, that none of the rest of the Family should suspect who he was. Here his Majestie stay'd not, but immediately after Supper departed thence with *Richard* his Guide (whom he could not have been able to have follow'd, so dark was the Night, but for the crackling sound of his Leathern Breeches) 5. miles further toward *Wales*, to the house of one Mr. *Wolfe* at *Madely*, (equally frightening and being frighted by the Miller at *Evelin Bridge*, who likewise had several *Cavaliers* of Quality in his Mill for safeguard) intending from thence to have pass'd the *Severn*, and so to have try'd his Fortune in *Wales*; but upon Information that all the Passages over *Severn* were strictly guarded, and all the Ferry-Boats stopp'd, his Majestie with his faithful Guide having remain'd in Mr. *Woolph's* Barn (where a good wholesome Hay-Mow was their Bed) till Friday night, and then venturing into the house, where he stay'd a little while, and was entertain'd with all the Respect that danger would permit, return'd somewhat late in the Night toward *Boscomb*; thither also Colonel *Carles*, whom we left stoutly fighting in *Sadbury Street*, was by this time come for refuge and relief, being well acquainted both with the house and house-keeper, *William Penderell*, as having been born and bred not far off; as soon as ever he understood that the King was without in the Wood, he went with all Joy and Dutifull Respect to present himself to his Majesty; then repairing together into the house for a little while to refresh themselves, they retire again into the Wood, and leighting upon a large Oake, whose wide and well branch'd top afforded them a very private and commodious Coverture, (from which it hath ever since merited the name of the *ROYAL OAK*) they ascend up into the Tree, and with the help of Cushions, made a tolerable abode there till Night, the King taking some repose, by leaning his head upon the Colonel's Lap; at night they betake themselves again into the house, to which his Majesty thought fit thenceforward to trust himself while he stay'd there, without keeping any more abroad; and the rather for that he was much pleas'd with a secret Corner which *William* shew'd him, where the Earl of *Derby* lay; it was probably the Dormitory in times past of some of the old Fryers: So his Majestie remain'd secure in the house from Saturday Night till Monday, having spent the Sunday, for the most part, in Reading and Meditation, in a little Summer house at the end of the Garden. All this while the Lord *Wilnot* had been not a little put to it to keep himself

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out of harms way; his Journey to *London* he found obstructed by Multitudes of Souldiers continually hurrying to and fro in all parts along the Roads and High-Ways, inasmuch that he was once driven to commit himself and his horse to the hospitality of a good convenient Marlepit; at length good fortune brings him to one Mr. *Whitgrave* at *Mosely*, to whom, as also to Mr. *Huddleston*, Tutor to 3. of his Children, making no difficulty to discover himself, he finds there both Welcome and Security, from thence he is safely convey'd to Colonel *Lanes* at *Bentley*, a place about 5. miles farther, having before-hand dispatch'd away *John Penderell* to *Boscomb*, with Instructions to inquire diligently after the King, and to acquaint him, in case he found him, how matters stood: *John* finds the King at *Boscomb*, acquaints him how my Lord had sped; is immediately remanded to his Lordship, whom he found at *Bentley*, to give him notice of his Majestie's Intention to meet him forthwith where he should appoint, and then returns with all speed back to the King to conduct him to *Mosely*, for thither my Lord had concluded to come back to wait upon his Majestie. On Monday the King prepares for his Journey, but not being able to go any further on foot, in respect of the hardship and weariness he had already endur'd in his late foot-Journey, he was accommodated with a horse of *Humphry* the Miller, another of the *Five Brothers*, and who also went hand in hand with the rest in Loyalty and Fidelity, having not long before had occasion to make tryall thereof, when going to *Sheshall* to pay his share of the Monthly Tax, he was hard beset at the house of one Captain *Broadway*, to whom he came to pay the Money, by a Colonel of the Times, who coming thither to inquire after the Search at *Whiteladies*, and understanding that *Humphry* liv'd thereabouts, took him to strict examination; and when he had try'd what menages could do to draw out a confession, he began to tempt him with the ensnaring Bait of Lucre and Reward, by telling him of the Thousand pound, which was the price set upon his Majestie's Person, Imagining, that one of his mean condition would not have power to withstand to gainfull an Offer; and this Supposition of the Colonels, together with *Humphry's* discreet framing of his answers, render'd his dissembled ignorance the more unsuspected; so he left him posselt with an opinion of his knowing no more than was generally known. Colonel *Carles* (whom for his Faithfull Services the King rewarded with an honourable Coat of Arms by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England* by the name of *William Carles*;) having Friends and Relations in these Parts, with whom for a while he intended to remain conceal'd, took here, with hearty prayers for his future preservation, his leave of his Majestie, who mounted on this [now] *Siege of Honnor*] set forth from *Boscomb* on Monday towards Evening, attended with 4. of the *Penderells*, and their Brother-in-law *Francis Yates*, guarding him on foot at equall intervals one from the other, arm'd with Bills and Pike-staves, and such like weapons, *Humphry* leading the horse by the Bridle through thick and thin, making a Witty Apology for the Beast, by telling the King, *It was no wonder he went so slow, since he carry'd the Value of Three Kingdoms on his back.* In this Equipage he arriv'd by night at the appointed place, where Mr. *Whitgrave* and Mr. *Mosely* were waiting his coming: Here the Faithfull Brethren his Guides and Attendants were dismissed, with Thanks for their honest Services, and assurance of not being forgotten, when ever it should please God his Majesty should recover his Own. After which, the King was by the foresaid Gentlemen conducted to my Lord *Wilnot*, the Joy of which Meeting was very great on both sides, and their Entertainment season'd with various discourse, especially the Story of their Adventures since they last parted; which ended, his Majestie was brought for his repose to a Lodging prepared for him in a secret corner of the house convenient for the purpose: The very next day while the King was yet remaining in the house, certain Souldiers came thither to search, and that so much the rather, for that Mr. *Whitgrave* was known to have been formerly engag'd in the Kings Service; nevertheless, they were so well satisfied with the plain freedom of Mr. *Whitgrave's* Carriage, his seeming readiness to have let them enter, setting his Doors wide open, and the advantageous Testimony his Neighbours gave of him, that they went away without troubling him any further than by a bare Inquiry; besides, so well contriv'd for secrecy was the Kings Lodging-place, that they might have search'd the house very narrowly, and yet have miss'd him: *Whiteladies* was also search'd again in the same day very diligently upon the Information of a certain busie Ensign-Bearer, and the House-keeper with a Musket set to his Breast strictly question'd about the King; but he pretending, that though a great company had been there, and almost eat him out of house and home, he could not tell whether the King had been there or no, not knowing him from another man; and no such person being then to be found, the Searchers storming that they had troubled themselves so in vain, paid the Ensign for his double diligence with blows and contempt. The following Night his Majestie courteously acknowledging the faithfull Civility of his Entertainment, and giving advice to Mr. *Whitgrave* and *Huddleston*, what course they should take in case his having been there should any way come to be discover'd, went with my Lord *Wilnot* to Colonel *Lane's* house at *Bentley*, where a very commodious Opportunity was offer'd for the safe Conveyance of his Majestie to *Bristol*, with hopes of soon meeting with a convenience there of taking Shipping for *France*: and the Journey was thus order'd; *Mistress Jane Lane*, Sister to the Colonel, easily procures a Pass for her self and one Servant, together with a Kinman of hers and his Wife, to go to see a Sister of hers (as she pretended) who was near the time of her Delivery, the Wife of Mr. *George Norton*, whose House was within two or three miles of *Bristol*: In this Journey the King taking upon him to be the Serving-Man of Mrs. *Lane*, rode before her, and in their company rode Colonel *Lassells* the Kinman afore said, with his Wife behind him, my Lord *Wilnot* with a Hawk on his fist accompany'd them as one who meeting them accidentally upon the Road, had occasion of travelling the same way, intending as soon

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as he came near *Bristol*, to turn aside toward the House of Sir *John Winter*. In their first dayes Journey, they met with two remarkable Rencontres, the first was at *Bromsgrove*, where there hapning to be occasion of making use of a Smith for the shoeing of one of the Horses, and the News of the Times hapning to be the Argument of Discourse, especially concerning the Fight at *Worcester*, and the King's Escape; and thereupon, among several other Conjectures, his Majesty himself being pleas'd to deliver for his Opinion, That the King was fled to Scotland, and lay somewhere there conceal'd. I rather think, answered the Smith, that he remains conceal'd somewhere in England; and how joyful should I be, if I knew where, since for the reward of my Discovery, I should be the gainer of the Thousand pounds allotted for his apprehension. Such difference there is of Faith and Honesty among men. The other was at *Stratford upon Avon*, where it was their fortune to light into the very jaws of a Troop of Horse, whom having discover'd a far off, they were in Consultation how to avoid; but their fear ended when the Souldiers pass'd by without giving any other trouble than a transient Salute; their Lodging that night was at the Crown at *Cirencester*, (so call'd as it were *Corinthi Castrum*) the next at *Marston*; at a Kinswoman's house of Mrs. *Jane Lane's*, the third day they arriv'd at Mr. *George Norton's* house at *Leigh*, about two miles from *Bristol*, where the King (whom Mrs. *Lane* gave out to be a Tenants Son of her Fathers) upon pretence of being suddenly taken with a Fever, keeps his bed, and hath one Dr. *Gorge* assign'd him for his Physicians, by whom being question'd about News, and the Kings Escape, and answering as one that did not care to be troubled with questions of that nature, is told by the Doctor, He did not believe but he was a sinner with the Round-heads (such was the Nick-name heretofore given to the *Parliamentary* followers), but that suspicion was soon wash'd away with a glass of Wine in the Bactery; he had not been here many days, but he was observ'd and known by the Butler of the house, who was call'd *John Pope*, one that formerly serv'd his Royall Father in *Wales*, and upon protection of firm Secrecy and Loyalty (for he was not like the Smith of *Bromsgrove*) was trusted by his Majesty, and employ'd in several Services that import'd his Safety; and in the fifth place he was sent to look after a conveyance of safe Transportation, yet fail'd of his endeavour, for no Ship could be met with that was fit for their turn; so that upon Consultation with my Lord *Wilmot*, who came from *Col. Winters* to *Leigh*, and was by *John Pope* privately conducted to the King, it was concluded that my Lord should immediately repair to Colonel *Francis Windham*, to know if his Majesty could have a secure reception at his house for a while, till farther order could be taken about his Transportation: The Colonel rejoiceth at the occasion to serve his Majesty, and undertakes for the Fidelity of his whole Family. Hereupon, Mr. *Norton's* Wife being by this time brought to bed, Mrs. *Lane* pretending to have receiv'd a Letter from her Father, intimating his being newly fallen sick, and requiring her speedy return home, prepares with all speed for her Journey, taking along with her Mr. *Lassells* her Kinsman (whose Wife was left behind to accompany Mr. *Norton*), and her Royal Servitour; Thus they came handsomely off from Mr. *Norton*, and by the Guidance of one *Henry Rogers*, whom my Lord *Wilmot* had made use of to guide him from Colonel *Winters* to *Leigh*, having lodg'd one night by the Way at Mr. *Edward Kirton's* at *Castle-Cary*, arriv'd the next day at Colonel *Windham's* house at *Trent in Dorsetshire*, taking upon them to be some of Col. *Windham's* Kindred, who had been a long Journey; and to give him a Visit, took his house in their way homeward. The next day Mrs. *Jane Lane*, and Mr. *Lassells*, with their hearty Prayers for his Majesties Safety and future Prosperity, took their Leaves and went home, the King and the Lord *Wilmot* remaining behind at Colonel *Windham's* house for the space of about 19 days; during which time, many wayes were consult'd on for gaining the convenience of a safe Passage, none of which took effect: At last, the Colonel bethinks himself of one *Elden*, formerly a Captain in his late Majesties Army, at that time following Merchandize at *Lime*, and goes to him with hopes of using his assistance effectually in this Affair, the rather for that he remember'd, that this man had us'd his endeavours for my Lord *Berkley* upon the like occasion with good Success; *Elden* readily undertakes the Business, brings the Colonel to a Master of a Ship of his acquaintance at *Chayermouth*, a little Sea-Town hard by *Lime*, and relying upon his Fidelity, bargains with him for his Ship, for the Transporting of my Lord *Wilmot* and another Noble-man, that had escap'd from the Fight of *Worcester*, beyond Sea: The man embraces the Motion, the price is agreed on, and all things seem'd in a fair way toward the making of a Prosperous Voyage: And for the better colour of their lying at *Chayermouth*, till such time as the Ship could be made ready, and all things fitted for the Voyage, *Henry Peters*, a Servant of the Colonel, made privy to the business, deals with a certain Hostess at *Chayermouth*, telling her, That a young Noble-man whom he serv'd, having gain'd the love of an Heiress, whose Parents were deceas'd, and having Robb'd her from her Guardian upon his being deny'd her in Marriage, wanted some secure place of abode to bring his Lady to for a short time, till he could provide for the disposal of her elsewhere, and therefore desir'd her that she would be so charitable to the Young Couple, and so much a Friend to her self, (for besides some money in hand, he spar'd not the promise of a greater Reward) as to give entertainment to them: The Woman what with her own sensibility of the case, and the inducement of Profit, soon consented to receive them. These things thus order'd, the King with *Julian Conisby* behind him, (so nam'd was the Maid that personated the supposed Heiress) set forth toward *Chayermouth*, accompany'd with the Lord *Wilmot*, Col. *Windham*, and *Henry Peters*, meeting Captain *Elden* by the way, who after some Conference with the King and the rest, his Majesty being pleas'd to discover himself to him, rode presently away to *Lime* to take care about the Ship; while the King and the rest of his company remain at their

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A their bespoken Lodging, *Henry Peters* carries at the Port to wait the coming of the Ship, and to give speedy notice when it was come; but after he had carry'd all night, he brings word that he could hear no tidings of their Ship; which News troubles them much, and puts them to a great Dilemma what course to take: however, it was soon concluded, that there was no tarrying for them where they were; without great danger; whereupon the King with his supposed Heiress, and Colonel *Windham* resolve for *Bridport*, leaving the Lord *Wilmot* behind at their Lodging at *Chayermouth*, (pretending necessity of having his horse new shod) and with Instructions where to meet them, while *Henry Peters* was sent away to *Lime*, to Inquire the reason of their strange dis-appointment. At *Bridport*, there was a great Muster of Souldiers that were marching toward the Isle of *Jersey* under Colonel *Haines*; Inasmuch, that Col. *Windham* would have avoided the place; but the King not induring to think of failing the Lord *Wilmot* whom he appointed to meet there, and desirous to repose himself a while in regard of his weariness with his last Nights sitting up in Expectation of the Ship, resolv'd to venture into the Town: As soon as they were come to their Inne, while the Colonel went to look after a Chamber and other necessities for their refreshment, the King went into the Stable to take care of the horses, where the Hostler having look'd attentively upon him, began to take acquaintance with him, not as knowing who he was, but as remembering that he had seen him at *Exeter* (as indeed during the heat of the late War, his Majesty hapned to reside there for a good while together) The King, who was not at all sorry that the Fellow had no more particular a knowledge of him, and thinking it expedient to give him as little advantage as might be, by continuing discourse or converse with him, of making a more perfect discovery, seem'd to acknowledg and congratulate the ground of their Acquaintance, taking upon him to have been a Servant of one Mr. *Peritt* in that City, and told him, That since they could not conveniently drink together at that time, (for I see, said he, you are busily employ'd) he should be glad to have further discourse of their old Friends at *Exeter*, in his return that way from *London*. In the mean time, Captain *Elden* very much wonder'd, when *Henry Peters* came to him and told him of the Kings being disappointed of his Ship at *Chayermouth*, not imagining but that the Ship had long since set sail and almost finish'd half the Voyage; nor could he conjecture what should be the reason of the Masters failing, unless that there being a Fair kept that day at *Lime*, he had met with Company, and in the midst of his Cups forgot his Promise: Though the true Reason was, as afterwards appear'd, That the Master being at his house for the making ready of some things that were necessary for his Voyage, and a Proclamation being made at the same time for the apprehension of his Majesty, whither on the one side the foremention'd Reward was promis'd to the discoverer; on the other side, pain of death denounc'd to the Concealer of him, the Ship-Masters Wife being by her husband made acquainted with his design, and at the hearing of that scaring Edict being struck with a sudden apprehension of the danger, never left till with Intreaties, Tears, Clamours, and a kind of mixture of Force and Importunity, she got the upper hand so far, that at last he suffer'd himself to be lock'd up by her in a Room a good while beyond the time prefixed for his setting out: And in a seasonable hour it was that his Majesty left *Chayermouth*, since the unfortunate occasion of the Ships failing, had like to have proceeded to a worse effect; as my Lord *Wilmot* in staying behind had found to his cost, had he not made use of his utmost dexterity in shifting for himself: For a discourse arising between the Hostler and the Smith that came to shooe my Lords horses, (a Fellow perhaps of the same stamp with him of *Bromsgrove*) who, and whence, those Gallants should be that lay there that night; and the Smith affirming, That he knew by the manner of the nailing, that my Lords horse had been last shod somewhere Northward; they presently from thence, (in regard my Lord was known to be one of the Company) and from some other circumstances, made conjecture, That they were some Noblemen fled from *Worcester* Fight, and thrown upon that Coast by various accidents, and that one of them probably enough was the King: Hereupon, the Hostler stung with the consideration of so great gain, hasts away to the Parson of the place, (a man zealous for the Cause) to give him Information; but the Parson's morning Devotions lasting longer than the Hostler's Patience, he returns home for fear of losing his Guests Benevolence: The Parson at length having finish'd his long Prayer, alarm'd with the Rumour the wicked Smith had rais'd in the Town, taking Ayd along with him, runs to the Inne, and strictly inquires what persons were there that night, whence they came, what they did, and whither they directed their course: The Answers that were made to each Particular still increasing the Suspicion, Mr. *Bulwer* the next Justice of Peace is sent to for his Warrant, to raise the Country in search of the King; he refusing, one Captain *Massey*, that lay with his Troop thereabout, having rid in Quest of him towards *London* as far as *Dorchester*, returns as wife as he went; Moreover, the Neighbouring parishes all about are narrowly look'd into, especially the house of Sir *Hugh Windham*, Uncle to the foresaid Colonel *Windham*, no corner whereof was left unpeep'd into, no Servant of the Family unexamined; and lest his Majesty should lie conceal'd there in womans apparel, more especial notice is had of a very proper and handsome young Maid, who being taken into Custody, could not be dismiss'd till after a privy search she was discover'd by an infallible testimony not to be the King. Before all this Pudding in *Chayermouth* arriv'd to the height, my Lord *Wilmot* by good fortune was got safe out of the Town, and being come to *Bridport*, as soon as he perceiv'd the King and the Colonel at the place appointed, watching his going by according to agreement, he without seeming to take any notice rides on towards *London*, and they having their horses ready saddle'd, mount and immediately overtake him: And for their better security in respect of the multitude of Passengers that fill'd that Road, among whom, one they discern'd

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discern'd who had been a Servant of his late Majesty's, they took another Way a little on the left hand, and somewhat late in the night, gain'd sight of a little Town; which they, it was call'd, whither it led, and what convenience of Lodging it afforded, my Lord *Wilmut*, riding before, to enquire, lighted by chance upon an Inn whose Keeper knew him, as having been formerly his Servant and a Soldier in his late Majesty's Army. So that they had met here with a very commodious diversion, had they not been on a sudden molested and frighten'd for Room, by the arrival of a Kennell of Souldiers (whom in their passage to *Jersey* the Constable had brought thither to his Quarter'd) & disquieted in the middle of the night by the child-bearing out-cry of a certain female. Property that belong'd to the Camp. The next morning after the Souldiers which their noise were pack'd away, it being consult'd what course from *Broad-Windser* (so the place was call'd) was next to be fear'd. The Resolve was, That his Majesty should return with Colonel *Phinham* to *Trent*, while my Lord *Wilmut*, together with *Henry Peters* went to *Salisbury* to Mr. *John Coventry* (Son to the late Lord Keeper) to advise with him, what course might yet be taken for his Majesty's safe Transportation: Mr. *Coventry* brings them to the house of Miss *Hides*, a Widow, living at *Heal*, a little Village about a mile from *Salisbury*, where one, Colonel *Robert Phillips* that had Commanded in the late King's Army, is happily met; and being thought fit to be acquainted with the business, speeds away, etc. my Lord *Wilmut* return'd to his Majesty, to *Spunhampton*, about the hiring of a Ship, and brings word, that he had found one willing to undertake the Voyage, ready furnish'd with all things necessary; my Lord forthwith returns to carry this News to the King, and to conduct him to *Heal*; but ere his arrivall it fell out, that this Ship was hir'd by the Republicans, for the carrying over of Souldiers to *Jersey*; upon which Colonel *Phillips* meeting with a Friend of his, one Colonel *Gunter*, whom he knew to be Loyal, acquaints him with the whole Story, and intreats him to try the success of his Endeavours; Colonel *Gunter* promises to do his utmost, and it hardly goes about it; in which interim, the King comes to *Heal*, and sups at the Widow's, with divers of his Friends, (who took notice of him only as an accidental Guest) among whom was Dr. *Hutchinson*, (afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*, now of *London*) and after Supper, having understood that the forementioned Undertaking had failed, discover'd himself to the Widow, already not ignorant who he was, (however she seem'd not to know him) by having only once seen him pass by several years since; who being made one of the Council for the King's Safety, judg'd it expedient that he should remain conceal'd in a certain place in her house, which was built in the time of the War for the lodging of Goods, till such time as a conveyance were provided for his Transportation, it being a place very private, and undiscoversable: And for the more secret management of the Design, his Majesty, by her advice, early the next morning made shew of taking leave to go for *London*, while all her Domesticks were dismiss'd, with leave to go to a Fair which was kept that day at *Salisbury*, and so having only Colonel *Phillips* with him, he rode as far as *Stonehenge*, and taking a little compass about, return'd to the house at an appointed hour, and remain'd in the private place, till word was brought, that by the diligence of Colonel *Gunter*, a Ship was hir'd at *Brighthelmsted*, a Port-Town in *Sussex*, and ready provided for a Voyage; upon which his Majesty immediately prepar'd to be gone from *Heal*, and pretty late in the night accompany'd with Colonel *Phillips* and the Widows pray'rs, he took his course to the house of one Mr. *Simmons* near *Portsmouth*, and the following Evening arriv'd at *Brighthelmsted*, where the Lord *Wilmut* and Colonel *Gunter* met him, (Colonel *Phillips* having taken his leave, and return'd home) as also Mr. *Mansell* the Merchant, whom Colonel *Gunter* dealt with for the procuring of the Ship, and *Teterhall* the Master of the said Ship, who having discern'd as they sat at Supper, that one of those he was to carry, however meanly clad, and taking upon him the person of a Servant, was indeed the King, (for he remembered him from an occasion he once had to prove his clemency in a Suit he made to him) took Mr. *Mansell* aside, and tax'd him of Injury, for not dealing plainly with him, concerning the true Quality of the Persons he had undertaken to Transport, since he could not be ignorant of the danger and penalty of the late Proclamation concerning the King: This discovery of the Ship-Masters, and apprehension of the danger of his Enterprize, might probably have render'd the hopes of this Voyage as Effectless as the former, had not the King and the Lord *Wilmut* understanding from *Mansell* the Masters demur, and the reason of it, and well assur'd that it rather proceeded from fear of danger, than want of Integrity, strongly set upon him both with Arguments of the safety of the undertaking, and promises of certain Reward, not omitting an Earnest of present Bounty: By all which he was so effectually wrought upon, that he resolv'd to go on with all fidelity and resolution; to which purpose he without delay upon a colourable pretext he made, sends away the Mariners instantly to the Ship which half laden with Sea-Coal, lay about 4. miles off at a place call'd *Shoram*, bidding them prepare all things in readiness for a Voyage that night, for that he himself was about following them with all speed. This hurrying away in such extraordinary haste, caus'd the Masters Wife (whom, somewhat unwilling at that late time of the night, and without admitting her desir'd put off till morning, he sent to buy some few things that were necessary for his Voyage) to guess that some unusual accident was the occasion of all this sudden preparation; and so far did the sagacity of her conjecture proceed, or else she concluded from some circumstance or other, she observ'd, that she told her husband, she suspected by the hast and secrecy of his setting forth, he was employ'd in the Transporting of some great Person, and she believ'd it was the King himself; But, said she, (so much more honest was she, and more magnanimous, than the Woman at *Chayrmonth*, that kept her husband lock'd up in a Room when he should have gone upon the same occasion) if

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by so, God grant you may prove an effectually Instrument of his Safety; and so it succeed according to my pray'r, added she, though I and my Children suffer for it even to the begging of our bread all our days, it shall never grieve me. Moreover, the Inn-keeper, at whose house the King and his company diverted, a good honest Merry Fellow, and perhaps at that time a little Por-Confident, came to his Majesty just as he was coming away, and taking his hand and kissing it, I know not, said he, who you are, whence you come, or whether you are going; but my mind gives me, I shall one day come to be an Earl, and my Wife a Countess. And several others there were, that gave intimation as if they knew him, though openly they took not the least notice of him for fear of discovery; so that he had not long been gone, ere it was generally whisper'd thereabout, That the King had been there. As soon as all things were in a readiness, the King and my Lord *Wilmut* took horse and rode with the Master to *Shoram*, where after so many Disappointments, they at length imbarqu'd on the 15th of October, passing for two Isle-of-Wight Merchants who had bought the remainder of the Coals, and therefore at first making as if they intended for the Isle of *Wight*, till my Lord *Wilmut* who at that time took upon him the principal Person, seem'd to alter his purpose, and as it were upon a new Contract with the Master of the Vessell, orders him to steer his Course for *France*; so with a Prosperous Gale (as how could the Winds not be obsequious to the Vessell, which carried Neptune's Copartner in the Empire of the Sea) they in a short time, the King helping to steer the Ship with more Skill and Dexterity than the Pilot himself, landed at *Pecam*, a small Port-Town of *Normandy* near *Havre de Grace*; where his Majesty in the first place giving thanks to God for his happy Deliverance from the many Imminent hazards he had run through, dismiss'd the Collier well satisfied with the noble offers made him for his security, and those bountifull promises since made good to him in his advancement to the Captainship of a fair Frigot; and choosing rather to return home to his Family and Employment, though to the hazard of his being call'd to question for what he had done, (which yet he had the good hap to avoid) than to stay in a Foreign Country, though for his greater advantage and security, From *Pecam* his Majesty went to *Roan*, and was there visited by Dr. *Earl* now Bishop of *Worcester*, by whom his happy Escape out of *England*, and his safe Arrival in that City, was most joyfully Congratulated; as also by two honest Merchants residing there, Mr. *Sanbourn*, and Mr. *Parker*, by whose assistance he throwing off his Disguise, put himself into a more becoming Equipage, and on the 30th of October he is met in his Journey to *Paris* by his Mother the Queen Dowager of *Great Britain*, his Brother the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Orleans*, and others of the greatest Peers and Nobles of *France*, with a great Retinue on horseback, both of *French* and *English* Gentlemen, and conducted into the City with great Joy and Triumph, being honourably entertain'd at the Royall Palace of the *Louvre* by the King of *France*, for the most part, during his abode in that Kingdom.

Thus was his Majesty by Gods Providence happily deliver'd from that blatant Monster that with loud Clamours hunted for him up and down in so many places, I mean the Junto's *Politick Edict*, and that after a very miraculous manner, as we may well avouch, considering to how many persons of all sorts and conditions He was necessitated to trust himself, and wholly to commit the care of his Safety; by how many that saw him accidentally, he was taken notice of and known; How oft he was in the very midst of those whose office it was to apprehend him; How oft in the house (or but newly departed thence) where Search has been made for him; How oft among the Indigent and people of mean condition, whom either hope of Gain might have tempted, or denouncement of Penalty terrified to a betraying of him; But that he was reserv'd to more glorious Purposes, than only to be made a Lamented Spectacle of humane Misery in the Flower of his Age, and the height of all his Hopes.

And now having seen his Majesty, after so many hazards and environing dangers, safely arriv'd at *Paris*, we shall take leave of him awhile, and looking back into his Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, see how matters were carry'd there after the Fight at *Worcester*; And in the first place, it is high time to inquire what became of those Nobles and Gentlemen, who leaving his Majesty safe at *Whiteladies*, made it their next adventure to shift for themselves; they made up, as we have already mention'd, a Troop of about 40 horse, and took their way *Northward*, hoping to have overtaken *David Lesley*, who with the main Body of the *Scotch* horse had benided his course with all possible speed toward *Scotland*: But if *Lesley's* whole Cavalry could not defend themselves from a torall disposition, being peck't and hurried to pieces by degrees, by several Parties of the Enemy assisted by the Country people about *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and those parts, *Lesley* himself being taken prisoner, as hath been above related; Much less could a small Troop of 40, though as gallant and resolute as ever men were, be able to cope with those more powerful Bodies of the State Forces, which scouring up and down all the Roads, would be sure to meet them what way soever they took; which they quickly found: for having a little before stoutly rescued the Lord *Levison* from a Party that pursued him, they were not far from *Newport* (set upon themselves both Front and Rear; in the Front by some of Col. *Lilburn's* Troops (Fatal to the Earl of *Derby*); in the Rear, by some others, against whom, weary and over-number'd as they were, it is not to be imagin'd that they could long stand out: So that in this Encounter there were taken the Earl of *Leicester*, the Earl of *Derby*, Mr. *Charles Giffard*, (the last of whom got away from an Inn at *Banbury*, where for a while they were kept Prisoners) and many others of his party: The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Levison*, Colonel *Blagus*, Mr. *Hugh May*, and Mr.

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Mr. *Marmaduke Darcy*, by timely shifting for themselves, and quitting both the Road and their Horses, avoided being taken; the Duke having deliver'd his George to Mr. *May*, and putting himself into disguise, was privately convey'd from Mr. *George Barlow's* at *Bloomsbury* in *Staffordshire*, to Mr. *Hawley's* at *Bilbrop* in *Nottinghamshire*, thence to my Lady *Villiers* at *Brookley* in *Leicestershire*; thence he crept by degrees, through several difficulties and dangers, to *London*, and there found means of passage into *France* to his Majesty. Mr. *May* is said to have ly'n 21 days in a Hay-Mow at one *John Bolds* at *Soudley*, and afterwards by a tedious Foot-Journey to have come in disguise to *London*. The Lord *Leviston* and Mr. *Darcy* through many various adventures and hardships, made a shift at last to wind themselves out of danger; Colonel *Blague* (to whom the King had deliver'd his George) thinking himself safe at the house of Mr. *Barlow* above mention'd, was nevertheless discover'd, and sent Prisoner to *Stafford*, and from thence afterwards to the Tower of *London*; out of which it was not long ere he had the good Fortune to make his Escape, the Kings George in the mean time being with great care preserv'd, was secretly convey'd to him while he was in the Tower; and afterwards by him deliver'd safe into his Majesties hands. The Lord *Talbot* having by a seasonable flight recover'd his Fathers house at *Longford*, lay hid in a secret place in one of the Out-houses, while the house was search'd for him several times in vain. Together with *Lesley* in *Lancashire* were taken Lieutenant General *Middleton*, (who afterwards made his Escape out of the Tower, the like did Major General *Massey* by changing habit with a Porter) the Earl of *Kennmore*, and the Lord *Westworth*; also the stout Earl of *Clarendon* was found out at Mrs. *Brington's* house at *Woodcot* in *Shropshire*, and there seiz'd on; the Earl of *Landradale* was sent to the Tower, as also the Earls of *Rothes* and *Kelly*, (who had been taken in the Fight at *Worcester*) and from thence were remov'd to *Windfar* Castle, where they had honour to suffer for his Majesty by a long and tedious Imprisonment, till the very time of his Majesties Restauration. Yet more harshly and cruelly was it proceeded against the unfortunate Earl of *Derby*, for he being try'd at *West-Chester* by a Court-Martiall, as a person charg'd with the breach of a certain Act (as they call'd it) of the Junto's, *Prohibiting all persons to hold any manner of correspondence with, or any way aid, assist or abett Charles Stuart*. (such was the mannerly Appellation they bestow'd upon their King) upon perill of suffering the pains and penalties of High Treason: Having pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge* that took him, with as little effect as had been done by several in the like case, was according to the Sentence of the said Court (whereof the foremention'd *Hamphry Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury* was President) beheaded on the 15th of *October*, (the same day the King took Shipping for *France*) at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*. For the same Cause, by the same sort of Justice, and try'd by the same Court, there suffer'd Captain *Symkins* the Beate of the Kings Letter of Invitation to Sir *Thomas Middleton*; Sir *Timothy Featherstonhaugh* beheaded about the same time at *West-Chester*, and Captain *Benbow* shot to death at *Shrewsbury*.

By a long Series of Successes, the English Common-wealth was now mainly confirmed and advanced: *Cromwell* their General after his triumphall entrance into *London* from the Battel at *Worcester*, was never after call'd forth upon any Expedition, there never happening any occasion so important as to require his person; what remain'd uncompleted of the Conquest of *Wales* and *Ireland*, he left to be performed by his Lieutenants there, and daily there came news of some Party defeated, some Fortresses or other won in these Two Nations, besides the compleat gaining of the lesser Islands. The Isle of *Sailly* being lately reduc'd, the next Attempt was made upon the Isle of *Jersey*, by Colonel *Hains*, (whose Men were shipt at *Weymouth* the Fourteenth of *October*) and General *Blake* from Sea; after the taking of Mount *Ogreil*, which was yielded upon good Conditions by Sir *Philip Carteret*, and other Forts, *Elizabeth* Castle was surrendered by Sir *George Carteret* Governour there for the King, and so by consequence the whole Island came into the power of the Common-wealth; also *Castle Peel*, and *Castle Rye* in the Isle of *Man* (the only places that were kept for the King in that Island,) attack'd by Colonel *Duckensfield*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Mitchell*, were delivered to them upon Articles by the Countess of *Derby*, on the twenty sixth of *October*; and lastly, *Cornet* Castle, the only place that held out in the Isle of *Guernsey*, was not long after taken by the Junto's Forces, having stood out a long time, as being a place of great and almost impregnable Strength by nature.

And not only these adjacent Islands, but even what ever was part of the Kings Dominions, though at the other end of the World, (as if Successes had conspir'd at this Period of Time, in favour of the High and Mighty States at *Westminster*) came into their Jurisdiction; as did about this time the *Barbadoes*, which under the Government of the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* had so long so resolutely stood out in defiance of them, and in a firm resignation to the Kings true Right and Authority; till at length the Islanders were by Sir *George Ayscough*, after he had made prize of 14 *Hollanders* that lay in the Road, and forc'd his Landing with 700 Men, driven up into their Fort, and soon after brought (special'y by the means of one Colonel *Maddisford*, a powerful man in the Island, whom Sir *George* had first gain'd to compliance) to Conditions of Agreement sufficiently honourable and advantageous for the Surrenderers, and for the Governour the Lord *Willoughby*, to whom was granted Liberty of returning into *England*, with Indempnity for Life and Estate. Hereupon, *Mevius*, and Sir *Christopher* Islands thought it in vain to stand out, inasmuch that Major General *Pointz*, Governour there of late for the King, departed thence for *Virginia*.

It was about this time, that Two eminent Commanders of the *Parliaments* side were taken away

The Barbadoes and other places subdued by Sir George Ayscough.

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The death of Popham and Irton.

A way by death, viz. General *Popham*, one of the Admirals at Sea; and not long after him, *Irton*, Son-in-law to *Cromwell*, and in his room made Deputy of *Ireland*; he dyed, (some say, of the Plague, at *Limerick*), a noted Town of the Province of *Munster*, which after a long Siege he had newly taken, together with *Clare-Castle*, (the last by the help of Sir *Charles Coote*, who had routed a Body of *Fitz-Patrick's*, and *Odwyers* men, upon their recovery of *Meleck* Island from Col. *Axtell*) his Corps was brought up to *London*, and buried in *Henry the Seventh's* Chappell, with as high Funeral Pomp and Princely State, as it hath been since (together with the Carcasses of *Oliver* and others of that Faction) remov'd with disgraceful reproach to a place of utmost Ignominy: he was no doubt, a man of much dispatch, of dextrous and able parts, had they been employ'd in honest designs; and was thought to have been a great Contriver and Prompter in the chiefest of his Father-in-law's Stratagems. For a time after his decease, Lieut. Gen. *Edmund Ludlow* executed his Office, till Colonel *Charles Fleetwood* who had succeeded him in his Wife, was thereby prefer'd to succeed him in the Deputyship of *Ireland*.

The English Common-wealth having in some measure quieted things at home, and thinking themselves in a fair way to a calm of Peace and Tranquillity, took upon them now to give Laws to their subjected Dominions, as also to make Acts of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to submit to them: The first business related to *Scotland*, which being in a short time totally brought under, (for besides the gaining of *Dunbarton* Castle, which was delivered up by Sir *Charles Erskin*, and *Dunnet* Castle which was taken by Colonel *Morgan*, the Isles of *Orkney*, the *Ferries*, and even *Sketland*, which is thought by some to be the same that the Ancients call'd *Ultima Thule*, could not scape their Conquest, which was the Work of Col. *Overton*;) they tak'd into Consideration a Project, which however it being attempted in former times, could be brought to no effect, they resolve to go through with; namely, a Union of *England* and *Scotland*, an Incorporating of both Nations into one Common-wealth: This was mainly oppos'd and remonstrated against by the Scotch Kirk, though in vain; for the Junto had resolv'd upon an Act for the Union of *Scotland*, and the Abolishing of Kingly Government in that Nation; intending that the Shires or Burghs should choose their Deputies or Burgesses to represent them in Parliament, in such a proportionable number as the Parliament should think fit. And Commissioners were sent from hence in behalf of the Common-wealth of *England*, to Treat concerning this Union with the Natives, whom they found but very cold entertainers of their Proffer, besides the tough opposition of the Clergy. These Commissioners were *Oliver St. Johns*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major Gen. *Dean*, Major *Salway*, Col. *Fennick*, Alderman *Titchburn*: And not long after were sent down as Itinerant Judges to hear, determine, and make inspection into all things belonging to the Government of that Nation; *George Smith*, *John Murch*, *Edward Mosely*, and *William Lockhart* a Scotchman: But these Commissioners or Judges were several times alter'd at pleasure. There came in likewise and submitted to them divers of the Scotch Nobility, as the Marquess of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Wicams*, *Angus*, and *Calander*; and the Lord *Belcarrie*; but of all that came in of the Nobility, the Marquess of *Argyle* was he that most comply'd and adher'd to the Common-wealth Interest, notwithstanding all the professions and shew he made when the King was in *Scotland*; and of the Lords that acted among us, the chief were *Stewart* and *Warreston*.

The next Knack was their Act of Oblivion, wherein, though themselves were generally esteem'd the greatest Delinquents; they were pleas'd to publish it to be their gracious Intention to forgive all Injuries, and Pardon all Hostilities hitherto committed against them, upon condition of taking an Engagement which they impos'd upon all people, wherein they were to promise to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of *England* &c. out of which nevertheless were excepted the Lord *Goring* and his Sons, Sir *John Webster* of *Amsterdam*, the Executors of the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Flyers of *Dorsetians* and *Ascham*.

Scarce were these and some other little Transactions finish'd at home, when there began to be in preparation new matter of Work for the exercise of their Arms abroad, in respect of a secret Church which had ly'n a pretty while smothering between them and their Brother States of *Holland*, which was probably in a great part occasion'd through the slight and indifferent reck'ning the Dutch a while ago made of their proffer'd strict Amity and Alliance both by their Agent *Doristans* (whose Assassination they thought perhaps not sufficiently inquir'd into;) and afterwards by their Embassadors *Oliver St. Johns*, and *Walter Strickland*, who being affronted by the common people in *Holland*, thought themselves not sufficiently vindicated by the States, nor respected according to the dignity of their Masters, and therefore came away in discontent; and though the States sent hither afterwards as their Agent *Myn Heer Joachim* with several Complements and Excuses, and Commission to Treat about a fair Correspondence and Commerce with *England*; yet our States at *Westminster* were now resolv'd they should not have their Friendship on such easie Terms as before they offer'd it, since they then made no more account of it: So that they dismiss'd *Joachim* after a prefixt time, beyond which he was not to stay, and then proceeded to an Act entitul'd, *For the Encouragement of Navigation*; Wherein they prohibited the Importing of any Foreign Commodities except upon English Bottoms, or such as were of the Country whence the Commodities came; beginning withall to stand high upon the Claim of Dues and Reparations for the prejudice done us in our Trading: upon which, occasion was taken oftentimes to search their Ships, and sometimes to make prize of them. To complain of these Damages, but more especially, if it were possible, to obtain a suppression of the said Act so prejudicial to their English, they sent with post-hast over into *England* their Embassadors *Myn heeren Catz*, *Van de Peere*, *Sharp*, and

The Junto's Provision for the Government of Scotland.

The Junto's Act of Oblivion.

The Source and occasion of the War with Holland.

and Newport; These Men however coming as most zealous Advocates for a speedy Pacification, and relying much upon the Favourable Reception they should meet with here, were nevertheless at their very first Audience Accosted with such high Demands about the *Herring-Fishing*, the *Bushness* of *Amboyna*, a *Free Trade* in the *Schelde* from *Middleburg* to *Antwerp*, that they were able to give but a cold account to their Masters in the Affair they came about: And though some Messages, for a while, pass'd to and fro for the Vindication, each side, of themselves and their Actions, the *Dutch* all the while making great Protestations of their sincere and real intentions toward this Common-wealth; yet still preparations for War went strenuously on on both sides, till in conclusion they fell to it in good earnest.

A much different Success did the Embassy from *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* meet with in the Negotiation of, first, *Monfieur Sparving*, and (after his decease during his Residence here) *Monfieur Appleboom*; upon which follow'd an Embassy from hence, which tended to a very firm League and Correspondence between our Masters here, and that Queen and her Successour in *Sweden*.

We shall conclude this Year with the Sentence of Banishment pronounc'd against *John Lilburn*, for consorting with *Sir Arthur Haslerigg*, in the behalf of one *Josiah Primus*, in a long and tedious Tryall before the Committee at *Haberdashers Hall*, about a *Cole-Pit*, which being in the possession of the said *Sir Arthur*, was claim'd by the said *Josiah Primus*: The Crime alleg'd against him, was Sedition; for so, probably, was interpreted his taxing of those Commissioners of Corruption and Injustice.

The first Act of Hostility was on the Nineteenth of May, in the year 1652. when *Vanrumpe* C the Admiral of the *Dutch Fleet* coming with Two and forty Sail toward *Dover Road*, refus'd to strike Sail, hung out his red Flag, the usual signal of Defiance, and gave a Broad-side to *Blake* the *English* Admiral, which occasioned some hours sharp dispute between them, wherein the *Dutch* had the worst, losing in this Fight two Ships, and an hundred and fifty Men; but of this Action, the States of *Holland* would not in any wise own themselves Countenancers and Approvers; and to excuse the matter, as done without their Consent, and to endeavour to renew the Treaty with this Common-wealth, a fresh Embassy is sent, and many deep Protestations made; however, this Treaty ended in an absolute breach between the Two Common-wealths, and now open War was denounc'd and publicly proclaim'd on both sides.

In July *Sir George Ayscough* being returned from the *Barbadoes*, and set to Guard the narrow Seas with a Squadron of Ships, met with Thirty Sail of *Hollanders* between *Dover* and *Calice*, and took, or burnt to the number of Ten, the rest ran ashore upon the Coast of *France*; and the next month there hapned another Encounter not far off *Plymouth*, between *Sir George* and the *Dutch Fleet*, consisting of Sixty Men of War, and Thirty Merchant, part of the *English Fleet* coming up to *Sir George Ayscough's* assistance: This Engagement continued fierce till night parted them, and nor without some loss to the *English*, but more to the *Dutch*: And about the latter end of September they were lamentably defeated by General *Blake*, on the back-side of *Goodwin Sands*, at a place called, the *Kentish Knock*. But in the *Levant* Seas, a small Fleet of the *English* conveying certain Merchant-men from *Scanderoon*, were set upon by eleven Sail of *Dutch*, who overpowring them in number, took and blew up five *English* Ships; and about the beginning of December, General *Blake* himself engaging with the whole Fleet of the *Dutch*, came off with the worst, losing the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, with some other Ships. And again in the *Levant*, Captain *Badiley* coming from *Portolongone* to the Relief of *Capt. Appleton*, Blockt up in the Mole of *Legorn*, was set upon by the *Dutch*, in which Encounter he lost three or four stout Ships. The same year the Two Fleets again joyning Battel between *Portland* and the *Isle of Wight*, about the Twentieth of February, the *Dutch* were overthrown, with a fore and terrible loss both of their Ships and Men: But all these Fights put not yet a Period to the War, which was not ended till the year following, and that chiefly by the Counsels and Power of the now chief Ruler *Cromwell*, who, having by the long continued Success of his Forces obtained a long Respite and Vacation from Military Action, had leisure enough to forecath with himself how he might not only confirm his present Greatness, but also advance himself to a higher pitch; and to this end he set himself by all manner of fair pretences to engage unto a Compliance with his Actions and Interests, the chief Officers of the Army: nor did he neglect to pry narrowly into the Actions and Councils of that *Junto*, having of his own Creatures among them to give him continual Intelligence from time to time of what was done in the *Parliament-House*. Thus embolden'd with his former Successes, and his present high Authority in the Common wealth, supported with Friends and Correspondents, and backt with a powerful Army, He resolves to make way for his own Sovereignty, by putting a Period to the remnant of that Long *Parliament*, which being call'd in the Year 1640, by his late Majesty, had now sat above 12 years, and had run through many bold and unheeded designs, introducing such an alteration in Government, as gave wonder and astonishment to all the World: And to this End, entering on the 20th of April 1653. fortified with the Principall Officers of his Army, and delivering his Mind to them in a Speech, How that he had taken into his Weighty Consideration the necessity of dissolving them as a matter much conducing to the publick good and welfare of the Nation, and which the present juncture of things required, considering the Corruptions and Miscarriages were likely to arise from their perpetuated Sitting, which seem'd to be the thing they aynd at; With other Particulars to that effect; Without expecting their Answer, he desires them to quit the House: Nor was he disobey'd, all yielding, some quietly, others with murmuring, (restit

Embassadors from the Queen of Sweden.

Lilburn Banish'd.

1652.

The first Sea-Fight between the Dutch and the English.

The Dutch Fleet twice defeated by Sir George Ayscough.

By General Blake near Goodwin Sands. The English come off with loss in the *Levant*.

Another great Overthrow given to the Dutch Fleet near Portland.

1653.

Cromwell Dissolves the remnant of the Long Parliament.

(restit none durst) to necessity and their Master's Pleasure. To justify this great Act, and give a form of satisfaction to the World, a Declaration is fram'd by him and his Council of Officers, alleging the dissolved Parliaments Corruption and dilatory proceedings, if not total neglect of redressing the Grievances, and reforming the Abuses of the Common-wealth, the carrying on of particular Interests; their despoiling to perpetuate their own authority, rather than seriously intending the Common Good; their not answering the desires of the honest people of the Nation, or accomplishing those Ends which they expected from them: And many other Misdemeanours which he laid to their Charge.

And that the seeming face of Law and Judicature might not be disturb'd by the turning out of those late Senators, a Convention is next design'd by *Cromwell* and his Officers of such persons as he himself pick'd and call'd out as fittest for his purpose from all parts of the Nation, and therefore not chosen by the People, but summon'd by his own Warrants to appear personally at the Council-Chamber at *White-Hall*; In the mean time, he and his Council of Officers assembling in the nature of a Council of State, to administrate the Government. When the appointed time was come, his Ministers of State meet, and, after his Speech, wherein he layes down his Reasons, &c. receive their Instructions from him in a certain Instrument fram'd for the purpose, whereby their Sitting was limited to the 3d. of November, 1654. Three months before which time, they were to nominate their Successors; and they to do in like manner, and so forward to a perpetual Succession. It was long ere they could agree among themselves, what Name or Title to take upon them; but at length they conclude to be call'd a *Parliament*, and so enter and take their Seats in the *Parliament-House*, making choice of *Francis Rouse* of *Devonshire* for their Speaker.

Four Months had this Convention or Parliamentary Assembly sat, when at length, certain Divisions and Controversies arising among them (and that chiefly about the taking away of Tythes, which came under Consultation) it was mov'd by some among them, That their longer Sitting would not be for the Peace of the Nation; thereupon they attended his Generalship at *White-Hall*, (all but a certain refractory Faction of them led by *M. Gen. Harrison* and *Arthur Squib*, who tarry'd so long in the House, till they were fetch'd out by *L. Col. White*), and whether voluntarily or by appointment, resigned their Power into his hands; who thenceforth, though seeming unwilling, and excusing his Inability for to great a Weight and Burthen, yet importun'd by those about him, as likewise by the City, (suborned (no doubt) therunto, assum'd unto himself the Supreme Rule and Sovereign Authority of the Three Nations, with the Title of *Lord Protector of the Common wealth* of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; being Install'd with much Formality and Ceremony in the *Chancery Court* at *Westminster*, in presence of the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the chief Officers of the Army; and had a Council assigned him, consisting of One and twenty Persons, most of them Officers of the Army, with whose assistance he carried all things in the Intervals of *Parliament*: It being the Principal of the 42 Articles in the Instrument of Government, that he should call one every 3. years. All publick Writings change their Title from that of the *Keepers* of *Englands Liberties*, to that of *Oliver Lord Protector*, &c. And now he was arriv'd to that height of Power and Dignity, that there wanted only the Name and Title to make him absolute King.

Nor did this Convention of Senators sit so short a time, but that they left behind them something to be talk'd of, and this was an Act for the Registering of Marriages, &c. wherein among other things, those that were design'd for Matrimony, were oblig'd to go before a Justice of Peace, as if they were going to be bound to their good Behaviour: which strange way of marrying to frighten People, that to enjoy the benefit of the old way before the prefix time of this Act being in force, multitudes run themselves headlong into the noose, as if there had been no such thing in nature as Consideration; and that with flying Colours, for it was openly proclaim'd what they were going about, by the extraordinary number of Bridall Garters that appear'd glistering in Hats in every part of the Town.

These things thus Transacted in *England*, the King nor having any further means left him at present for the attempting the recovery of his Kingdoms, was constrain'd to take up his peaceful Residence in the Court of *France*, where he was Treated with all the Honour and Obedervance befitting Regal Dignity, though in a Person eclips'd in Fortune, and dejected of his Native Right; yet besides his own Misfortunes, he was not excus'd from participating, in some measure, in the Troubles that were at that time begun in the Kingdom of *France*, which by reason of the haughty Spirits and Discontents of some of the chief Princes of the Blood, the chief whereof were the Princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, (which last seem'd to bear a particular Respect to his Majesty, and between whose Daughter *Madamijelle d'Orleans* and him, the being Sovereign Dutchess of *Monpensier*, beside her other great Wealth, a March is said to have been propos'd; as likewise between the Duke of *Tork* and *Madamijelle de Longueville*) finding fault with fever 1 grand Miscarriages in the State, and imputing them to the inordinate Power of Cardinal *Mazarini*, grew to an absolute Civill Warr for the time: The people generally murmuring against the Cardinal, and inclining to take part with the Princes, and the Parliaments also of *Paris* and *Bordeaux* adhering to them, and the Duke of *Lorraine* then in the Service of the *Spaniards*, being call'd in to the assistance of the Princes; having an Army to that purpose in a readines; and these things hapned when young *Lewis* the Fourteenth, was newly declared Major (i.e.) arriv'd to the Age that render'd him capable of Governing, and exempted him from the Tutition of the Queen Regent.

To compose and end these Differences, our King offered himself as an earnest Mediatour between

1653.

Cromwell chooseth another Convention.

Takes upon himself the Government, with the Title of Lord Protector.

The King constrain'd to the Court of France.

1653.

The King mediates a Reconciliation between the King and Princes of France.

tween both Parties; and so far he prevail'd in the Business, that Deputies from the Princes were admitted to a Conference with the French King to declare their Grievances; and debate of those things that were in difference: The first Conference taking no effect, others were also procured at the Suite of our King, who also himself went in Person to and fro between both Sides, to mediate a Reconciliation, using his own Condition as an Argument to move the French King, advising him rather to condescend to a great part, at least, of their Demands, than to drive on to extremity: The King of France and his Council return'd him many thanks for his Friendly Advice, and it was chiefly at his request that the Deputies had been admitted to Treat; yet all endeavours at present proved ineffectual, the said King persisting in his resolution not to give way to the banishment of the Cardinal, who, he said, had approved himself a most faithful Servant and able Minister of State; and the Princes on the other side, notwithstanding all the Arguments our King us'd to appease them, and all the Inconveniences of a Civill War he laid before them, standing peremptorily upon the height and rigour of their Demands. Hereupon the Warlike Preparations proceeded on both sides; and had the Duke of Lorraine, as was expected, come on with his Army, and joyned with the Princes, the Scales of Success had been in great danger of turning, the Princes promising to themselves by this expected Conjunction, the recovery of that Loss and Overthrow which was given at *Esampes* to their Forces under the Command of the Duke of Nemours, by the Marshall de Turenne General of the French King's Army (in which Conflict the Duke of York won himself that credit and reputation, which render'd him very considerable with the Marshall and the King of France himself, and which afterwards he made good in several other eminent Services); but the Duke of Lorraine, with whom at that present our King was, at his Camp at *Dampmartin*, having many tempting Offers made him by the King of France for the drawing off his Army, and declining conjunction with the Princes Forces, was so wrought upon, that when the Duke of Beaufort came to him in the name of the rest of the Princes, and earnestly perswaded him to come on with his Forces, and joyn with them in order to a speedy engagement, he discover'd so much backwardness and coldness in the business, as made it easily perceiv'd he had no such intention. At this strange prevarication of the Duke of Lorraine, and flying off from his Promise, Beaufort much wondring, and inwardly enrag'd, and having found his Majesty in private Conference with him, which his coming in brake off, (probably in reference to an old Treaty that had been between them long in agitation, though through one obstruction or other never brought to effect, about the sending his Army over into Ireland, for the Conquest of that Kingdom) concluded presently that it was by the King of England's Negotiation with Lorraine, in favour of the Cardinal and the Court-Interest, that he had thus deserted them, and drawn off his Forces: And this suspicion not only prejudic'd his Majesty in the Opinion of the Princes, but also contricted him much ill-will and murmuring discontent from the common people of Paris, springing rather from the precipitate heat of Popular Jealousie, than grounded upon any foundation of Reason; for at the same time he had the hard thoughts of the Cardinal's Faction, as being judg'd to have counsel'd his banishment, because he advis'd the French King rather to compose things on any terms, than to Imbroil his Kingdom in War; the Cardinal himself, ever after, bearing him, as it is thought, and may be conjectur'd from some Circumstances, no very great good will: Whereas it was evident enough, that what ever his Majesty asked or advis'd on either side, was from a sincere intention and desire of peace-making and reconciliation between all Parties: And if he were an Agent in taking off the Duke of Lorraine from joyning with the Princes, it was for the Peace of the Kingdom, and so it prov'd; for the Princes thereby frustrate of the hopes they rely'd upon to enable them to oppose the King of France his power, were glad to accept of offer'd terms of Accommodation; and hereupon, instead of a long intestine War which the expected Conjunction might have produc'd, a generall Peace ensu'd; the Cardinal having retir'd himself to *Brussels*, a Castle belonging to the Elefcur of *Colen*, and long since recall'd home, is re-instated in all his former Power and Greatness, the King of France is receiv'd with Triumph into his City of Paris; and thither also our King, as soon as the Parisians were return'd to themselves, and all misunderstandings clear'd, return'd from *St. Germain*, whither he had chosen rather to withdraw himself, till the Fit of their Passion were over, than to live among them the unwelcome Object of their dislike.

Before his Majesty left the Court of France, which hapned to be not long after his Return from *St. Germain* to the *Louvre*, his youngest Brother the Duke of Gloucester having remain'd all this while under the Custody of the *Keepers* of England's Liberties, little better than a Prisoner, at *Carisbrook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*, had the good Fortune, whether out of their bounty, or their willingness to be rid of him, to be set at Liberty, and let loose among his Friends beyond Sea, his Keeper Sir Henry Mildmay having brought him to *Dunkirk*, he was there met by better Friends, and by them conducted first to *Brussels*, thence to *Brada* to his Sister the Princess of Orange, from whence he was attended by the Lord *Langdale*, the Lord *Inchequene*, and Sir *Richard Greenville*, into France, and conducted to the King his Brother at the *Louvre*, by whom, as likewise by the Duke of York, and the Queen-Mother, he was joyfully receiv'd, and very Civilly Treated by the French King and all his Court.

After that Cromwell had invested himself with the Supream Authority, the War yet lasted for a while with the Dutch, and Two terrible Naval Fights were fought; wherein General Monk (who by his Great and Prudent Conduct in many Battels, had approv'd himself one of the Greatest Land-Captains of this Age) did shew he was no less Capable of making himself Successful

The two last Sea-Fights between the English and the Dutch.

1653.

at Sea: For the first of these, after the first Encounter, wherein General Dean was slain, was chiefly manag'd by Him; and the latter, which was the most Important and Cruell of the two, was under his sole Conduct. But because they were both of them of so extraordinary Advantage to the Reputation of the English Nation, we shall be a little more than usually particular in the Relation of them, but yet with just and impartial respect to the truth of the whole Action. The first Fight was upon the 2d. day of June, 1653. The English Fleet was Commanded by the Generals Monk and Dean both together in one Ship, Pen was Vice-Admiral, and Lawson Rear-Admirall: The Dutch Fleet was Commanded by Van-Trump in Chief, whose principal Commanders under him were the two *Eversons*, *De Witt*, and *Rutier*, all of them very stout and expert Sea-men: The Dutch were far more in Number than the English, who expected an Accession of Ships by General Blake, but he could not get up timely enough to them. The Battail began very early in the morning, and at the first shot made by the Dutch, General Dean was slain. At ten of the Clock it began to be very sharp; And chiefly betwixt the two Squadrons Commanded by Lawson and *de Rutier*; Van-Trump came in to relieve the last, and General Monk with the Grosse of the Fleet which came on in Excellent order, engag'd him. The Fight continued very hot till 3. in the afternoon; and Lawson sunk a Ship of *Holme* of 42 Guns, who had in her 148 Men, and many other were slain and wounded, and much more execution had been done, but that the Wind blew very grosse to the English, and so favour'd the Dutch, that they bore away before it, but were follow'd by some of the best Sailors of the English, who gave them chase whilst there was any light. The next morning very early General Monk found himself near them, but the Wind was so slack, it was Noon before the Fleets engag'd, which was continued with so much more vigour than at any time before, and lasted till ten at Night: Ninety of the Dutch Fleet at the heat of the Engagement were in so great Confusion, and so unwilling to stand to the Fight, that Van-Trump fired upon them, and sent his own Boat to Command them to come up to him; Nevertheless, he could not get above twenty of them to return: The rest steer'd away East and by South; but the Wind being very fresh Westwardly, Monk press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk Six of their best Ships, and two of the others were blown up amongst their own Fleet; Eleven Ships were taken, and two Hoyes, and 1350 Prisoners, whereof Six were Captains of good Note: And if they had not got upon the Flats by *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, whereby our Great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken; Van-Trump got off

65. Sail of Ships. The English had not one Ship either lost or disabled; And, except General Dean, but one Captain slain, and about 150 Common men; and 24 hurt.

After this Defeat, the Dutch were very desirous to regain their Reputation, and in order thereunto they Equipp'd a very great Fleet to the number of 125 Sail, with so much Confidence of Success, that they posted Van-Trump out with 95, before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by *De Witt* from the *Texell*: It was upon the 29<sup>th</sup> of July in the morning, when the English Fleet consisting of about 100 Ships, discry'd the Dutch, They had time to draw together, but the English were all a stern and could not get up till Six of the Clock to come to any Engagement, and then it was begun but with a few of the nimblest Frigates, which were afterwards re-inforc'd to the number of Thirty, who continued the Battel till th: Night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to joyn with them. The Dutch by the darkness of the Night sent away many of their main'd disabled Ships, and got by the English Fleet, to joyn with the 25 Ships that *De Witt* brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in hopes to be reveng'd of their late affront; And now both Fleets met in the most fierce and Cruel Fight that ever was fought, (General Monk observing this War to be very burdenson to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it, to be in the sharpness of it, and therefore gave orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by experience, That the taking of Ships oblig'd him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakened,) The Air was quickly fill'd with scatter'd Limbs of men blown up; The Sea was died with the blood that flow'd from the Veins of the Slain and Wounded; *De Witt* and *De Rutier* did bestir themselves, and often attempted to Board the Ship in which the General himself was; *Cornelius Everson's* Ship was sunk; and the Famous Van-Trump himself standing upon the Poop of his ship with his drawn Sword encouraging his men, was slain with a Musket Bullet; whereby the rest of the Fleet was so discouraged, that they hoys'd out all the Sail they could, to hatter away towards the *Tevell*: The English pursued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to *Sole-Bay*, there to repair the shattered Ships, and dispose of their Prisoners, which were about 1200 men, taken out of Boats and swimming in the Sea; 33. Sail of Ships out of which they were by the mercy of the English saved, were sunk to the bottom of the Sea: In regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the number of them was known; but it is supposed some were sunk out of which no men were saved. The English lost 400 Common men, and Eight Captains, *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crispe*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen*, and *Chapman*, Men of great resolution; and had about 700 Wounded, whereof five were Commanders; but they lost but one Ship, which was call'd the *Oake*. Van-Trump was a Man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime Affairs, that he justly merited the Fame of being the most Renownd Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour, and Fidelity, and a great Lover of his Country, which made him bear a grateful Respect to the House of Orange, by whom the Foundation was laid of that (*High and Mighty*) greatness they now assume and enjoy; And by whose

M m m 2

Prudence

1653.

A Quarrell  
between the  
State of Eng-  
land and the  
Danish King.

The French  
Fleet intercepted  
by Blake, as  
it was going  
to the Relief of  
Dunkirk.  
Ambassadors  
from France &  
Portugal.

Liburn comes  
over into  
England out  
of Exile.  
He is tried  
again & con-  
victed, yet sent  
back to Britain.

1654.

The Protector  
concludes a  
Peace with the  
Dutch.  
And with  
Sweden.  
Col. Gerard and  
others tried  
before a High-  
Court of  
Justice.

Gerard and  
Powell execut-  
ed.  
The Portugal  
Ambassadors  
brother be-  
headed.

Prudence and Courage their Liberties were rescued, and preserv'd against one of the most Potent Princes of Europe. Out of his great sense of Honour, he had much Commiseration for the Sufferings of Our Royal Family, and did endeavour to persuade his Masters to Espouse the Kings Interest, as that to which they were in Justice and Conscience oblig'd to adhere: And though he was without Success in that Undertaking, he omitted not on all Occasions to testify his Affection to his Majestie.

During this War with the Hollander, there hapned a kind of troublesome bickering between the Commonwealth of England, and the King of Denmark, about certain Merchant-Men which coming from the East, and not daring to venture through the Sound by reason of the Dutch Men of War that lay there, but tarrying for a Convoy out of England, were in the mean time shut up in the Booms at Copenhagen, and not only the Convoy was forc'd to return without them, but also when one Bradshaw was sent over as an Agent from this State to demand the restitution of those Ships, they were notwithstanding both detained by the Kings Order, and the Goods sold: This for the time bred a great Controverisie between this State and the Danish King; however, it was at last taken up, and ended at least in a seeming Correspondence.

Also a French Fleet of seven Sail, under the Command of the Duke of Vendosme, going to the Relief of Dunkirk then besieg'd by the Spaniards, was set upon by General Blake, and most of the Ships taken; by which means, the French Relief was hindered, and the Town won by the Spaniards: This moved the French King to hasten over his Ambassador to sollicite for a Peace with England; which afterward was effected. And about the same time comes over a new Embassy from Portugal, to make an end of that which had been solicited by a former Embassy; manag'd by Don Suarez de Gimeraines, with Mr. Adles an English Merchant, his Interpreter, ever since December, 1650, and in some measure vouchsaf'd after a long time of attendance by our High and Mighty's, as to Damages sustain'd by that Kingdom in the losse of their Sugar-Fleet intercepted by Gen. Blake in the Quarrell between King John and our States, about the harbouring of Prince Rupert; for which, though at first he thought to bring them to Terms by seizing the English Merchants Goods in Lisbon, yet he was glad at last to submit and sue to those at Westminster both for Peace and Restitution; wherein not receiving to full an answer as he wish'd, he sent over upon the Change of Government to our new Lord and Master Cromwell, for the finishing of that Affair, the Conde del Sa, Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Portugal, who was dismiss'd, though with the losse of his Brother, yet with pretty good satisfaction as to the matter of his Embassy; however, the Peace was not fully ratified till the coming over of another Embassy, Don Francisco de Melo.

John Liburn who had been banisht by the Commonwealth, hearing of the change of Government, and presuming upon the Protectors Clemency, thought he might now venture without danger to return into England, and about the Tenth of June he came over without permission granted, whereupon he was turn'd over to the Common-Law, and try'd for his life at the City Sessions; and through the many quirks and devices he found out in the Law, and the cunning boldness of his Defence, spinning out his Tryall into a long time of hearing, brought in by the Jury, Not Guilty: yet was he by Cromwell's Order committed back to New-Gate, and afterwards removed from thence to the Tower; so great a stir there was with this petty Incendiary, this Enemy to whatsoever Power was uppermost.

A Treaty of Peace began now to be in agitation with the Dutch, for Cromwell having now obtain'd the Supream Power, and having, as appears afterwards, some other Design in hand took the first Advantage of their Application for Peace, as doubtless they were brought to such Terms by this War, as made them forward enough to sue for it; and to that end, there came over Ambassadors, the Lords Newport, Youngsall, Bevering, and Vanderperre, which died last during the Embassy at London) fully Impowred from them for the concluding of a firm League and good Correspondence between the Two States; So that on the Fifth of April, 1654. the Articles of Peace were signed, and on the Twenty sixth Proclaimed in London; and a day or two after were proclaimed the Articles of Alliance between England and Sweden, Balthasar Whitlock, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, having been sent over Ambassador to Queen Christina a little before her Renunciation of her Crown to her Cousin Carolus Gustavus, by whom they were also Ratified.

In the following Month of May, upon an Accusation of an intended attempt upon his Protectorships life, (for that began now to be the chief thing apprehended in all the Plots they henceforth discover) and for the seizing of the City and Tower, and Proclaiming Charles Stuart, as they were pleas'd to stile his Majestie, there were taken and sent to Prison Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and his two Brothers Colonel John, and Mr. Charles Gerrard, Mr. Somerses Foxe, Mr. Sidney Fotherby, Mr. Powell a School-Master of Iflington, Mr. Tindor a Chirurgeon, Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Philip Parker, with some others, and at a High-Court of Justice erected for the purpose, on the first of July, try'd for their Lives as high Traitors against Oliver; however, Three only were condemn'd, namely, Colonel John Gerrard, Peter Powell, and Somerses Foxe; this last was reviev'd for his ample Confession: of the other Two, Gerrard was Beheaded on Tower-Hill. Powell hang'd at Charing-Cross: On the same day with Colonel Gerard, Viz. The Tenth of July, though upon a different account, was likewise beheaded Don Pontalao Sa, Brother to the Portugal Ambassador, who having not many Months before been engag'd in a Quarrell upon the New Exchange, with this Gerard, wherein he came off with the worst, was so far stirr'd up to Revenge, that coming the

the next Night into the Exchange with an armed Train of his Followers, he was the occasion of the Murder of one Mr. Greenway, a Gentleman, no way concern'd in the Quarrel: For this Riot being try'd for his life, and condemn'd at the Upper-Bench, (as it was then call'd) he was brought to end at once both his Life and Controverisie upon the same Scaffold with his Adversary.

Our King had remain'd in the Court of France between 2 and 3 years, with an Expectation sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some hopes he had of his assistance from several Princes of the Empire, as the Dukes of Brandenburg, Lunenburg, Brunswick, &c. as also the Emperour himself, to whom was sent in receiv'd with much Civility and Respect. Moreover, the Dutch (whom to incline to a free and ready Concession, both his Sister the Princess of Aurangeim, by her utmost Power and Influence with them; and his Majesty himself, to oblige to him the more, appear'd an Active and Industrious Promoter of the League, which Myr her Boreel was sent to negotiate with the Crown of France) seem'd very inclinable to answer the desire which his Majesty had exprest to them in a Letter sent them by my Lord Gerard, for the owning and adopting his Intrest in their War with England, and Prince Rupert was design'd to have had the Command in his Majesties Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet so little speed was made in putting this Overture into act, and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and them, that whatever was hop'd for, and expected from them, quickly vanish'd and came to nothing: His next and more probable expectation was from the hop'd, with the probable, Success of those earnest Endeavours that were made by the Pope & other Catholick Princes, for a Reconciliation between the Two Crowns of France and Spain, in which Affair he also interpos'd himself a most zealous Solicitor, as no doubting but that from the united Forces of two such Powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable Assistance: And Matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful Conclusion, had not the Politick Reasons of State, as it was thought, of Cardinal Mazarini put a stop to this Grand Work. But that which went nearest to him, was the great preparation in the French Court, for the sending over an Ambassador into England, to Treat about a Peace with this Commonwealth: To divert this Embassy, both He and the Queen his Mother us'd all the Power and Intereit they had in that Court, though all in vain; for it was long ere Mr. Bourdeaux Neufville was dispatch'd upon the foresaid Embassy: Hereupon the King foreseeing by a necessary Consequence what would become of his Intereit in France, if this Address, as it was likely, should terminate in a League, thought it better to leave that Kingdom voluntarily before-hand, than to stay till he were ceremoniously forc'd out; so that having taking his leave of the King of France (and the other great Ones) from whom he receiv'd many Complements and Apologies, no doubt pretending the necessity of his Affairs, He went accompanied with his Brother the Duke of York, his Cousins Prince Rupert and Prince Edward Palatine, to Chailion, a House belonging to the Prince of Conde, where they stay'd a while to determine how most commodiously each of them to dispose of themselves: The King, with Prince Rupert, resolved for Germany, the Earl of Rochester being at that time with the Emperour at Regensburg, to sollicite in his behalf; and the rather, because about that time a Journey to Bourbon, and the Duke of York remain'd in France, till a good while after the conclusion of the Peace with England, being Lieu. Gen. of the French Kings Army, Commanded in Chief by Marshal Turain. Prince Rupert having parted from the King to go to Heidelberg, the chief Seat of his Brother Frederick Prince Palatine, and thence to the Imperial Court at Vienna, the King took his Journey by the way of Cambray and Liege to the Spaw, which he made his first place of Residence in Germany: Here his Sister the Princess Royal met him, and after a few Months stay in this place, accompanied him to Colen, where they were receiv'd with great Honour and Magnificence; as they made their Entrance into the Town, the great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to Complement them: The Duke of Newburgh also entertain'd them very splendidly at his House at Dusseldorp, from whence the Princess of Aurange returning into Holland, the King her Brother brought her onward of her Way as far as Bedingen.

From the time we left Ireland in so declining a condition, and so almost lost to his Majesties hopes, and the Lord Lieutenants Endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left was the dead) (succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united Forces of Clanrickard and Castlehaven & some few small Parties that now and then sall'd forth from their Fastnesses: these for a while gave Check to the Republicans and Cromwells Substitutes; till in the end the said Sir Charles Coor, and Col. Fennick; the Lord Muskerry by the Lord Broghil; the Marquess of Clanrickard, soon after a Defeat he receiv'd at Enagh, forc'd to lay down Arms in the Isle of Carrick, the Remnant of the Ulster Forces Commanded by the Lord Muskerry, Col. O'Reilly, and the Macmahons, Relations of the foresaid Bishop, yielding upon Articles; as likewise did Mortogh O'Brian, having all of them stood it out to the last Extremity: The remaining Towns, Castles, and Forts which held out as Limrick, Athlone, Galloway, Ballisawoon, Ballinote, the Isles of Arran and Ennabassen, and other places, all constrain'd to surrender themselves to the Conquerors power; the Marquess of Ormond, and the Lord Inchiquin, having in time provided for their Sivities, when they saw things in a desperate Condition, and still growing worse and worse, by

M m 3

imbarcking

The King's  
hopes from  
Foreign Prin-  
ces and States.  
The Earl of  
Rochester sent  
Ambassador to  
the Emperour.

The King sol-  
licites a Peace  
between France  
and Spain.

He departs out  
of France to-  
wards Germany.

The King re-  
moves to the  
Spaw.  
Thence to  
Colen.

The Conclu-  
sion of the War  
in Ireland.

1654.

imbarcking for France, nothing was left but to dispossess and extirpate the vanquish'd, and take possession in their room: Some they remov'd out of the World by an Itinerant High-Court of Justice, which went in Circuit from one place to another, the President whereof, was one Justice Donellan an Irish-man, and Cook (notorious by his officiating in another High-Court) his assistant: Others out of the Land by the Articles of Transportation, which the Marquess of Clanrickard and others upon their laying down Arms had concluded with them; namely, to have free Liberty to go beyond Sea to serve the King of Spain, or some Foreign Prince in his Wars: Those that remain'd (as both of the Transported and Transplanted there were vast multitudes) and escap'd the High-Court, we penn'd like Sheep in a Fold within the Province of Connaught, so that there was a large Extent of Territorie left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of Irish Lands: The main pretence of this foresaid Court which sat at Kilkenny, thence remov'd to Waterford, Dublin, Ulster, and other places, was for the Tryal of those that were judg'd guilty of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. The chief of Quality that suffer'd, (for there were a number of less note) were Col. Mac Hugh, Col. Tool, and Col. Walter Bagnall, and who was of all the most eminent as in Quality, so in Crime, (had he been judg'd by a Lawful Authority; as having been one of the Principal Leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief obstructors of the Union, endeavour'd by the Lord Lieutenant in advantage of his Majesties Service; (Sir Philip O'neal, who being taken near Charlemount, try'd and condemn'd, was hang'd and quarter'd near my Lord Canfield's House, at the place where he had caus'd his Father to be murder'd. Thus was Ireland become insubjected to the English Usurpation: And so likewise was Scotland thought to have been at this time, when on the sudden a new Hostility springs up in the Highlands, headed by divers of the Scotch Nobility, who had the most powerful Influence in those Parts, the Earls of Glencarn, Athol, Seaforth, Kinross, the Lord Kenmore, the Lairds Mac-Ronalds, and Mac-Clood, Col. Montgomery, Sir Mungo Murray, and Sir Arthur Forbes; these having each of them got together their several Parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so trusted to have been able with a Force not altogether contemptible, to have taken the Field against the main Power of the English that were then in Scotland: and 'tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the Chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000, under Glencarn, and Kenmore, been encountered on the sudden, ill arm'd, ill provided, and in disorder, by Col. Morgan at Cromarty; Glencarn's Army in this Conflict, being very much put to the Rout and dispers'd, and himself missing but little of being taken, the rest in little stragling Parties were many times met with to their loss: Yet were they not for all this so out of heart, but that they again made a shift in some sort to re-embolden, and that so much the more confidently, upon expectation of Middleton's coming over with Supplies out of Holland; though upon his arrivall not long after with Commission to be General, Sir George Munro, (who together with the Lord Napier, and M. Gen. Dalry, landed with Middleton at Inver Ferry) having also Commission to be Lieutenant General, the High-land Levies instead of being re-inforc'd by these additional Forces and Supplies, were rather weakened and overthrow by the Animositie of some of the Scotch Nobility, especially Glencarn stoaching the preference of Middleton and Munro, to the Command of the Army above him, and thereupon departed in discontent, and laying down Arms. Upon the neck of which Breaches and Defections among them, Lieut. Gen. Monk, the Dutch War being ended, having no more Work to do at Sea, is sent Commander in Chief into Scotland, and coming upon Middleton at Lougherry, on the twentieth of July, gives him an utter Defeat, and thereby puts a period to these High-land Agitations, and all farther Attempts in Scotland, to the disturbance of the then regnant Authority in England. And the Kirk of Scotland also her self at this time had the Wings of her Religious Empire very much clip'd, if not quite taken away by the dissolution of her General Assembly, which was done by Col. Morgan, the fore-going year at Aberdeen where they were Assembled, Mr. Andrew Cant and the rest of them, in vain Protesting against the Action: The like Disturbance they had afterwards at Edinburgh, from Lieut. Col. Cotterell.

The Marquiss of Argyle to keep up his Reputation with the Church of Scotland, seem'd much troubled in his mind at this proceeding against the Assemblies, and interceded with the Protector for the liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good success: For Oliver considering that his declining the Kings interest, facilitated the total subjection of Scotland to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him, by seeming to do that at his Request, he determin'd to do before for the quieting the minds of the people: The Church of Scotland was therefore indulg'd with the exercise of Religion, and a great part of their Jurisdiction and Discipline: they were restrain'd in little more than the power of keeping general Assemblies (their Presbyteries being permitt'd to convene) and the rigor of Excommunication: For, whereas before persons excommunicated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their Estates confiscated till their Reconciliation. This latter part was not now to be executed: But to please the Ministers for the restraint of their power, the maintenance of Scholars in Universities of Scotland was increas'd, and many Priviledges granted to them.

The Government and security of the Kingdom of Ireland, was the next care of the Protector. Major Gen. Lambert was formerly appointed for that Government, and had provided all his Equipage to go thither; but Cromwell was jealous, least his ambition should excite him to gain a party there to establish himself against him: And therefore he Artificially contrived to hinder him from going, upon pretence of greater advancement here, and he made him next to himself, Commander in Chief of all the Armies, with an Entertainment of ten pounds a day; This done,

Glencarn and Middleton Defeated in the High-land.

The General Assembly dissolved by Col. Morgan.

The Marquiss of Argyle interceded for the Liberty of the Church of Scotland.

The Priviledges of the Universty in Scotland, increas'd and maintained for the Scholars.

1654.

he confiscated his own Son in Law Fleetwood to be Deputy of Ireland, assisted with 6 Counsellors (that is to say) Steel, who was after made Chancellor, Pepys, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in England, appointed to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, M. Robert Goodwin of Suffolk, Miles Corbet, and the Colonels Robert Hammond, and Mathew Thomlinson.

The King was yet at Calen, when he receiv'd the disconsolate News of the Distalters in Scotland and Ireland, supported chiefly by that brave and undanted Fortitude, which never fail'd him in the greatest of his Adversity. The Princes of Germany were very kind to him, which made his stay in those Parts the more agreeable; and, to increase his comfort, he sent the Marquess of Ormond to Paris, to wait on his Brother the Duke of Gloucester to him, whom he the more earnestly desir'd to have near him, least his Youth might be prevail'd upon, by the Subtily of Arguments, and Temptation of Riches and Promotion, to change his Religion; for the King was ever most zealous in the Profession of the Protestant Religion in himself and Family, and on all occasions, to promote it, to his power, in others.

According to the late Instrument of Government, wherein in the first place it was Articled, That a Parliament should be called every Three years, and that the first should begin on the 3d of September, 1654. A Parliament was summoned by Oliver's Writs, (for though he were call'd but Protector, yet in all things he took upon him to act a King) chosen after the wonted manner of Election by the Peoples Voice, and Assembled at the prefixed time above mentioned, making choice for their Speaker of William Lenthall, Speaker in the Long Parliament: Their beginning seems to have bin somewhat bold, considering the totteringness of their Estate; for at their very first sitting, they began to question the lawfulness of the Power by which they were call'd, whereupon they were enjoyn'd to sign a Recognition of the Government, as it was settled in a Single Person, and a Parliament, before they could be re-admitted to their Seats in the House: This all of them that sign'd (for some refus'd) had liberty again to take their Places; but so little did their Proceedings please his Protectorship, that they had scarcely sat full 5 Mon ths (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles of the Instrument) when he came and dissolved them. A day or two after which, were apprehended of the Lillburnian or Levelling Faction, Maj. Wildman, (for the Cavaliers were not the onely Conspirers against Cromwell's Greatness, though upon a far different Intention) with a Declaration proving the lawfulness and necessity of taking up Arms against Cromwell: Of the Royalty, Sir John Packington, Sir Henry Littleton, and some others, about a new Conspiracy, which Oliver told the Members of his Parliament, at the time of his dismissing them, he knew to whom he could name. And the truth is, there was the Foundation laid, by a Combination of the most courageously affected toward their Prince's Service throughout the Kingdom, authoriz'd by Commission from his Majesty, of a general Rising for him in every County; Which had not so quickly and so easily bin suppress'd, had no: Cromwell, sparing for no cost to maintain his Instruments of Deceit, had his Spies ready hir'd not only here in all Corners, such as counterfeiting themselves zealous Royalists, insinuated into their Councils, and betray'd them, (of which number, Sir Richard Willis at last became shrewdly suspected to be one) but even about the Kings Person, as appear'd by the defection of one Manning, prefer'd in consideration of his Fathers Merits (his Father was Col. Manning, slain in his late Majesties Service) to be one of the Kings Secretaries of Clerks, whom Col. Samuel Luke, adding this to the number of his many other Fidelities, forcing open his Chamber-Door, took in the very act of holding Correspondence with Thurloe, Oliver's Secretary, from whom having newly receiv'd a Pacquet, and set himself busily to the returning of Answers, to prevent discovery, he was hastily chewing Papers in his mouth just as the Col. enter'd. Thus for a long time had he made it his weekly practice to send Intelligence to the Usurper, of all that was transacted in the Kings Court, and had a large Pension punctually assign'd him for his pains; till at length thus fortunately found out, he had the Reward of his Treachery paid him in a more deserved manner, being by the Kings Command, the whole Court beseeching his Majesty to make a publick Example of him, shot to death in one of the Duke of Newburgh's Castles. This Combination, though it were probably to the very bottom discover'd, before the apprehending of the above-named Persons; yet so far the Design, being generally hid, had taken effect, that in several Counties some small Armed Parties began to gather into a Body; in Shropshire on Wales, some endeavour'd to have taken Shrewsbury, and Chirk Castle, by Surprise, but were both prevented, and of those that attempted Shrewsbury, Sir Tho. Harris, who was the chief, was taken prisoner, and sent up to London.

Upon Sunday the 11th of March, a party of about 200 entered Salisbury about Midnight, and having seiz'd upon Houses, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bend'd their course towards Cornwall; of which Captain Union Crook having timely Intelligence pursued them with his own Troop, and at a place call'd Southmolton in Devonshire, overtook them, and after 4 hours sharp Conflict, tir'd, as they were, drowsie, faint for want of sustenance, dishearten'd with the dropping away of many, and the failing to come in of others according to expectation, upon notice of the Design being discover'd, drove them to a necessity of yielding; yet Penruddock, bravely stood it out, till Articles were gran'd for the Indempnity of him and his Company, which Crook is said to have afterwards perfidiously deny'd, and left them wholly over to the Courtesie of their Judges: Besides 50 common prisoners there were taken of the chief Leaders 3 Captains, Penruddock, Jones, and Grove, only Sir Joseph Wagstaff made a Shift to escape away. Other Risings there were in Northumberland, and at the Forest of Sherwood in Yorkshire,

The Marq. of Ormond sent to attend the D. of Gloucester.

A Parliament call'd.

The Members enjoyn'd to sign a Recognition.

The Parliament dissolved.

Sir Henry Littleton, and others committed to the Tower.

Manning's Treachery discover'd, for which he is sent to death.

The Surprise at Southmolton endeavour'd.

An Insurrection at Salisbury.

And the like in other parts of the Nation suppress'd.

shire, where 500 Horse being met, and not finding the Country to come in as they expected, A dispersed themselves, and return'd to their Habitations. Also at Hexam Moor in York-shire, there was a great Rendezvous of the Gentry of the Country, of whom Sir Henry Slingsby was taken, and Sir Richard Mallverer with much ado escaped.

Penndock and Grove beheaded about the Western Rising.

At Salisbury, Exeter, and Chard in Somersetshire, many of the West Riders were tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed, and particularly at Exeter; Penndock and Grove were beheaded, Captain Jones was Reprieved; besides those who were put to death of the chief Leaders, many Prisoners in the West were fill'd with a number of the common sort of Prisoners, till within a little while after that they emptied themselves in Foreign Plantations.

And there hapned about this time an Adventure which serv'd very opportunely for the ridding of Prisons of their surcharging numbers, and the employing of a multitude of loose and vagrant people, there having been ever since the Peace with the Dutch, great Preparations made for the Equipping forth of a great and powerful Fleet, upon an Expedition which was kept very secret, and not made known even to those that went upon it, unless to the Supreme Commanders, till the very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage would be very profitable, and to a place where there was much Gold and store of Riches: In this Service we may well think there would not be wanting enow that would greedily engage themselves; hither all sorts of people flock'd, especially those of low and bankrupt Fortunes, and upon hopes of enriching themselves, tun headlong most of them to their ruine; a Fate that commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetousness. This Navy setting Sail from Portsmouth on the 27. of Decemb, put in at the Barbadoes on the 28. of Jan. Venables commanding the Land-Forces, and Pen being General at Sea.

The death of Mr. Jo. Selden.

This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if for nothing else, yet for the death of that famous and Learned Antiquary Mr. John Selden, whose Works are a Monument far more worthy his Memory, than that in the Inner-Temple Church.

1655.

The Marq. of Leda comes Ambassadour from Spain and speedily returns.

The Fleet fleets towards Hispaniola.

Philip the Fourth King of Spain, whether to Cologue with the Protector, whom he saw to be a man of a growing Fortune, or to divert some secret Design which he foresaw was brewing against him (nor did he fail much of his Conjecture) sent over into England an extraordinary Ambassadour, the Marquess of Leda, who arrived the 22 of May, 1655. and was received with the usual Complements and Ceremonies, but had not that cordial Entertainment which he expected; for at the same time he was here endeavouring to confirm the League, there was a Design in agitation, which tended to the dissolution of it, so that the Ambassadour quickly finding which way things went, took his leave after a short stay, and returned homeward.

In the mean time, the Fleet setting Sail from the Barbadoes on the 30. of March, steered its course towards Hispaniola, one of the fairest and richest Islands belonging to the American Dominions of the King of Spain; so that it was by this time apparent enough which way this Expedition tended: And whereas it was admired by many, that at that time when no Hostility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of Spain, or any defiance bid on either side, we should with so high a hand carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offer'd; here it was alleg'd, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Line. This Apology, though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not satisfy the Spaniards, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach of the Peace: However it were, whether this Expedition were just or not; whether it were undertaken to a pious end, as was pretended, to curb the excessive pride, and ambitious usurpation of the Spaniard, styling himself Universal Monarch, and to bring Freedom and purity of Religion to those Indians under his Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the Spaniard of some of his Indian Gold, thinking it too much for one Potentate to ingross so much Treasure to himself, I shall not undertake to determine. This is most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprize, it met with a very remarkable Check, (however the War with the Spaniard proved afterwards successful enough) for Gen. Venables, when as he might have landed his men within a very little of Santo Domingo, the principal Town and Fortrefs of the Island, and which was in a manner deserted by the Garrison Soldiers, upon sight of the English Fleet; nevertheless, led by I know not what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is more than suspected) over-ruled by the Counsels of his Wife, sent them ashore Ten Leagues Westward of Domingo; whereupon the Spaniards foreseeing well enough what would be the issue of this business, according as it was order'd, immediately gather'd fresh Courage, and betook themselves presently again to the defence of Santo Domingo which they had abandon'd: The English landing without opposition, and seeing no Enemy near them, thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds absolute Lords of the Indies, sharing the Golden Mines among them; when contrary to their expectation, the General causing it to be Proclaim'd in the Head of the Army, That none upon pain of death, should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattel, This sudden frustration of their Hopes, and the Climates excessive Heat, proved the one such a damping to their Spirits, the other such a weakening to their Bodies, that by that time they had march'd a most tedious and disconsolate March through thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, ready to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, of which they met not with a drop in many miles, they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill them, being already most dead with faintness and weakness; so that the Spaniards, Negroes, and Molatto's, falling upon them, kill'd, with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing; and those that could make a shift to fly away, found it a sufficient Achievement, for that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

The English land in the Island of Hispaniola.

They are cruelly vanquish'd by the Spaniards and Natives, and driven out of the Island.

A In this Conflict Major Gen. Haines acted the part of a very valiant Soldier, who being shamefully deserted by his own men, and over-powred by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fighting: there fell above 600 in the Fight, or rather Massacre, besides what were cut off in stragling Parties near as many more; and all this Execution was done by not above sixty of the Enemy. The Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have undertaken so long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, posselt themselves with little or no opposition of another Island called Jamaica; which however not so plentiful and rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of England they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at Orifano, the chief if not only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since.

1655.

They possess themselves of Jamaica.

B The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one Gage a Minister (formerly a Remish Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those Parts (of which there is a handsome Relation of his extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his days not long after his re-arrival, reaping little fruit of this his famous Project.

While these things were thus transacted not so happily in these Western Islands, with better success Gen. Blake before Tunis, demanding Reparation for the Losses sustain'd from the Turkish Pyrates; and being answer'd with scorn by the Dye of Tunis, ventured upon a gallant resolute Attempt, and (notwithstanding the Bravado of the Dye, in bidding him behold his Castles of Galtea and Ferino) came boldly to Anchor with the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral, within Musket shot of the Cattle (the Shore being also planted with great Guns) and never left till he had fired Nine fair Ships in Porto Ferino, all that were in the Port; and at length came off with much Glory and Renewal, and little loss of his own side.

Gen. Blake's notable Attempt and success before Tunis.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the late several Combinations, which for many suffer'd for, it was not much above a Month ere the Earl of Lindsey, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport, Maynard, Faulkland, Lucas, Peire, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Sir Jossey Palmers, Sir Richard Wingfield, with divers others, were committed to the Tower, upon suspicion of pretended High-Treason against his Majesty; which yet, it seems, went no further then bare suspicion, for they were never brought to a publick Tryal.

The Earl Willoughby, by Sir Parham, the Lord Newport, and others, committed to the Tower.

About the beginning of July, Major Sedgewick went with a Squadron of Twelve Ships, among which was Col. Humphryes with his Regiment, to the supply of those in Jamaica; from whence, in the following Month of August, General Pen return'd for England, with a part of the Fleet, the greatest part yet staying behind: and not long after him came over General Venables, leaving in their steads Colonel Fortescue to command the Land Forces, Vice-Admiral Goodson the Navy. Venables not long after his Arrival, was for his ill management of Affairs in Hispaniola, sent to the Tower; from whence, haply being judg'd to have fail'd rather through rash Imprudence, then any sinister Intention, he was at length released.

Major Sedgewick, and Col. Humphryes sent with a supply to Jamaica. Gen. Pen and Gen. Venables return into England.

The Duke of Gloucester willingly obeying the Order of the King his Brother, was come away with the Marquess of Ormond from Paris, and having stay'd for some time with his Sister the Princess Royal, at the Hague, was at last accompanied by her to the King their Brother at Colen, where she her self also stay'd with them till after the Fair at Frankford; to which place, they all of them together made a Progress of State and Pleasure, attended by the Marquess of Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Newburgh, the Lady Stanop, and Monsieur Hemstee her Husband, they went by Coach a little beyond Bome the Arch-Bishops Electoral Seat: the rest of the Journey they went by Water in a Gondelay, or Pleasure-Boat: through every Princes Country which they pass'd, they had the chief Officers of State sent to Complement them, and were saluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Castles, more especially the Prince Elector of Mentz sent his grand Marshal to invite them to his Court: whereupon the Lord Newburgh was sent back with the Grand Marshal, to desire the Elector to excuse them at present, promising to wait upon him at their return: Being arrived at Frankford, and hearing that Queen Christina of Sweden was coming that way in her Journey into Italy, the King sent one of his Lords to her, expressing his desire to wait upon her, at whatever place her Majesty should be pleas'd to nominate; the place then appointed for this Interview was Coningstein, a Village near Frankford, in the Electorate of Mentz, where he had first particular Discourse with her himself for half an hour, which pass'd with many Complements, and Ceremonies of Civility: next the Duke of Gloucester was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King: As these Princes came back from Frankford, the Elector of Mentz renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of Accommodation for them, as they pass'd through his Territories; and meeting them himself a great part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces, where he entertained them in a very sumptuous and splendid manner, for the space of two or three dayes; after which they returned to Colen: Four Burgomasters being appointed by the Magistrate of the City to wait upon them, and welcome them home.

The Duke of Gloucester comes to Colen to his Brother the King.

Their Progress to Frankford.

The Interview between the King of Swedes and Christina of Sweden.

The King and his Company entertain'd by the Elector of Mentz.

During the Kings abode at Colen, the Bishop of Avignon is said to have sent a Scheme drawn by one Onale, a great Mathematician, then residing in France; wherein was positively foretold, that in the Year, 1660, he should be admitted with all Joy and Tryumph imaginable into his Kingdom of England.

An Army having been sent under the Marquess of Pianella, and the Earl of Quince Commander of the French Forces in Italy, by Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, against his Protestant Subjects

1655.

A Contribution gathered throughout England, for the distressed Protestants in Piedmont.

jects in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, upon occasion of some high displeasure taken against them, and the Souldiers left to their own unbridled Licence, having committed many cruel Outrages and Massacres upon the poor miserable People; *Cromwell*, whether out of a true Sense and Consideration of their afflicted Condition, and to make a kind of small recompence by one act of Charity, for the many of Violence he had been the Author of; or taking this Opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Protestants abroad, affecting haply to be thought the chief Patron and Protector of those of the Reformation in all Parts, (as if three large Kingdoms, another Man's Right, had not been enough to exercise his Protectorship in.) Concern'd and bestir'd himself indeed very vigorously for their Relief; he appointed a solemn day of Humiliation to be kept; caus'd a large Contribution to be gather'd for them throughout the Nation; sent his Agents abroad, to mediate for them, Mr. *Pell* to the Protestant Cantons of the *Switzers*; Mr. *Samuel Moorland*, and Mr. *George Downing* to *Thurin* to the Court of the Duke of *Savoy*, by whom his Message being lighted, he took another course to deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, his now great Allie; by whose Power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacification was shortly concluded: Though of the large Collection that was made, so scanty a share came to them, (for some they had) that it may be very well suspected, whether Self-Charity for the getting of money, were not as well aim'd at, as Charity *ad extra* for the bestowing it.

However it far'd with the Protestants abroad, these at home, viz. the *Cavaliers*, because they would not become *Oliver's* obedient Subjects, are not only not fav'd from Persecution, but persecuted themselves; not only not collected for, but largely collected from; while, besides other displeasures both toward the Clergy who were prohibited from teaching School, and from having any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains; and toward the Laity, who were by Proclamation confin'd (such as had ever been in Arms) not to come within twenty miles of *London*, and disabled from electing or being elected in *Parliament*; there comes out a two-handed Invention of *Cromwell's*, which serv'd him at the same time to acquire money to his own Coffers, and to bring low and diminish in their power the Royalty; this was an Order for the Decimation, or making bold with the tenth part of the Estates of all such as had ever been in Arms either for his late or present Majesty; a thing so much the more unjust on *Oliver's* part, (not to mention the Old *Junio's* Act of Oblivion) for that having long since left off Preaching, he should now go about to take Tythes: For the better executing this Project of Decimation, under colour of *Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth*, for which Orders were set forth toward the latter end of *October*, by *Oliver* and his Council, is set up the Knack of *Major Generals Civil*; these were certain of *Cromwell's* Engines, appointed in the nature of *Presidents* or Governours of Provinces, to Curb, Watch and keep in awe the *Cavaliers*, and if it were possible to pull down their high Stomachs; they were Eleven in number, namely, *Kelsey, Goff, Desborough, Fleetwood, Skippon, Whaley, Butler, Barry, Worley, Lambert, and Baxter*, which last was also Lieutenant of the *Tower*; each of them having his several Counties allotted to his Government in the nature of Provinces: In which their Principalities, they reign'd like so many petty Kings, domineering over the Gentry and Nobility much after the manner of *Masaniello*, whom they resembled as well in the impotent Management of their upstart power, wherewith like him they were intoxicated, as in the soon expiring thereof; for *Cromwell* either thinking to do a speciall act of grace by taking off his Mallices, or jealous of what their power in time might come to, easily gives way to his next *Parliament* to unhorse whom he himself had so lately mounted.

A debate held at *White-Hall* about the admission of the Jews.

An Imbargo upon the Goods of English Merchants in Spain. Open War with England proclaim'd by the Spaniards at *Dunkirk*. Articles of Peace between England and France ratified and proclaim'd.

Upon the tendering of certain Proposals to the Protector, by *Manassah ben Israel*, a Jewish Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admission to Trade, and exercise their Religion in *England*; a Conference was held about it several days at *White-Hall*, by the Members of the Council, and certain Divines of the most eminent then in esteem: and many Arguments being urg'd, some for, others against their Admission; those against it so far prevail'd, that the Proposals took no effect.

The Spanish King thinking it in vain to hope for a Conservation of the League on this side the *Line*, from those whom he judg'd to have so apparently broke it on the other side, by invading his Island of *Hispaniola*, began not obscurely to make preparations for War; and to shew that he had entertain'd Thoughts of Hostility, a general Imbargo was made in *Spain*, of all English Merchants Goods, and many of their persons secured; hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there suddenly follow'd on both sides a denunciation of open War, which by the Spaniards was not long after solemnly proclaim'd at *Dunkirk*.

The dissolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the Product of a Peace with *France*; for there having been long since an Address made to that end from *France*, to the State of *England*, no sooner did the breach begin between *England* and *Spain*, but the French King sends to *Monseur Bourdeaux* his Ambassadour here, to press his Embassy; which he did with so good success, that in a short while after the Articles of Peace between us and *France* were concluded, ratify'd by both Parties, and on the Twenty eighth of *November* the Peace was proclaim'd at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the same time.

Whereupon soon after *Cromwell* not to be behind-hand in State, and to provide for the diligent Management of all matters concluded in this Treaty, sends over in the Quality of his Lord Embassadour extraordinary to the French King, Colonel *Lockhart*, sometime one of the Itinerant Judges in *Scotland*, and since advanc'd to this Dignity by the marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highness: And at the same time there being a strict League of Amity between his Highness and

and *Caroline Gustavus* the then King of *Sweden* Embassies of friendly Correspondence are on each side interchang'd; from hence went Mr. *Rolt*, one of *Oliver's* Bed-Chamber, (for he begins now to have all his Officers of State about him) from thence arriv'd here the Lord *Christian Boud*, and was entertain'd here with more than ordinary respect; for of all the Amities that were between *Cromwell* and Foreign Princes and State, his most particular and intimate seems to have been with the Swedish King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with men in his War against the *Dane*, while at the same time he makes shew of endeavouring an accommodation between those two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with *France*, was the exclusion of his Majesty, and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France's* Dominions; he himself upon foresight of what this Treaty would come to, had long since betaken himself to *Germany*, and there remain'd (for the most part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) untill such time as the Spaniards invited him into *Flanders*: His Brother, the Duke of *York*, notwithstanding the great Command Interest comes in place) was, by the same reason of State, advertis'd to depart that Kingdom with all his Retinue, by a prefixed time, not without some Compliments and Apologies for this Dismission: also his departure was requisit for some space, in which he was visited, and honourably Treated by the Marshall *Turcin*, and others of the French Grandees; as likewise by the Duke of *Modena* (who at that time was come into *France* about some important Affairs); at length he took his leave of the King and Court of *France*, and attended by the Lord *St. Albans*, and other English Lords, took his Journey toward *Flanders*, where at that time the King his Brother resid'd at the Invitation of *Don John of Austria*, who then Governour of the Low-Countries for the King of *Spain*, (the Arch-Duke *Leopoldus* having lately quitted the Government, and return'd into *Germany*.) sent the Count of *Fuenfajlagne*, to offer him in the name of the Spanish King all possible Service and Assistance.

The Close of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the last; the last Year ended with the Learned *Selden*; this, with that most Pious and Reverend Prelate, *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*, and once Primate of *Ireland*, whose Judicious Writings are sufficiently famous in the Common-wealth of Learning throughout *Christendome*; his Buriall, though he died on the 21. of *March*, was deferr'd till the 17th of *April*, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by most of the Nobility in *London* attended to *Westminster Abbey*, where his Funeral Oration was deliver'd by the Lord Almoner to *Cromwell's* Highness, (for so Dr. *Bernard*, once Preacher to the Society of *Gray's-Inn*, had then the honour, forsooth, to be entitl'd); Moreover, this said Highness himself, though the Countess of *Peterborough*, at whose House at *Rygate* the Bishop dyed, was ready to have defray'd all things befitting his Interment, would needs be so bountifull, either out of Policy to be thought a great favourer of Piety and Literature, or from some spark of grace that hapned to be in him, as to bestow 200 l. toward the Solemnizing thereof. Yet were his Coffers not so well furnish'd as he desir'd, And therefore notwithstanding his no success in his last *Parliament*, he finds a necessity of calling one again, whereupon he sends forth Writs in *July* for the summoning of another *Parliament* to meet on the Seventeenth of *September*.

In the mean while, a part of the English Navy Commanded by *Blake* and *Monntague*, lying to intercept the Spanish Plate coming from the *West-Indies*, namely, the Rear-Admirall and six other Ships under Captain *Richard Stainer*, set upon a Fleet of Eight Spaniards, within four Leagues of the Bay of *Cadix*; The Admiral Ship in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with Six hundred thousand pieces of Eight, run ashore in the Bay, the Vice-Admiral a *Gallion*, Commanded by *Don Francisco de Esquevell*, and having in her 1200000 pieces of Eight, and another Ship Commanded by *John Rodriguez Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fir'd (one wilfully by the Spaniards in it, the other by accident): Two others were taken and kept in possession, the Rear-Admiral a *Gallion*, Commanded by *Don Francisco del Haya*, and having in her Two Millions of some value, with a *Portugall Prize*, and a small Vessel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, escap'd to *Gibraltar*. In the Vice-Admiral which was set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent being taken Prisoners, was the Marquess of *Baydex* with his whole Family: there perish'd in this Combustion besides a number of less Note, the Marquess himself, with his Wife and his eldest Daughter, who was going into *Spain* to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*; there were saved from this fire, the Marquess his eldest Son *Don Francisco de Lopez*, a younger Son *Don Joseph de Smeaga*, and two Daughters *Donna Josepha*, and *Catilina*, with about Ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken Prisoner *Don Diego de Villa Alva*, Governour of the *Havana*, brought up to *London*, and there for a while detained Prisoner, That the Cities of *Lima* and *Calao in Peru*, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 11000 Spaniards, but of *Indians* not above 100: Also that the Mountains of *Potosi* being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines were thereby utterly destroyed. This Enterprize at *Cadix* purchas'd no less Profit than Honour to the Performers thereof, and to the chief in Power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of detention, dismiss them home without any Ransom.

The Duke of York warn'd out of France.

Betakes himself to Flanders to his brother.

The Death and Burial of the Bishop of Armagh.

1656.

A Parliament Summon'd again.

Gen. Blake and Gen. Montague's Victory over the Spanish Fleet near Cadix.

The Marquess of Baydex and his Wife perish in a Ship set on fire.

A sad and wonderful Accident at Peru.



1658.

the *French* into the sole possession of Major General *Morgan*, and the *English*, who presently fell to Fortifying it, and in a short while made it to Impregnable, that when the *Spaniard* sensible how much it imported to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this Fort, sent a strong Power of men; (among whom were two thousand *Scotch* and *Irish* Reformadoes, assign'd by our King to that Service, and commanded by his Brother the Duke of *York*) to set upon its Recovery by a desperate Storm; they were after a very gallant and resolute Effort upon the Place, which continued for the space of six hours, repell'd in the end with the loss of many men.

Space of six hours, repelled in the end with the loss of his Crown, and his Kingdom, that he could not take upon him the Government, with the Title of *King*, it was resolv'd on, that the Title of *Lord Protector* should be continued and inferred in the Humble Petition and Advice, by which Title he was solemnly Invested, with much more Ceremony than before, on the 26th of *June*, before a great Assembly of People in *Westminster-Hall*, where a Fabrick was erected for that purpose, and a Chair of State placed for the *Lord Protector*, whose Intalment wanted but little of a Regal manner, and though he attain'd not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter, for there were four Emblems of Government presented unto him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker (who at the delivery of them made an Oration to the *Protector*, in which he amply delighted upon each of them) a Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was Vested by the *Earl of Warwick* Commissioner *Whitlock*, and the Speaker, a large Bible with Bosses and Claps richly Gilt, a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword, which the Speaker girt about him: Thus Attired, while he sat in his Chair under a Canopy of State, holding the Scepter in his Hand, the Herald standing aloft, made a Signal to the Trumpet to sound thrice; after which he was proclaimed *Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and then returned to *White-Hall* in State, having the Sword borne before him by the *Earl of Warwick*. He was likewise proclaim'd not only in *London*, and other Parts of *England*, but also in the chief Cities of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And now he began to take the King upon him in his manner of living, to Govern after a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family according to the Fashion of a Kings Court; to which end, he had his Yeomen of the Guard in their Livery of Gray-Cloth, with Wets of Black Velvet, of whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; his Lord Chamberlain was Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, the Lord Keeper of the Seal *Nathaniel Fiennes*; *Lambert*, who was yet a while not quite out of Favour, was Baron of the Cinque-Ports, *Glyn* was Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and *Steel* (formerly Recorder of *London*) Lord Chief Baron: Moreover, being thus confirm'd Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himself by Alliances abroad (for besides the Leagues with *France, Sweden*, the United States, and a fair Correspondence with *Denmark*, he had also upon the coming of *Don Francisco de Mello* Ambassador, concluded a firm Peace with *Portugal*;) he began to make it his next care, for the better establishing of himself, and strengthening of his Interest at home, to advance his nearest Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the noblest Families; his eldest Son *Richard* he call'd out of the Country, to inure him to a Court life, and an insight into publick Affairs, designing him for Succession in the *Protectorate*, which the University of *Oxford* prudently foreseeing (as the Learned were never found backward in complying with the Times, and courting the rising Sun) sent their Agents and their Proctors to him, to elect him their Chancellor, in which Honour he was solemnly Installed at *White-Hall*: his second, *Henry*, he created Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he said, his Preference and Council: his two youngest Daughters he match'd, *Frances* the elder, to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grand-Child to the then *Earl of Warwick*, (though he is said to have aim'd the marrying of her to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who not long before was come over into *England*, rather by Toleration than free Permission, and to *Cromwell* no little displeasure, had predispos'd of himself to the Lord *Fairfax* his Daughter and Heiress;) *Mary* the younger to the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Nuptials for them both being kept with much Festivity and Splendor, both at *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court*.

Scarce was the Mirth of these Solemnities over, when, to allay the Triumphs for the severall Successes of the *English in Flanders*, here arriv'd the News of the loss of Sir *John Reynolds* General of the Forces in those parts, who with *Col. White* and some others, Imbarquing for *England*, by the way of *Goodwin Sands*, in a small Vessel, at a Tempestuous Season, contrary to the persuasions of many, (it is unsafe to venture against ill Presage) was cast away with his whole Company. But here was something more than ordinary in this shaly coming over of *Reynolds* and *White*, both seeming to prevent the pre-arrival of each other; for whether *Reynolds* was sent for by *Cromwell*, or suspected the Intention of *White* to be some Impeachment against him, his Business probably was to defend himself, in reference to an Imputation of holding Correspondence with the Royalty, because he was prevail'd with by the Duke of *Tork*, who always lov'd stout men, to give him a meeting between *Dunkirk* and *Mardike*; at which Parley, *Reynolds* was indeed not backward to render his Highness those Honours and Civilities which were due to a Person of his Illustrious Quality. Not many Months before there dyed at Sea, as he was entering into the Sound of *Phlomyth*, that valiant and expert Sea-man General *Robert Blake*, not long surviving his notable Exploit at *Santa Cruz*; the best Eulogium that can be given him, is the true Rehearsal of his Actions; than which, saying that it was his Misfortune to serve an Illegal Power, never were any perform'd at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our *English Nation*. Also, Vice-Admiral *Badly* ended his life on Land, whether he was come for the recovery of his Health; and at *Jamaica* there dyed Lieut. Gen. *Brain*, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

**The Protectors**  
stately and  
magnificent  
Instalment.

The Protectors  
eldest Son in-  
stalled Chan-  
cellor of Ox-  
ford.  
His second Son  
created Lord  
Lieutenant of  
Ireland.  
His 3<sup>d</sup> Daugh-  
ter married to  
Mr. Robert Rich.  
His youngest  
to the Lord  
Falconbridge.

Sir John Reynolds and his Company cast away upon Goodwin Sands.

The death of  
Gen. Blake,  
Vice-Admiral  
Bdily, and Lie.  
Gen. Brain.

A As for Colonel *Sexty* who died about this time in the *Tower*; having not long before been taken in a disguise, as one that had had a hand in the business of *Sindercomb*; his death was not without some suspicion of Poyson.

The laſt Convention having adjourn'd on the 26th of *June*, met again on the 28th of *January* following; and in this Seſſion, which differ'd from the other as much as one diſtinct *Parliament* could poſſibly have done from another, two very obſervable things are to be taken notice of, which gave more diſturbance to *Cromwell's* not only Ambition, but ſeely, than he with all his Policy and foreſight was aware of; the firſt was the admiſſion of thoſe Members which in the laſt Seſſion were kept out with a high hand, whom ſince the Injuſtice of the act did not refrain from excluding the time before, the conſideration o' his Inter'eſt urg'd him now no leſſe, but rather the more to have excluded them this time alſo; but he was oblig'd to the contrary by his Friends (if at leaſt they were his Friends) of the laſt Convention, who made it one of the Articles in their *Humble Petition and Advice*, That *thoſe perſons who are legally choſen by a free Election of the People to ſerve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by conſent of that Houſe whereof they are members.* The other was, the Erecting of a new Convocation intended (in Imitation of the Old Conſtitution) for a *Houſe of Lords*, but they would not venture at firſt to call it by any other name than that of the *Other Houſe*; It conſiſted partly of ſuch as he took for his eſpecial Favourites, Officers of the Army and others; many of which were pick'd out of the *Houſe of Commons* to be conſtituted in the *Other Houſe*, partly of ſeverall of the late excluded Common-wealth-men, and ſuch likewiſe of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a ſcore of the old Nobility, (of whom the Earl of *Milgrave* (who died not long after) was alſo a great man in his Privy Council) nor to mention thoſe Noblemen that were nominated, but refus'd to come. Now in this Contrivance of his, whatever his expectation of it was, he found himſelf very much deceiv'd, ſince by this ſtrong inundation of the late excluded, and the tranſlation of ſeveral of his Friends of the Commons into his *Other Houſe*, his Inter'eſt there was ſo weakened, that his tranſlating alſo of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a counterpoiſe that way) avail'd him little; for Sir *Arthur Haſſerig* and the reſt of the Ficklers both diſſuading to accept of *Cromwell's* offer'd Barony, and that by the addition of their own preſence they might ſtrengthen their own Party the more, took their places in the Houſe of Commons, by which means the Commonwealths Faction grew ſo potent, and ſlew ſo high; that the Other Houſe was not ſo much as taken notice of, except in way of Deriſion and Contempt; ſo far were they from being concurr'd with or own'd in any of their Meſſages. Moreover, they began to call in queſtion what was done in the laſt Seſſion, as being invalid without their aſſent: So that the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made ſuch a noiſe, was like in a moment to come to nothing. This ſo incens'd the earneſt diſſuader of ſome of the chief of them, takes a Hackney-Coach for haſte, and being come into his *Other* (or *Lords*) *Houſe*, ſends for the *Houſe of Commons* up to him, and for a Preamble to their diſſolution, ſtanding under a Canopy of State, unfolds his Mind to them in this following Speech; which we have thought remarkable enough to ſet down at large, in regard it plainly diſcovers (as averſe as he ſeem'd from accepting the Kingly Title) his ſtrange perturbation of ſpirit, and how nettled to the quick he was to ſee himſelf croſs'd and curb'd in the tendency and progreſs he made therunto, though by ways a little ſeem'd about, and under ſhew of the Settlement and flouriſhing eſtate of the Nation.

I Had very Comfortable Expectations that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, I desire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these Ends. The Blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, which I desire may be Improved.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now stand in, was the Petition and Advice given me by you, (meaning the House of Commons) who in reference to the Ancient Constitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector: There is not a man living can say I fought it, no not a Man nor Woman treading upon English ground; but I Contemplating the sad Condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine Warr unto a Six or Seven years Peace, I did think the Nations happy therein. But to be Petitioned thereunto, and Advised by you to undertake such a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the House, that then had the Legislative Capacity, I did look that the same Men that made the Frame, should make it good unto me: I can say in the presence of God, in Comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood side, to have kept a Flock of Sheep, rather than undertook such a Place of Government as this is; but undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of You, I did look that You that had offered to unto me, should make it good.

*I did tell you at a Conference concerning it, That I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Person that might interpose between Me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits: and it was Granted*

1657.

Col. S. dyer  
in the Tower.  
The return of  
Cromwell's  
Convention  
after their An-  
jourment,  
with the addi-  
tion of the  
Other House.

The Humble  
Petition and  
Advice.

- The Common  
disown the  
*Other House,*  
and begin to  
quit the  
Government.

Cromwell dis-  
solves them.

**Oliver's  
Speech at the  
Dissolution  
of his last  
Parliament.**

1657.

I should name any other House; and I named it of Men that shall meet you wheresoever A you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party, that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest, Men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themselves, while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these Terms, and finding such a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when Vertue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are Omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would B be a just Accord between the Governour and the Governed, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliaments Petition and Advice advised me in; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine, and did not every one know upon what Condition they swore? God knows, I took it upon Condition expressed in the Government; and I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom, and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be advised by the Two Houses of Parliament, we standing unsettled till we were arrived at that; the Consequences would have necessarily been Confusion, if that had not been settled: Yet there are C not constituted Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the Two Houses and myself: I do not say, that the meaning of your Oath was to you, That were to go against my own Principles, to enter upon another mans Conscience, God will Judge between Me and You: If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgment and Opinion.

God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World, and people living, that a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this Actual Settlement by your Consent; I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords, (pointing to his right hand) whatsoever you will call them, I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into D this Place, to be in a capacity by your advice; yet instead of owning a thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjoynd your selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusion, in this fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day, through the Intention of devising a Common-wealth again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing; and hath that man been true to this Nation, whosoever be he, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to perjure: These Designs have been upon the Army to break and divide us; I speak this in the presence of some of the Army, that these things E have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will): These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots his Game, if I may so call him; and I think myself bound before God to do what I mean to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banqueting-House was true, That there were preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witness, it hath been Confirmed to me since within a day, that the King of Scots hath an Army at the Water side ready to be shipped for England; I have F it from those who have been Eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a Tumult, what if I said into Rebellion; and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me; it hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the Question about a Commonwealth, but some of you have been lifting of persons by Commission from Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us) but even present Blood and Confusion. And if this be so, as I do assign to this Cause, your not assenting to what you did Inwrite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might be the Settlement of the Nation, and if this be the end of your sitting, and these be your Carriages, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting; And I do declare to you, I do dissolve this Parliament: And let God Judge between Me and You. At which many of the Commons cried, Amen. And so the Parliament was Dissolved.

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to another, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that cross'd him, to the inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much straitened for want of those supplies of Money which he expected.

Toward

A Toward the latter end of this year died the Protector's Son-in-law Mr. Robert Rich, and was but little above two Months survived by his Grandfather the Earl of Warwick himself.

The following year, 1658. begins with the News of a Victory at Jamaica (which came by an Express from the Governour on the 8th of April) obtained by a Party of the English the command by Major Richard Stevens, against 500 Spaniards, who under Don Christopher Arnaldo Saffer, having lately landed in that Island, and begun to fortify themselves at a place call'd St. Anne, were fiercely set upon by the English, and forced to fly into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of Spaniards, consisting of 300, who had fortified themselves at Chavarras, in the North of the Island, were, by the Governour himself Colonel Dailly, driven quite out of their Hold, Don Francisco de Prencia, the Maestro d. l. Cape, with others, taken, many kill'd, and the rest utterly destroyed.

Cromwell had no sooner free'd himself of the danger threaten'd him from his Parliament, but he is presently alarm'd again by his old Enemy the Cavalier, whom yet he had still the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligence; however, he took all Advantages to provide still more and more for Party, in behalf his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor (Tichburn was then the man) and Aldermen of the City, acquaints them with what he had discover'd of the base actions against the Peace of the Commonwealth, Protector, aggravates the danger, recommends to them the setting of the Militia in a tidy hands. C. with the Guards to be doubt and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, whenas most of the principal suspected persons were already secur'd, as Sir William Compton, Brother to the Earl of Northampton, Sir William Clayton, Mr. John Russell, Brother to the Earl of Bedford, and many more, the whole Design being before-hand betray'd, by a Person formerly mention'd upon the same Account, and one Corcoran, a Minister of Bourn in Suffolk, and such others, as had been long employ'd by Cromwell for the same purpose; the Marquess of Ormond, who indeed was the chief Manager of this intended general Rising, for his Majesty's Service, throughout the whole Nation, and had to the end remain'd for a good while conceal'd in England, being narrowly watch'd and search'd for; but he happily obtain'd an Opportunity (by the help of one Dr. Quaterman) of shipping himself away at a Port-Town in Suffolk: among those that had been formerly imprison'd, were Dr. Huet, Minister of St. Gregory's, and Sir Henry Slingsby; which last had been a Prisoner ever since the Rising in the West; yet being a Person who was known to bear no good will to the present Power, he D is charg'd with an Intention of delivering up Hull, merely upon the expressing of his Consent thereunto, to some that were sent to make the Motion to him, and stir up his mind with purpose to betray him; and these were Major Waterhouse, Captain Overton, and Lieutenant Thompson; and committed to the Doctor seems to have been no less hardly dealt with, considering what things were laid to his charge; which had they been true, would certainly never have been so utterly deny'd, at the very moment of his death, by a man of his known Honesty and Integrity: The rest that were taken afterwards were Mr. John Mordant, Brother to the Earl of Peterborough, Mr. Manly a Merchant, Mr. Harigil Baron, Mr. Stapely, Mr. Mansel, M. Woodcock, Mr. Carren, M. Jackson, and one Mallory, who is suspected to have been a Deputy to the rest; of whom, Mr. Mordant, Woodcock, Carren, and divers others, were try'd at a High-Court of Justice, which on the 25 of May was set up under the E Presidentship of Commissioner Life; all hitherto mention'd, except Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Huet, having the good hap to come off with life: Sir Henry, and the Doctor, were the first brought to Trial, and both of them sentenc'd to die as Traytors: The first, upon the bare Testimony of those three men, who had so Treacherously circumvented him, which in vain he pleaded; as also the impossibility, a Prisoner as he was, of performing what he was charg'd with: The other, as a Mute, disowning the Courts Authority, and thereupon denying to plead: The next was Mr. Mordant, who also at first disavow'd the Courts Authority, but was at length prevail'd with to plead, and in the end acquitted onely by one Voice, in that fortunate interim, while Colonel Pride by reason of a Fit of the Stone wherewith he was troubled, had withdrawn himself from the Court, and staid somewhat longer than he intended; the other two being so far favour'd, as to have their Sentence mitigated, were on the 8th of June Beheaded on Tower-Hill: The next that were try'd were Mr. Robert Woodcock, Captain Henry Mallory, and Sir Humphrey Bennet: The first made so handsome and discreet a Defence for himself, that they could find no Accusation upon him, and so were forc'd to acquit him; Mallory, no doubt by precompact, confessed, was condemn'd, and not hang'd: Of the rest that had to do with this High-Court, William Carren was acquitted, Colonel Edward Ashton, and John Butely; the first in Tower-Street, (the other in Cheap-side) were hang'd and quarter'd on the 7th of July: the same day Henry Fryer ready to have been executed in Smithfield, and two dayes after John Summer in Bishopsgate-Street, and Oliver Allen in Grace-Church-Street, had their Reprieves brought them: The same day the two last were Reprieved, Edmund Stacy, his Sentence remitted, was hang'd near the Royal Exchange: In the mean time, G Manly, Baron, and Mansel afore-mention'd, with two others, namely Edmund Seymour, and Guy Carlton, having made their escape, were at the Upper-Bench (as it was then call'd) Indicted of High-Treason, though absent, and out-law'd.

In Flanders Successes came on with a swift Carier; presently after the taking of Mardike Fort, Dunkirk was straightly begirt by the joyn'd Forces of the French and English; the French commanded by the Marshal of Tain, Prince of Quefney; the English by the Lord Lockhart, Ambassador. The Siege of Dunkirk was carried on by the French King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir John Reynolds deceas'd. The Relief of this so important a place (it being the chief Sea-Port, and as

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is

1658.

The Spanish Army vanquish near Furness Fort, by the French and English.

The Mar-shall of Hocquincourt slain. The Marquis, Governour of Dunkirk, slain in a Sally. Dunkirk surrendered to the French, and resigned into the hands of the English.

The death of Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, second Daughter.

Her Charity.

Cromwell falls sick at Hampton Court.

He is removed from thence to White-Hall.

The Transaction between him and those about him concerning the naming of his Successors. \* A Syllem of Government, made in the pretended Parliament was said at that present. At Dom. 1656. Cromwell Secretary of State.

it were the Key of all Flanders ) the Spaniards resolved to Assay, though with the hazard of a Pitch-field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about Seven Thousand Foot, and Nine Thousand Horse, Commanded by Don John himself in person, together with the Duke of York, the Prince of Conde, and the Marquis of Caracene; and drawing down from Furness Fort, were engaged by the Mar-shall of Turcin, and the Count of Schomberg, joining with Lockhart and his English Forces, who making their way (a good part of them) up a Sand-Hill, against the whole power of the Spaniards, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the Spanish Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were divers Officers of the Spanish Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, Seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of Conde was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again by his Cousin Bonteville, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Princes Head: There were slain of the English, Captain Sherwin, and another Captain, five Lieutenants and two Ensigns, with eighty common Soldiers besides three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel Roger Fenwick, he was reported a stout man, and his loss much bewailed: A day or two before this Battle, the Mar-shall of Hocquincourt (who had caused the important Town of Hesdin, to revolt from the French to the Spanish) was slain as he went out Picqueering upon a Party. No sooner was this Battle ended, but the French and English returned again streich to the Siege of Dunkirk, which the Marquis of Leda Governour thereof (who had been formerly sent Ambassador to the Protector) seeing now more straightly than ever Involved both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great extremities; he resolved to defend the Town in a bold Sally forth, in which he received his mortal wound: the Governours death, and the report of the Granadoes shot into the Town, wrought to the Towns Surrender, that they were speedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the 25th of June marched out with Colours flying; to that the King of France in person, accompanied with the Cardinal Mazarini, took possession of the place, and immediately resigned it up into the hands of General Lockhart, in behalf of the Lord Protector, and the English.

The Sixth of August, Elizabeth the Protectors second Daughter died at Hampton-Court of an A-poplemie in some of the inward parts, which afflicted him very much, because he loved her above all his Children; and that sorrow was increased, by the length of her Sickness, and the grievous Torments she endured: A little before she expired (which was in much pain) the Delirium of her Sickness prompted her to utter many things, which though formerly she thought, she yet durst not express, against the Injustice of many of her Fathers Actions. She was married to one Chyppole, the Son of a private Gentleman of Lincolnshire, of a moderate Fortune; but she could not be contented with being of a Spirit as high, as if she had been born to that Greatness, to which her Fathers Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Disposition, and very much troubled at her Fathers Austerity, and oppression of the Royal Party, to several of whom she did many good offices. The Grief which the Protector had contracted for her death, was very much augmented by his Trouble, to witness, that the Discontents sprung up amongst many of the Inferiour Officers of the Army, were fomented by Fleetwood and Desborough; the first of whom married his Daughter, and the other his Sister, who with Berry and Cooper Colonels, and Sydenham and Pickering, of the Privy-Councillors, were in a Confederacy against the present Government, in favour of a Common-Wealth. And a while after he fell sick himself of a Terrian Fever, which at first seem'd not to signify much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: Yet his Imagination was so far transported with Enthusiastick Ravings, that insensible of his own Danger, he affirm'd, That G O D had reserved him to greater Attempts, then ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was assur'd he should not dye of this Sickness. In which Extasie, he was much heightened by Goodwines one of his Chaplains, who openly declared, G O D had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given them his Life, and therefore he perswaded some of his Friends, to keep a kind of private Thanksgiving before hand for his undoubted recovery. This Confidence amused his Physicians so much, that they were less regardful of his Condition. But nevertheless, it was advis'd he should be brought to White-Hall, where with more conveniency then at Hampton-Court, respect might be had to his Health, and the Publick Affairs of the Nation, where he had not bin many days, ere it visibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had some time before his Sickness appointed a Juncto or Committee of Nine, with whom he privately consulted in the most urgent Affairs of the Government. These were, Fleetwood, Fienes, Desborow, Whalley, Thurlow, Lawrence, Berry, Cooper, and Goffe, which were mixed of both Factions, that is, of that of a Single Person, and that of a Common-Wealth, that he might displease neither, and that he might by that Confidence divert the latter from Designs upon his Power.

Upon Tuesday the 31 of August finding himself in danger, he commanded his Servants, and all other Persons, except Mr. Thurlow, and Dr. Thomas Goodwyne, out of the Room, and declared to them, That in regard he found his Sickness and Weakness increasing, he was resolved to declare his Successor, according to the Power given him, by the late Petition, and Advice; And therefore he desired them to take Notice, that he Named and Declared his Son to succeed him accordingly. They ask'd him, which Son? He Replied, My Son Richard, my eldest Son. Immediately thereupon, there came some Persons into the Room, whereby it happen'd, that nothing further was said at that present. But Mr. Thurlow, and Dr. Goodwyne immediately conferring together, did conceive that the Business was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Attestation of it; and therefore Resolv'd to take the first Opportunity they could to move

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A move him again therein, and to desire him, for that Reason, to call some others, to whom he might communicate his Mind in that matter: But in regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were constantly there, they could not all that day, nor the next, gain any opportunity.

But on Thursday, perceiving his Distemper very much to increase, and hourly gain upon him, They resolved not to defer it longer: And thereupon they ask'd him, Whether he remember'd what he had said unto them the Tuesday before? Which he said, he did. They asked him, Whether he continu'd of the same mind or not, touching the Succession of his Son Richard? He answered, That he did. They then told him, it would be requisite he should communicate his Pleasure to some others, and that the Declaration of the Business, was of too great Concernment and Consequence for them alone to undertake, if there should be Opposition; and therefore desired him to send forthwith for some others. He ask'd them for whom he should send? They replied, whom he pleas'd. Then send, said he, for the Committee of Nine: Whereupon they sent a Messenger for hitherto to hitherto them thither, of whom three came immediately, Fienes, Whalley, and Goffe; and these five that were then present, perceiving him still to decline, went to the Bed-side, and one of them asked him, touching what he had declared to Dr. Goodwyne, and Mr. Thurlow. He thereupon said again, That he would have his Son, his Son Richard to succeed him: And to without any more Discourse, they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his rest. But within few Minutes came in Fleetwood and Desborow, upon the Summons that had been sent them; to whom, the aforesaid five, declared what had passed, and offered somewhat faintly, to move Oliver to the Declaration of his Mind again, which they as faintly refused; but were not much urged to it, they having at their first coming declared themselves satisfied with the Attestation of Five Persons, so well known and esteem'd of them.

Upon Friday (the Third of September, the same memorable Day of the Year, that in 1650, he overcame the Scots at Dunbar, and the Year following at Worcester) at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after so many Hazards in the Field, so many Ambushes laid to have been laid against him at Home, notwithstanding the Multitude of Enemies, that, from all Parties and Interests, whom his violent Pursuit of Greatness had exasperated, conspir'd against his safety; contrary to the real Belief of many men, the ill-bodings of some, and the earnest Wish of others, he died not a violent, but in his Bed a natural Death; and among all the Plots, all the Attempts so much talk'd of, against his Life, he only Fatal Accident that ever lighted home upon his Body, to do him any mischief, was from the unruliness of the Duke of Oldenburgh's Horses, disdainning the Whips, though from him whole Last Three Nations so long patiently lay under, when three or four years before, having a Desire as well to Frolick, as in Earnest, to take the Reins into his own Hands, he was dismounted from his Seat, thrown down and trampled under the Horses Feet, and all batter'd, bruis'd, and weltring in blood, taken up for Dead; The Day of his Death was usher'd in by a Night as Tempestuous, as had been seen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Combustion at the Flight of a Spirit, which had made to great a Concussion in the Affairs of the World.

He was born in the Town of Huntingdon, and was the Son of a Second Brother of Sir Oliver Cromwell of Huntingdonshire, a Person of Eminent Note in the late Kings time; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir Richard Steward of the Isle of Ely, and his Wife Elizabeth the Daughter of Sir James Boscher, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one dyed young) and four Daughters.

His Family is said to have origin ally deriv'd the Name of Cromwell, from that Great Cromwell, who was Henry the Eighth's Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Descent from one Williams of Glamorganshire, who living Contemporary with this Lord Cromwell, and marrying his Daughter, in gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and transfer'd it to his own Posterity. And as for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Disimulation, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obscur'd, what was praise-worthy in him; yet there was something of generosity in his Nature, as may be exemplified, in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of some that had serv'd him faithfully, and dyed in his Service; which one that writ his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the fore-mention'd Lord Thomas Cromwell, toward Seigneur Frischaud an Italian Merchant, from whom he had receiv'd Civilities.

By his Reputation in Arms, he was courted or feared by most of the Princes in Europe, and the Kings of France and Sweden were enter'd into so strict a League with him, as might have troubled the whole World; but Cardinal Mazarini, the chief Minister of France, held most secret Intelligence and Friendship with him. He was, to give him his due, a man of singular Courage and Resolution, and that attended with a most prosperous Stream of Fortune, which is not always the Concomitant of Valour. He kept the Armies under him in so exact Discipline, that they rather seem'd a Body of well-govern'd Citizens, than Soldiers: Swearing, Profaneness, Drunkenness, Murder, Rapine, Uncleanness, the common Vices of other Soldiers, were not to be found amongst his. His Ambition and desire of Glory, excited him to make Attempts also in other Countreys in pursuance thereof, whereby a great Renown accrue'd to our Nation in all parts of the World. And had he not employ'd that Policy and Sagacity of Parts, which must be confess'd to have been in him, to evil Ends, and by unheard of Impieties Traitorously aspired unto that highest Pitch of Honour which belong'd not to him, usurping his Majesties Government, he might have been worthy of eminent Place and Dignity in it.

Cromwell having positively Declared his eldest Son Richard his Successor, gives up the Ghost.

Cromwell's Declension and Character.

1659.

Oliver's Will, concerning his Succession, imparted to the Council, and chief Officers.

They all consent to the Election of Richard.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector by the City and chief Officers of the Army.

The Oath administered to him by Fienes.

Mr. Tho. Clarges made choice of to be sent into Scotland, to acquaint Gen. Monk with Richard's Advancement.

An hour after his death, there met together those of the Privy-Council then in Town, that had been the most zealous Promoters of the *Petition and Advice*, and best affected to that Government. These were made acquainted by *Thurloe*, with what passed on *Tuesday* and *Thursday*; and also, that *Oliver* had subscribed a Paper long before his Death, touching the Succession, wherein *Fleetwood* was declared Successor; And that this Paper having been laid in a Cabinet, known only to *Oliver* and his Wife, and no Person more, (as was thought) was searched for, but could not be found. They then agreed, to send two of their Number to *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and to know of them unfeignedly, whether they acquiesced in the Declaration that *Oliver* had made, touching the Succession of his Son? Acquainting them, that they knew there had been a Paper subscribed by *Oliver* in his Life-time, to the effect aforesaid: And therefore requested to know of them, whether if hereafter any such Paper should be found or produced, they would notwithstanding submit to the Last Will and Paroll Declaration of *Oliver*? Whereunto *Fleetwood* replied, and promised, as in the Presence of GOD, That if any such Paper then were, or should thenceforth be found or produced, yet he would not insist thereon, so far as he cordially acquiesced, as he said, in the Succession of *Richard*. And thereupon a Council was forthwith summoned, where *Finnis* and *Thurloe* gave an Account of *Oliver's* Appointment of his Successor. And *Goodwyn*, *Whalley*, and *Goffe* were called in, and attested the same upon their Oaths. And being withdrawn, the Council unanimously declared their Satisfaction: *Desborow* having first stood up, and adjured them all, in the Name of the Living GOD, that if any dissatisfaction remained upon their Spirits, they would freely Declare it; as he professed, he would have done, had any Doubt remain'd with him. This passed; the President and whole Council went at once to congratulate *Richard*, and condole his Fathers Death.

After the Congratulation, *Strickland*, *Skippin*, and some others of the Council, were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done; and the next morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by *Chiverton* Lord Mayor of London, and as many of the chief Officers of the Army, and Councillours of State, as could be got together; wherein *Richard Cromwell* was at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Cross*, and several other publick Places in London, proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, about 4 of the Clock in the Afternoon: After the Proclamation, the Lord Mayor presented his Sword to him, which he presently returned; and after some Ceremonies passed, (the Council, and many Officers of State, and of the Army being present) *Nathaniel Finnis*, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, administered an Oath to him in these words:

**I** Do in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof. And that in all things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, I will Govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

Thus far Matters succeeded well; his Brother *Henry Cromwell* was Chief Governour of Ireland, and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present posture of Affairs. Of Scotland they had some Doubt; but to endeavour to rectifie all things there, *Richard* sent that Evening to Mr. *Thomas Clarges*, (Brother in Law to General *Monck*) to prevail with him, to go immediately into Scotland, with his Letters to *Monck*, to know how he stood affected to his Advancement: This *Clarges* was pitched upon, as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been largely chosen by his procurement, upon the Death of one *Rowe*, to be Agent for the Armies and Council of Scotland and Ireland, an Employment of good value, whereby he became interested in the Knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; for the Regiments of that of Scotland, especially of the Horse, were often charged; whereas the Irish Army continued still unchanged: And although at first, his having been in the late King's Service at Oxford, made them at *White-Hall* unwilling to employ him; yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656, by his Addings against the Kingship of *Cromwell*, that they would not then disoblige him, least it should seem to be for that Reason: Besides, all of the contrary Faction (of which were the chief of the Army) professed a great esteem of him, not so much in respect of himself, but because it was believed *Monck* engaged him in those Councils; and the Opinion of that, contributed more than any thing, to divert *Oliver* from accepting the Crown. *Clarges* willingly accepted of this Occasion to go to General *Monck*, to be able to inform himself particularly of his Inclinations: For although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the Generals so far distant Residence, gave him little Opportunity of other Converse with him than by Letters. The City of London, and the generality of the People in England (having been wearied and tired with the Miseries of War, and their Spirits subdued by the Oppressions and Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*) seemed outwardly to comply with the Necessity of the Time, and submit to an Approbation of that

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Addresses to the young Protector, from all parts of the Nation. The Army of Scotland submitted to what was done in England.

\* Such as had never been against the Parliament, to prevent the jealousy of the action. Mr. Clarges returns from Scotland to the Protector. Addresses to the young Protector, from all the Regiments of the Army, both in England, and other parts.

The taking of Tye by the English, under Mr. Gen. Morgan.

that they could not remedy. By subtle Contrivances, Congratulatory Addresses in all, or most Cities and Counties were framed, subscribed, and presented to him. In Scotland, by private advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. *Clarges* came thither, he found them all prepossessed, and doubting one the other; they liked, or seemed not to dislike all that was done at London. But the General himself, and he, had many secret Conferences, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain Condition, wherein he found both himself and the Nation intrall'd by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Souldiers (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the people) so that they consulted of a Paper to be drawn up to be presented to the new Protector; the heads whereof were to advise him, to suppress the division in the Church, by countenancing a sober and Orthodox Ministry, to permit no Councils of Office; and to model and put the Army into the hands of the qualified Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the people might best trust: From this Conference which was managed by both, with much reservedness; *Clarges* began to perceive the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Country to its ancient Government, when ever a fit occasion should present itself for the attempt. With this Paper, and a Letter of approbation of the choice of the Protector, *Clarges* returned to London, to him; the Letter he delivered publicly, but the Paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him: and the prosecution of the advice thereof in his attempts to model the Armies, was the main cause of all the divisions which hapned in them, and the happy consequences thereof.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in England, Addresses were promoted, and subscribed by all the Regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, who had married his Cousin Germane, was as forward as any to promote Addresses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major General *Morgan*, who were yet in the French Army, Commanded by Marshall *Turenne*, and had gained a great fame and reputation to their Country, by many signal Services in that Campaign; for by their valour, chiefly, a great Victory had been obtained, as before mentioned, over the Spanish Army near *Dunkirk*, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of *Mardike*, and the Towns and Forts of *Bergen*, *Dixmude*, *Ferne*, *Oudenard*, *Mervin*, *Gravelin*, and *Tyre*, which last place, taken about the beginning of October, old Style, was the first Military success that the English had abroad under *Richards* Government. Marshall *Turenne* had not hopes so late in the Year, to gain a place so considerable; but having beaten a party of 5000 men, under the Prince of *Ligne*, that was sent to joyn with some other forces; and to visit that Garrison in their march, he supposed that the Town, missing the success they expected, might quickly be surrendered; there were in it about 2500 old Souldiers, besides whom, all the Townsmen assisted, that were able to bear Arms, being in all about 4000; and it was taken in a fortnights Siege. After the Army had been two or three dayes before it, *Turenne* sent for Major General *Morgan*, who commanded the English, to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of *Conde* intended with all the force he could get together, to put Relief into the place. *Morgan* informed him, his men were so exposed, that he commonly lost five or six every time they mounted the Guards, and therefore he proposed, that rather than weary them out so much with continuall duty, the Town might be assaulted. *Turenne*, who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the Reputation of that Army, which had been victorious by many prosperous successes that Summer, and therefore at first, rejected the advice; but *Morgan* pressing more upon him, and offering himself with 600 English, to go on upon the strongest part of the Town, he at last consented. He was seconded by two Sergeant Majors, who each of them Commanded 600 French, and were to attack two other places, at the same time that *Morgan* made his assault; but he with his English, entered and gained most of the out-works, and turned the Cannon of the besieged upon the Town, before his French Succours came in, and immediately the Town was surrendered upon easie termes, the Prince of *Ligne*, *Barbancon*, and *Arenberg*, marched out with the Garrison. *Turenne* embraced *Morgan* after this Service; and though he had long before esteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the bravest Commanders of this time, and in the Report of this Action, to the most Christian King he attributed the merit of it wholly to him, which occasioned an Invitation of *Morgan* to Paris, where he was intimated to him, a good Present of Place was providing to gratifie his Services; but he whose modesty made him ever prefer the virtue of generous actions, before the Reward of them, chose rather to return into England, to his Family and Relations, after his long and hazardous absence.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good affection towards his Majesty, and would use his power to his advantage, as soon as he should be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his absolute obedience, to which they were induced by the observation of his former deportment; for in his private Condition he demeaned himself with civility and respect to the Gentlemen of the Country where he lived, and was alwayes ready to do Offices of kindness to persons in distress, apparently disliking the severity of his Father, and not averse to overtures for his Majesties Reconciliation; but it was afterward evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority; for when he saw himself owned and acknowledged by the Army and people, he was very much relieved to all that withed well to his Majesty, and either really declined his Service, or had not virtue enough to resist the temptation of greatness, or courage enough toward the declension of his power, to use that little which remained to attempt to free his Country from thralldom and oppressions.

The Young Protector not so great a Well-wisher to his Majesties Cause as was believ'd.

In

In the first place, after his advancement to the Supreme Dignity, principal care was taken by him and his Council, for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accustomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore search is said to have been made into the Records, to see what had been expended upon the Burial of King James, and the same Cost, if not greater, was to be bestowed on this: The Corps of his late Highness being Embalm'd and wrapt in Lead, was removed from *Whitehall* to *Somerset-house*, there to lie in Reg'l Pomp and State, a Spectacle to all Commers; the order and manner whereof was briefly thus:

The manner of the deceased Protector's lying in State at *Somerset-house*.

Four Rooms, one within another, were compleatly hung with black; the three first with Cloth, the fourth with Velvet, each Room was adorned with Scutcheons of his Arms, Crowned with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper end of each Room, was placed a Chair of State, and over that, a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a large Majesty Escutcheon, painted and gilt upon Taffata: In the fourth Room where the Corps were, there lay upon a Bed of State, raised by two gradual Ascents, and covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies vested with a rich Suit, Kirtle, and large Robe of Purple Velvet, Laced with Gold, and Furr'd with Ermine: to the Kirtle was girt an embroyd'd Belt, by which hung a Sword richly hatched with Gold, in the right hand was a Golden Scepter, in the left a Globe, on the Head a Purple Velvet Cap, furr'd with Ermines; behind was plac'd a Crown Imperial, set with precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cushion of tissued Gold, on each side a rich Suite of compleat Armour, and at the Feet his Crest: the Bed of State was inclosed with Rails and Ballasters covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof, were Pillars adorned with Trophies of Military Honour, Carved and Gilt; on the tops of the Pillars were the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Streamers Crown'd; at the Pedestals were Shields and Crowns gilt: within the Rails stood eight Silver Candlesticks, or Standards five Foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burning in them, and next them four great Standards of his Arms set upright in Sockets, with the Guidons, great Banners, and Banols of Taffata richly painted and gilt. The Effigies having for some time been seen in this posture, was afterwards shewen in another Room, vested after the same manner, and attended with the same Ornaments, as is already described, and this continued untill the day of conducting the Funeral Pomp to the Church, which was on the twenty third of November; for till then, all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Effigies placed in a stately Funeral Chariot, covered with black Velvet, and drawn with six Horses in like manner Mantled, and Adorn'd with black Plumes of Feathers, was attended from *Somerset-house* to *Westminster*, by all the Officers of his Household, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magistracy of the City, the Judges at Law, the Ambassadors and publick Ministers of forraign States and Princes, the Members of the late Upper-House, and of the Privy Council, all in Mourning, each Company being distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the chief Ones, and a Horse of State Mantled with black Velvet, led also by some one of Eminency. Lastly, the Horse of Honour trapped with Embroidery upon Crimson Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Master of the Horse; with such other like Formalities used at the Obsequies of great Persons. At the West end of the *Abby-Church*, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carried through the Church under a Canopy of State, born by six of his Gentlemen, up to the East-end where it was plac'd in a sumptuous *Catapalco*, or Monument of Wood fram'd for the purpose, with Pilasters and other Adornments of Architecture, Carved, Painted, and Gilt, to remain for a certain time, exhibited to publick View; a sort of temporary Monument much used in Foreign Parts, at the death of great Princes: The Corps had been privately Inhum'd many days before the Solemnity, in *Henry the Seventh's* Chappel.

The Watchke proceeding between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark.

As soon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were past, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a Stop to Proceedings both Domestick and Forain; immediately other matters of publick Concernment began seriously to be taken into Consideration, by the new Protector and his Council. The first thing was, the sending of a Naval Supply to the King of Sweden, between whom and the old Protector, there had been contracted a very firm and inviolable Amity; and Forces had been sent to this Kings Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-service; for the latter whereof, he now more than ever had occasion to make up a good stout Fleet; for after that by his Success against the King of Denmark, he had won him to a Concession of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the *Sound*, and had at length withdrawn his Army, the King of Denmark judging the Conditions too hard on his side, and alledging them not to have been punctually observ'd by the *Swede*, began presently after the departure of the *Swedish* Army, to flie to Arms, for the recovery of what was lost, being especially encouraged thereunto, by a certain assurance of Aid from the *Hollanders*, besides his entering into Confederacy with the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, against the *Swedish* King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of Denmark's Design, speeded back with his Forces, and was set down before *Copenhagen*, ere the *Danes* were well aware of his coming, but the *Danish* King had before-hand (providing against the worst that might happen) so well Fortified and restor'd the City, that it was able to endure a long Siege, and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the *Baltick* Sea, called the *Sound*, being thus disputed between these two Kings, the *Dutch* thought it a matter of no small advantage to them, that the *Sound* should continue in the power of the *Dane*, their constant Ally, lest the *Swede* gaining too much sway therein, they might be depriv'd of the benefit hereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all possible haste to set forth a Fleet, for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*: the *English* on the other side,

thought

A thought it no less Imported them to help the *Swede*, though it were against the *Dane* and the *Dutch*, both of them our Friends in outward appearance, least their joynt Interest and prevalence against the *Swede*, who of all other Potentates was the most firmly united in League to this State, might have prov'd prejudicial to us likewise in relation to the *Sound*, which also concern'd us no less weightily than the *Dutch*, therefore a Squadron of lusty Frigots was sent forth by this State, under the Command of Sir George *Ayscough*, toward the *Sound*, which having for some time been detain'd upon the Coast by contrary Winds, and afterwards steering their course towards those Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made impassable, they were forced for that time to return not without some damage to the Ships, by reason of the Ice, and the loss of some men, through the bitterness of the Weather in those parts, so that this Enterprize was suspended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was set out under the Command of General *Montague*, Sir George *Ayscough* being invited by the King of Sweden to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

In the mean time, the *Hollanders* Fleet led by General *Opdam*, and *Witte Wittels*, arriving at the *Sound*, with Relief for *Copenhagen*, were Assail'd by the *Swedish* Rix-Admiral, *Charles Gustavus Wrangle*, in which Battel the *Dutch* are said to have received a notable Overthrow, seven of their Ships being lost, and *Witte Wittels* one of their Admirals, with many other persons of Quality slain; nevertheless, during the Fight, several *Dutch* Fluyts and Merchant-men pass'd by with Provision to *Copenhagen*, which to strengthen the Besieged, that they thereby became enabled for the sustaining of a long Siege, as hath since appear'd: and not long after, the *Swedes* in a resolute effort against the City, were repel'd with the loss of a great many men, and some of Eminency.

And now in England, want of Moneys, and other pressing occasions of the State, require the sudden calling of a Parliament: the young Protector issues out his Writs, summoning the Members to meet at *Westminster* the 27th of January. Elections are made by the Counties, not without some Canvassing of Parties.

Moreover, according to the Constitution of the Government, Members were Elested to the Commons House for Ireland and Scotland, as well as England. The Elections were so disposed in England, that many honest Gentlemen in all parts were chosen, but the upper (for it did not yet aspire to the name of Lords) House, even was filled with the chief Officers of the Army, whereof most were of such contemptible extraction, and education, that the Commons were very unwillingly brought in any capacity whatsoever to own them. From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, he was frequently entertained with the fore-mentioned Addressees, which much heightened the confidence he had entertained of his future prosperity, and made him think of modelling the Council conformable to designs he had of subjecting the Army to his intire Command; for the Council, as the Government then stood, had a great co-ordination with him, in the administration of it, and the major part consisted of such as countenanced in all their extravagancies the Officers of the Army, who were many of them Anabaptists, and of other Sects.

He pretended not to remove any of the Councillors, but to add to many of his friends to them as might make the greater number firm to him, he propos'd the Lord *Broughill*, and *Faulconbridge*, who had married his Sister, but they were not approved of; and instead of these, it was offer'd by those that oppos'd them, that four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, (*viz.*) *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Berry*, and *Cooper*: The first two had been of the late Kings Judges, but were ill affected to the Protector and his Family: the other two were factious and seditious. These Transactions were not agitated in open Council, but privately treated of by particular persons; but so rumour'd, that the Army began to be jealous of the Protector, and murmur at his actions; sometimes they would complain of the Company and Conversation he used, and at other times, censure his Religion, exclaiming, that godliness was discouraged by him, and that he rather favour'd those of loose Principles than the zealous Professors of the Gospel. But in this he was injur'd, for if his private Condition represented him a kind of libertine, he assum'd together with the publick Person a more grave and circumspect behaviour, conform'd himself to the constant observation of all Religious Duties, and with appearance at least, if not really so, of a blameless Life and Conversation.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtfull of the temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together some of the Officers of the Army to London, (as his Father was accustomed to do on the like occasions) to advise with him, to obviate any peril that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament should attempt Innovations: He was a little surprized at this Advice, but thought it not time to refuse it, and thereupon Letters were sent to as many of them as could be spared from their Charges, to repair to London, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The Names of his Fathers Privy Councillors which acted and were continued under him, were *Richard Lawrence* President, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; *John Thynlor*, Secretary of State; General *Montague*, Sir *Charles Woolley*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Philip Lord Lisle*, Son of the Earl of *Leicester*; Lieut. Gen. *Eleewood*, Colonel *Debrow*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Col. *Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, Col. *Philip Skippon*; of which the Six last named, were Favourers and Abettors of the Army; *Lawrence* the President was an Anabaptist, but somewhat moderate in his Opinion. The Lord *Lisle* was often absent and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear a Neuter. There was another whom I should have named, which was Mr. *Major*, the Protector's Wives Father, but his indisposition of health rendered

1658.

A Squadron of Ships sent toward the Sound.

Another greater Fleet sent out under Gen. *Montague*.

The Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Dutch. *Copenhagen* relieved.

He endeavours to new model his Council.

The Army grow jealous, and censorious of him.

The names of the Protector's Privy Council.

1659.

Seditious meetings of the factious part of the Army and Council at Desbrow's house.

Desbrow sent to the Protector to persuade him to resign the Command of the Army to Fleetwood.

Which he refused.

A Parliament call'd by the new Protector.

The King creates new Commissioners for the management of his Affairs in England.

The form of the Commission.

rendered him incapable of action; Fleetwood and Desbrow had frequent Meetings at Desbrow's house, who with the Factious part of this Council, and some of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, which were Barry, Hewson, Coopers, and Lilburn, consulted to wrest the power of the Army out of the Protector's hands; and in order thereunto, Desbrow was sent to tell him, That the Army was filled with many Jealousies and Fears of Designs against it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the subversion of the Government, unless some speedy remedy were taken for prevention, and that no better way could be thought on, then putting the Command of the Army into the hands of some person that had served with them, and of whole Courage, and Integrity to their Cause, they might have Confidence and Assurance; and immediately named Fleetwood to be the man, adding, That this would not only satisfy the Army, but give great content to the Godly Party, (which was a name much used by all these Novelists) and free him from much of the trouble which rendered him now less intent in the more necessary parts of Government. To this he replied, That as to the Fears and Jealousies of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what Redress could be desired, not doubting but the Parliament, now ready to sit down, would take care both for his and their Security, and the Peace and Quiet of the Nations: But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, He should not think himself able to protect himself or them, if he should part with it, which his Fathers Example confirmed him in. And with this Answer dismissed him. His Father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many seditious Anabaptist Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government, but the Fear and Danger of a Division, and respect to his Person, kept them in some degree of Obedience; He displaced many of them before he dyed, and had reduced the rest, and wholly modelled the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few Months longer: He had introduced his Son my Lord Faulconbridge, and many others into chief Commands, who were allied to him in blood, or by their advancement wholly depending on him: All this while matters were carried without much heat, and not out of possibility of accommodation when the Parliament sat down.

At the prefixed time, the Parliament meets, consisting, as the last Parliament had done in his Fathers time, of Two Houses, the Commons, and the Other (which now began to be called the Upper-House) for the first was chosen Speaker, Mr. Chaloner Chute, a Lawyer, who within a short while fell sick unto death as also Sir Lislebone Long Recorder of London, who was chosen pro tempore in his stead; For the latter was chosen, Nathaniel Fiennes Lord Keeper of the Seal: The first Grand business that came under Debate, was a Bill to be passed into a Law, Intituled, *An Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief Governour of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*: Which was many dayes debated in parts, and at last part of it resolved in these words; viz. *That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness Richard Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. And it was added, *That neither this nor any other previous Vote that is or shall be passed in order to this Bill, shall be of force or binding to the People until the whole be passed*. The Protector liked well these proceedings, and thought himself towards a good Settlement; but of those that were zealous for a Commonwealth, there was also in this Parliament such a considerable number, and who had such a powerful influence on publick Transactions, that to procrastinate the time, they cast in several praiseworthy Debates, in which, nevertheless, the Assertors of the Protector's Interest being more in number, carried things to their own Advantage by the Major Vote, as particularly in the business of the Scotch and Irish Members to be continued in among them, and the owing of the Upper-House, and holding an Entercourse with them, after a long Consultation in question of their Authority. However, the Factious Counsellors which abetted Discontents in the Army, continued their Meetings to pursue their purpose of wresting the Command of the Army out of his hands, and putting it under Fleetwood.

Several Designs had been in vain undertaken for his Majesties Restauration during the Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, which were chiefly managed by the Earl of Oxford, the Lord John Bellasis, Sir John Grenville, Sir William Compton, Colonel John Russell, and Sir Richard Willis, who for their supposed conduct of the privacy of their Counsellors, were commonly call'd, *The Seal'd Knot*: But, though nothing was more prudently and ingeniously contriv'd, all their Consultations were from time to time imparted to Thurloe by Sir Richard Willis, which was not yet known. Nevertheless, his Majestie about this time thought fit to appoint new Commissioners, and sent over into England a blank Commission dated at Bruxells the 11<sup>th</sup> day of March, in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of his Reign, which was fill'd up with the Names of Arthur Anley, Son to the Viscount Valentia; John Morant, Brother to the Earl of Peterborough; Sir John Greenville, Sir Thomas Peyton, and William Legg; which was as followeth:

**C**HARLES by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Right Truly and Right Wellbelov'd, &c. and to every of them, Greeting. We do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint you Our Commissioners, giving you or any one or more of you Power to Treat with any Our Subjects of Our Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, that are or have been in Arms against us or Our Father of Blessed Memory, or that have contributed to the present

1659.

A sent Rebellion in England, (Excepting such as actually sate in Judgment for the taking away the life of Our said Father, or pleaded as Counsel Learned against his life, or attended as Ministers to that odious pretended Court, or laid hands on his person in the execution of that horrid Murder) And to assure them in Our Name, That if they shall forsake the present Rebellion, and joy heartily and effectually for the suppressing of the same, and for Our Restauration to the Rights due to us by the Laws of God, and of that Our Kingdom; That then We will not only freely pardon their former opposing us and Our dear Father, and all their Crimes and Offences in acting, adhering to or complying with the said Rebellion; But that We will Recompose and Reward such of them as shall by any remarkable Service merit us, either by reducing or rendring any Town, Fort, or Garrison of the Rebels into Our hands, or into the possession and power of you or of any other Trustee, employed by us or you for Our Service: And what you or any one or more of you shall by virtue of this Our Commission in Writing under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promise in Our Name in this kind, We shall Ratify and Confirm, and perform. Given at Our Court at Bruxells this 11<sup>th</sup> day of March, 1659. in the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

These Gentlemen proceeded with much Wariness and Diligence in the execution of this Commission, the Effects whereof shall be made known hereafter; But in the mean time, we shall return to what passed between the Parliament and Army. Besides the private Meetings of some select Officers at Desbrow's house, the General Council of Officers (as they called themselves) met in Fleetwood's house, where they acted with as much formality, as if they had been the Supreme Legislators of the three Kingdoms.

It was a little before Cromwell's Death, that great preparation was begun for the setting forth of a Fleet to the help of the Swedes against the Danes, and that under the Command of General Mountague, nor did his death put a stop thereunto, Sir George Ayscough being sent with a Squadron of Ships, though hindered from coming up to joyn with them, by reason of the freezing of those Seas, as hath been already mention'd; whereupon, for the better managing of the Charge, it was thought expedient that the House of Commons should be engag'd in it, and a Narrative Report was made to them by Secretary Thurloe about the latter end of February this year, concerning the State of the War betwixt the Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, in relation to the Baltic Sea, and the Command of the Sound: This took so far, as to gain a Vote for the providing a considerable Navy for the preservation of Trade, which was forthwith Equipped, and General Mountague sent with it to the Sound about the latter end of March, who was so straitned in his Commission, that he lay there without doing any thing, till he was called back by that part of the Long Parliament that subverted the Power that sent him.

The Upper House (as it now began to be call'd in a strain somewhat nearer Lords House) favoured the Military Council of Officers, but the Commons took much distast at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Counsellors. The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarrassments of the Officers of the Army; My Lord Faulconbridge, Col. Ingoldsby, Col. Bridge, Col. Charles Howard, Major Knight, all Officers in the Army, and some few others, counselled him to send a party to Desbrow's house, to seize upon those that met there, which were Eight or Nine of the chief Confederates, and immediately to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fairer opportunity to put them into better hands; and to send for all the rest of the Officers to come to him, and to Command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that duty. These Counsellors were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State and some others to whom he brake the business, diverted him from the first but to the latter, of dismissing the Officers, readily consented; and the next day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly: And the same day that this was by him done, the Commons openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and Voted, *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council or meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave and authority of the Protector and both Houses of Parliament*. And because in the Debate of these Questions, many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, insinuating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some act of opposition and disturbance, they passed another Resolve, *That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedomen in their Debates and Councils*. These were transmitted to the Lords House, to be confirmed there; but they made a slow progress in them, upon divers late contracted Jealousies, nor the least of which was from a late Vote of the Commons, wherein they declared at the acknowledgment of their Constitution, That their acknowledgment of That House for another House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Perage of the Land, or their Priviledges: as also believing, that the Protector conspired with the Commons to weaken and divide, or subdue the Power of the Army; in which they were somewhat confirmed, for that these matters were Debated and Voted the

The Upper House jealous of the proceeding of the Commons and the Protector.

1659.

The inferior Officers of the Army jealous of the Commons and the Protector.

The discontented faction of the Army, in a posture of hostility against the Protector.

He is forc'd by Desborow to sign a Commission to Fines, for the dissolving of the Parliament.

A Proclamation for the Dissolution of the Parliament.

Desborow and Fleetwood promise the Protector, that his Power and Dignity should be continued.

The Officers of the Army oppose it.

same day he had dissolved the Council of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the chief Officers of the Army fixed to him, but the inferior sort who were of phanatique Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous, and had most influence upon the Souldiers, were for Fleetwood and Desborow: For it was artificially insill'd into their heads, That the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the hands of the Nobility, and Gentry of the Nation, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospel they had so long contended for. The Debate against the Army in the House of Commons, was on the 19th day of April, from which time the meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before, and upon the 22th day, the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compel him to do it. He called his Confidants about him, and made preparations against all accidents that might happen: in the Evening, many of his friends encouraged him to take Horse, and appear in the Heads of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other party had drawn up some men in the severall Avenues to White-Hall, and in St. James's Field, it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his Person would have prevailed much with the common Souldiers; but he was fearfull, and unresolv'd, of a Spirit unbecoming the quality he assumed, and many of those about him were as irresolute as he, some advised one thing, some another, waiting their time in contradictions; and as it happens in the Consultations of fearfull people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in execution. Desborow his Uncle came to him from the discontented Officers, and pressed him much to sign a Commission to Fines, to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till Desborow insolently told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats, and importunities, he at length consented to do it.

The next Morning, the House of Commons having heard of these Transactions at White-Hall, Adjourned themselves for three days: but this their Adjournment prov'd a total Dissolution, for those that had made this breach upon them, proceeded further to conpleat their purposes, and besides the foresaid Commission directed to Fines, caused a Proclamation to come forth in the Protector's Name, to publish the Dissolution of the Parliament, in these words:

**W**hereas We Summoned Our High Court of Parliament to Assemble and Meet together at Our City of Westminster the 27th day of January last, which hath continued until this present day; And whereas We did by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of England bearing date at Westminster this present 22. day of April, for divers weighty Reasons declare Our Pleasure and Resolution to Dissolve the said Parliament, and to that end did thereby constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and Right welbelov'd Counsellour Nathaniel Fiennes, One of the Lord Keepers of Our Great Seal of England, and others Our Commissioners in Our Name, this said present Twmy second day of April, to Dissolve Our said Parliament, which was by them done according to the Tenor of the said Commission in the usual place; And by vertue thereof, Our said Parliament is Dissolved: Nevertheless, We have thought it necessary with the Advice of Our Privy Councils, by this Our Proclamation, to publish and make known the same, to the end all Persons whom it may concern, may take notice thereof. Given at White-Hall the Twenty second day of April, in the Year of our Lord, 1659.

Fleetwood and Desborow having (to get the power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protector's Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less then to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their power to prevent what they so little intended, they came to him together, and apart several times that day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved inviolate; and even in that, nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his Privy; telling him, They had not taken this course, but upon certain Assurance of the Defense of the King's Party, and others, to disturb the publick Peace, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.

He received not much Consolation from these Discourses, and gave little Credit to them, well knowing, that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into Seditious Courses, then to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their Intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in haste, which they might have leisure enough to revent; and that they would find now, they had made a Confusion of his Power, it would be a Province too hard for them to re-settle it: And so it proved, in effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at Wallingford House, after the Emission of the afore-mentioned Proclamation, they would not hear of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were so far from thinking of the Continuance of his Power, that when any thing was moved tending that way, it was obstructed, or diverted, by Propositions of Government. Yet at last, when they had determin'd, that the Chief Command of the Army should be in Fleetwood, with Power to dispose of all Vacant Offices till farther Order, they were perswaded to Allow the Protector a kind of Limited Supremacy (for what like that of a Duke of Venice). But the next day, whilst many of the Superiour Officers met at Wallingford House,

1659.

The Superiour Officers meet at Wallingford House, to consider of a Model of Government, and the inferior Officers at St. James's.

A in further consideration of a Model of Government, the inferior Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chappel at St. James's, having Dr. Owen, and other Independent Ministers with them, to assist at their Devotion, where the Matter was artificially so contriv'd, that the prosperity they enjoy'd under the Government of the latter part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some Intimations of Advice, to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by Lambert and his Friends, wherein he appeared not openly himself, but set Colonel Lilburn to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his Friends had private Junctures.

The next Day Fleetwood and Desborow were alarm'd with this Countermine against their Designs; for the Inferiour Officers came now to open Declaration of their forwardness, to restore the latter part of the Long Parliament, and to restore to their Command Lambert and the rest of the Officers, who had been displac'd by Oliver Cromwell, for disaffection to him; yet not without too much respect to the Protector, and his Family, but that they would have an Honourable Provision made for them. Fleetwood endeavour'd to oppose this Torrent, suspecting Lambert's Ambition would quickly supplant him, if he got power: But when he perceiv'd it was already too great to be resisted, the Consideration thereof oblig'd both him and Desborow to comply, for the preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their proceedings, they propos'd, first, to have the Army settled and modelled in a way of Unity, before they determin'd upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a General Council of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels Ingoldsby, Howard, the Lord Faulconbridge, and Colonel Bridge from theirs: Colonel Norton they displaced from the Government of Portsmouth, which they gave to Colonel Whitburn, and made Colonel Edward Salmon Governor of Hull, in the Room of Colonel Smith, who, by the recommendation of Fleetwood, had the Command of that Garrison given him by Oliver Cromwell. To Colonel Sanders they gave the Protector's Regiment of Horse, to Colonel Rich that of Ingoldsby's; to Sir Arthur Haslerigg Colonel Howard's Regiment of Foot, with the Government of Warwick, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth: To Lambert they gave the Lord Falkenbridge's Regiment; and to Okey that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel Bridge: Major Parker, and Captain Gladman, Andabaptist Officers, who had been by Oliver Cromwell displaced, were restored to their Commands: The inferior Officers, in all their respective Regiments, were suitably model'd, according to the Opinions of their Colonels.

Thus Lambert was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recover'd much of his former power. After this, the Council of Officers was reduced to a smaller Number.

The 29th of April there met at Fleetwood's House, Lambert, Desborow, Sydenham, Cooper, John Jones, Berry, Hacker, Lilburn, Ashfield, Salmon, Zanchy, Okey, Sanders, Clark, all Colonels, and Major-General Kelsey, and Barkstead the Lieutenant of the Tower, where they Debated the Election of a Council, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next consult about some Articles, for the security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament, to establish the Common-wealth Government.

These Articles being Digested into Form, and agreed to by the General Council, a certain number of the Officers were Deputed to meet with Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr. Scot, and Major Salloway, the prime Leading Men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to consent to them. Vane and those with him had been treated with apart; but when they came to publique Discourse, they were very reserv'd in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their own Consents, and of their Endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake by any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and Consent, at such time as they were met together.

This Cautious of theirs was disliked and suspected by Fleetwood, Desborow, and Lambert; but the inferior Officers were so far possess'd in favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore desir'd them to use means, to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient haste, because the Government was a kind of Inter-regnum; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to sit, which upon the sixth of May was presented to the Speaker by Lambert, with about 12 or 14 Officers of the Army in his Company. The Declaration itself we have thought fit to insert, to shew the inconsistency of these new Politicians, that so soon alter'd from what they so solemnly declar'd: The Title was,

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long-Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20th of April, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

**T**HE Publique Concernments of this Common-wealth, being through a Vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Back-slidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein they now stand, and our selves also contributing therunto, by wandering divers ways from Righteous and equal parts; And although there have been many Essays to obviate

Several Colonels removed from their Regiments, &c others put in their rooms. As likewise Governours of Towns, and other Officers.

The Officers of the Army consult about restoring the remnant of the Long Parliament.

They send to treat with Vane, Haslerigg, and others.

The Army's Declaration, to invite the remnant of the Long Parl. to sit again.

1659.

obviate the Dangers, and to settle the Nations in peace and prosperity; yet all have proved ineffectual. The only wise God, in the Course of his Providence, disappointing all Endeavours therein. And also observing to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great Work, did daily decline: so as the Good Old Cause it self became a Reproach: we have been led to look back, and to examine the Cause of the LORD's withdrawing his wonted presence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

And amongst other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of the Members which continued their sitting untill the 20th of April, 1653. were eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special presence of GOD with them, and were signally blessed in that Work, (the Desires of many good people concurring with ours therein,) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th of April, 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648. untill the 20th of April, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety, for the improving present Opportunities, for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Commonwealth, praying for the Presence and Blessing of GOD upon their Endeavours.

Signed by Direction of the Lord Fleetwood, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

6th of May, 1659.

Thomas Sandford, Secretary.

They agree to accept of the Invitation.

And take their Places in the House.

Gen. Monk seems to give his Consent to what was done in England.

They publish their Intentions by a Declaration. The Words of the Declaration, extracted out of the Parliament Journals.

Sir G. Booth, M. Pryn, & others, of the old Secluded Members, claim their privilege of sitting, but are kept out.

After the delivery of this, many of the most eminent Members of this Remnant of the Long Parliament, having before consulted with as many of the rest as were in London, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signify their willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next morning, which was the 8th of May, at 8 of the Clock in the Painted-Chamber, where they desired his Presence, to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House; which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places. Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Usurpation of the Cromwells, being overthrown by those of their nearest Relations, from whom by Interest, they might have expected Support: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquir'd Dominion, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that assisted the Aspirers in the obtaining of it.

Upon the Dissolution of the Protector's Parliament, Diligence was used by Charges to acquaint Monk with all Occurrences: But the Officers of the Army in Scotland, then in London, of Fleetwood's Party, had so dispersed Letters amongst their Friends, to engage them for the restoring of this latter part of the Long-Parliament, that when he conven'd some of them at Edenborough to found their Tempers, he perceiv'd they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judg'd it most prudent, to seem to approve of what was done: And to that purpose, he writ a Letter signed by himself and his Officers, to the Officers at London, which gave them Assurance of his Adherence to them (but if Richard had not dissolv'd his Parliament, Monk had then march'd into England in favour of it.) They did not fear much any Storms from the Army in Ireland, who of themselves could do little, without correspondence from England or Scotland.

The first thing the Remnant Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers, was, the passing a short Declaration, which was Order'd to be Printed and Published: in the Close whereof they do Declare; That they are Resolv'd, through the gracious Assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply themselves to the Faithfull Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a Foundation, as may assert, establish, and secure, the Property and Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men and as Christians; and that without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers: And shall vigorously endeavour the carrying on of Reformation so much desired, and so often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithfull Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land.

Sir George Booth, Colonel Rossiter, Mr. Pryn, and some others, Members of the Commons House of this Parliament, (formerly secluded by the Army) attempted to go into the House, but were all kept back by Adjutant General Allen, except Mr. Pryn, who slipt in, but they would do nothing whilst he was amongst them, but adjourn'd till the afternoon; and when he again would have enter'd, he was stay'd by some Officers of the Army.

About four days after the present small Parliament had sat, which was spent in making a Committee of Safety, and dispatching Intelligence of their being re-inflated in their former Power, to several

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A several of their Members absent in the Country, whom they had not disabled from Sitting; the Officers of the Army present themselves with their Petition and Address, a thing they often insisted to have prosecuted; and was one of the occasions that had formerly heightened the differences betwixt them and this Parliament.

The Title was, The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. The Address it self was in these words following:

Calling to mind the former Declarations of Parliament, and the Grounds therein inviting us to take up Arms, and those many signal Providences, wherein the Lord hath owned You and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in asserting that Righteous Cause, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the People of these Nations were involved, so as that all open opposition was beaten down before you; and likewise weighing with ourselves how in the severall late Changes in Government, that Publique Spirit, which appeared in that Work, hath since that time been discouraged, and another raised up, drawing back to the same things you had contended against, even to the hazarding the Essentials of that Cause; we did upon serious thoughts of heart think it our duty once more to appear against those backsliding ways, and Providence having brought the state of Affairs to the condition they were in some few days before your sitting, we found it necessary to assert amongst our selves some of the Fundamentals of our Good Old Cause, with some other things conducing to the Preservation thereof, with a full and fixed resolution, through the assistance of GOD, effectually, even to the hazard of our Lives, to endeavour the Recovery and Security of the same. And the same good Providence holding forth an opportunity to us, to open unto You away for the further discharge of the remaining Trust in Parliament, we did by our Declaration of this instant May, humbly desire you would be pleased to return to the exercise and discharge thereof, as before the 20th of April, 1653. And having to our great joycing seen your Declaration of the seventh Instant, shewing, that you are resolv'd through the Gracious assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply your selves to the faithful discharge of the Trust reposed in you; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a Foundation, as may assert, establish, and secure the Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men, and Christians, and that without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers, resolving vigorously the carrying on the Work of Reformation, so much desir'd, and so often declar'd for, to the end there may be a Godly and faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in these Nations; which so fully answers what our hearts were drawn forth to desire, that we could not any longer forbear to express our thankfulness for this door of hope again open'd towards the attaining a consummation of those things so much breathed after by the good people of this Commonwealth. And however we find our selves in some measure prevented, by the late Declaration and Resolves of this Parliament: Yet nevertheless, we have judg'd it our duty to represent what was chiefly and unanimously upon our hearts, when we engag'd in that which made way for your Return, which we humbly (as becomes us) lay before you:

1. That the Liberty of the Persons, and Property of the Estates of all free people of these Nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable according to Law, under the Government of a Free State and Commonwealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.
2. That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, as that they may be a Protection, and not vexations or oppressive, to the People of these Nations.
3. That by an Act of Oblivion, all and every person and persons who have since the 19th of April, 1653. mediately or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the severall Changes or Alterations in the Government of these Nations since the said 19th of April, 1653; or in order to the Publique Service, Peace, or Safety of these Nations, be Indemnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.
4. That all Laws, Ordinances, Declarations, and Establishments made in the severall Changes and Alterations of Government, that have been in these Nations, since the 19th of April aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, untill particularly repealed.
5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the publique service and affairs of this

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Commonwealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, 1653. A  
be carefully paid and satisfied.

6. That all persons who profess Faith in GOD the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Sonne the true GOD, and in the Holy Spirit, GOD Co-equall with the Father and the Sonne, one GOD blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed or written word or Will of GOD, shall not be restrained from their Professing, but have due encouragement and equall protection in the profession of their Faith and exercise of Religion, whilest they abuse not their Liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth Licentiousness or prophaneſs under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null, and void.

7. That a Godly, Faithful and Painful Gospel Preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

8. That the Universities and Schools of Learning be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

9. That such persons as have at any time since the 20<sup>th</sup> of May, 1642. aided, or assisted or adhered to the late King, Charles Stuart his Son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that Party, against the Parliament or Commonwealth of England, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any Authority or Power under pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good People of these Nations of their Christian Liberty, or have or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of Godliness, or of the professors thereof, or are otherwise scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this Cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other management of the Publique Affairs of these Nations, and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the future.

10. And forasmuch as no godly or other good Interest can be preserved or maintained, unless the persons who are chiefly intrusted with the management and exercise of the Government, be of suitable spirits to those Interests, That those who are or shall be intrusted therein, be such persons as shall be found to be most eminent for Godliness, faithfulness and constancy to the good Cause and Interests of these Nations.

11. That to the end the Legislative Authority of this Commonwealth may not by their long sitting become burthenſome or inconvenient, there may be effectually Provision made for a due Succession thereof.

12. And for the better satisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Commonwealth, in this juncture of Affairs, for preserving and maintaining the Principles and other matters thereunto subservient: We do unanimously acknowledge and own the Lord Charles Fleetwood Lieut. General of the Army, to be Commander in Chief of the Land Forces of this Commonwealth.

13. That in order to the establishing and securing the Peace, Welfare, and Freedom of the People of these Nations for the ends before expressed, the Legislative power thereof may be in a Representative of the People, consisting of a House successively chosen by the People in such way and manner as this Parliament shall judge meet, and of a select Senate, co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful persons, eminent for Godliness, and such as continue adhering to this Cause.

14. That the administration of all Executive Power of Government, may be in a Councill of State, consisting of a convenient number of Persons qualified in all respects as aforesaid.

15. That all Debts Contracted by his late Highness, or his Father, since the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 1653. may be satisfied, and that an honourable Revenue of Ten thousand pounds per annum, with a convenient House, may be settled upon him, and his Heirs for ever; and Ten thousand pounds per annum more upon him during life: And upon his Honourable Mother Eight Thousand pounds per annum during her life. To the end a mark of the high Esteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever Renowned Generall, may remain to Posterity. These having been the Thoughts and Desires of our Hearers, unanimously agreed upon before Your Returning to Sit, and finding the spirits of divers of the honest faithful people of this Commonwealth, led forth for the same

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A same things, and your selves by your late Declaration and Resolutions in a great measure assisting them; we thought it our Duty to the Nations, to You, and to the Honest People, humbly to present these, and beg the Blessing and Presence of the LORD with you in the Prosecution and bringing forth such a Settlement as may be for the Honour of GOD, the Union, Joy and Rejoycing of all the Peaceable People of the Commonwealth.

And we shall pray, &c.

This Petition was presented by Lambert the 12<sup>th</sup> day of May, accompanied with Deborow and Barkstead the Lieutenant of the Tower, with 12 other Colonels, and two Lieutenant Colonels. We find entered in the Parliament Journall the words which Lambert spake at the delivery of it, which were these:

Mr. Speaker,

WE are Commanded by the Officers of the Army, to present before you their Humble Petition and Address; there are severall things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their hands, and no visible way of redress: Finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are Returned; In discharge of their Trust, they thought it not fit to neglect this opportunity, but have Commanded us to present this Petition.

When he had said these words, he withdrew, with those that were with him; and the House upon Debate Order'd their Speaker to return them the following Answer: Which is likewise entered in the Journall of that Day's Proceedings.

I Am Commanded by the House to tell you, That they have read the Petition and Address that you have made here to us; They have commanded me likewise to tell you, That as they found your Affection before they came thither, so they find that affection continuing.

For the things contain'd in your Petition, they are things of great weight, and many more things of great weight are lying before the House; and it is concerning that Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of GOD hath brought us hither, who we hope shall never depart from us.

The House finds in your Advice much of love and affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that love and affection you have shown, and to give you thanks, very hearty thanks for your love, and expressions of it; And accordingly in their Name I do give you very hearty thanks.

The House by Votes agreed to all the Articles of this Petition, at the first debate of it, except such as concerned the publick Revenue; Government, and the Protector, which were refer'd to a Committee, whom they directed to go to the Protector, and receive an acknowledgment from him of his submission to the Government, before they would do any thing for him, and take a State of his debts: Which being declared to him, with the Resolve of the House, the occasion of that Messige; After Consideration, he delivered the following answer to them in Writing, with his name to it.

I Have perused the Resolve and Declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night, and for the information touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true state of my debts, to be transcribed and annexed to this Paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves, how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament.

I trust my past Carriage hitherto, hath manifested my acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of GOD, and that I love and value the peace of this Commonwealth much above my own concerns; and I desire that by this, a measure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the assistance of GOD shall be such, as shall bear the same witness, having I hope in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of GOD, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out amongst us) however, in respect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the Government of the Nations, yet, thorow the goodness of GOD, I can freely acquiesce in it, being made, and do hold my self

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self obliged, as (with other men) I expect Protection from the present Government, so to demean my self with all peaceableness under it, and to procure to the utmost of my power, that all, in whom I have any Interest, do the same.

Richard Cromwell.

Fleetwood voted Commander in chief of all the Forces.

A Schedule of his Debts was annexed to this Paper: what was contracted for the Funerall of his Father, they absolutely rejected, and made slow Progress in the rest, and delayed to settle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was desired; but gave him two thousand pounds to discharge part of his own private debts, and required him, and all his Dependents, to remove from *White-Hall* in six dayes. Fleetwood discover'd a little discontent at this contempt put upon his Brother *Cromwell*, and that Family; but as soon as it was order'd that he should be Commander in chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, for one year, in compliance with the 11th Article of the Armies Petition and Address, he was less solicitous in the concerns of his Wives Family: when the House voted he should command the Armies, they likewise voted, *he should have power to Sign and Seal such Commissions, for the Constitution of Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament*, and nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hestrig* Lieutenant Gen. Fleetwood, and the Colonels *Lambert, Desborow, Ludlow*, and *Berry*, or the major part of them, who were made Commissioners for that purpose. And for his better Establishment, directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the House to be passed into an Act for his constitution: Which was done accordingly; but upon the second reading of it, they would not admit of that clause, to authorize him to Sign Commissions, but Ordered, That all Commissions, both to the Commission Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, should be Signed by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England*, to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers gratis, by the Speaker in the Parliament House. They also at the same time, Ordered, That the Government of *Ireland* should be by Commissioners nominated and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Person, and that Colonel *Henry Cromwell* should be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament. This Gentleman had made himself very popular in *Ireland*, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father, and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in civil matters, many of the members whereof were of severe and rigid behavior, the generosity of his disposition was somewhat over-ruled; nevertheless, most people in distress there, did receive such effects of his civility, where he had any manner of Capacity to shew it, That they acknowledged he deserv'd to have been the Sonne of a better Father.

He had the *Irish Army* under good Discipline; and was so well belov'd of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have consented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare against it; For his Brother gave him no intimation of what had happen'd, nor any Commands to appear on his behalf; what he had heard, being onely from the intelligence of private Friends. At the first Alarm, he advis'd with his Confidants what to do, and to prevent Considerations against him, by any Combinations of the Officers of his Army, he commanded all of them to their charges, and (to use his own words) not to hearken to any design of innovation, how speciously soever the same might be presented to them. Likewise he dispatched Colonel *Monck* to *Scotland* to Gen. *Monck*, (who came thither not till 15. dayes after the alteration of Government) to inform himself how he and his Army stood affected to it; who return'd no other answer than a Copy of the Letters, the Officers of his Army had obliged him to send to the Parliament.

In all probability, if Col. *Henry Cromwell* had drawn his Army together, and fix'd them to his Authority, and then declared against their proceedings at *London*, he might have shaken much the new foundation of the Common-wealth, for the Armies in *England* and *Scotland* were not then modelled, and the Officers many of them (as hath been said) relations or dependents of the Family of the *Cromwells*, but he was so doubtful of the success that he undertook nothing, but peaceably submitted; his Brother had done, (though in more generous terms) to the Authority then introduced.

We purp'ly omit many particulars of these transactions; and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their constitution of a Council of State, for the more immediate executive power of the Common-wealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Commissioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel *Henry Cromwell's* Letter to the Parliament, when he submitted to it, as not very essentially pertinent to this History.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the revocation of his Commission, yet he dissembled his passion, and yielded to necessity, till a more favourable conjunction might give him opportunity to enlarge his power: however, both he, *Desborow, Lambert*, and many of them were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their Commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and would have remonstrated against it, but by enquiring into the temper of the inferior Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And Fleetwood himself to dissemble his acquiescence with great submission, and Protection of Obedience to the Parliament, receiv'd his Commission in the House, from the hands of the Speaker, and after him *Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Ludlow, Sydenham*, and the rest of them in and about *London*, who had Commands in the Army.

Fleetwood, Lambert, and others, receive their Commissions in the House from the Speaker.

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A The Parliament now became confident of its Power, and meditated to subject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other.) Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their concurrence in obedience to them; yet they displaced those Officers in both, whom they suspected in any manner to have been affected to *Cromwell*, or Monarchical Government. The seven Commissioners before named, to whom the nomination of the Officers of the Army was first committed, were continued in that Authority, and very active in it. Those of the *Anabaptist* persuasion, were by them esteemed most firm to a Common-wealth, and by their information, they were much guided in the disposition of Places, but where any had been put out by *Cromwell*, for disaffection to him, they were restor'd as of course. Col. *Lockart* the Governour of *Dunkirk*, had made his submission; but shortly after, there was a desperate Mutiny in the Garrison, at first suspected to be for the King, but it was quickly appeas'd, and found to be otherwise. And the better to regulate affairs there, and quiet the place, Lieutenant Col. *Pierston*, Col. *Ashfield*, and Col. *Packer*, are forthwith sent over. Thus all things succeeded fortunately to them, Ambassadors from all parts making hast to congratulate the felicity of their Government.

The Ambassador from the United Provinces, was prepared with his Credentials for Audience within a fortnight after the first beginning of this New Common-wealth, and at his Audience, in the name of his Masters, he made a more than ordinary Profession of Amity, and desire of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commissioners who had that in charge, made great dispatch both in Modelling the Army and Navy. *Pierston* and *Mason*, two *Anabaptists*, Lieutenant Colonels under General *Monck*, undertook to know so well the Army in *Scotland*, that their information was much credited in the settling of it, and to weaken *Monck's* power, they had designed to remove those he most trusted, and put others of their own Creatures into their places. Of all these passages, the General had very good Intelligence, his Agent *Clarges* not omitting to acquaint him with all that pass'd with these Commissioners. And after a while, he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the House, in which, amongst other Expressions, he told them he had heard of their intentions to displace many of his Officers, which he conceiv'd they did not from any knowledge they had of their Persons or Qualifications, but the informations of others; and that he thought himself as fit to be credited in that matter as any, and did assure them, they were all honest and stout men, and such for whose fidelity and good behaviour he would be engaged.

This Letter put a little stop to their Carriere, but did not divert their Resolutions: yet to give him some satisfaction, they sent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his Officers, and that in his own Regiment of Horse and Foot, there should be no alteration, till such time as he were consult'd in it. *Monck* was not satisfied with their Answer, but privately advis'd some of those Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to *London*, to solicit their own concerns, and as much as they could obstruct and retard the proceedings of the Committee. That which was of most advantage to the preservation of his Officers, was an Order made, That such Officers as were now Constituted for *Scotland* or *Ireland*, because they could not come to the Parliament to take their Commissions, should receive them from such Commissioners as should be appointed for the Civil Government of those Kingdoms respectively. And none being yet appointed for *Scotland*, that Affair rested a while in silence, yet was not so far neglected as to hinder the designment of the remove of many, whom nevertheless the General under-hand kept still in their Commands, till further order.

In the pretended Parliament begun at *Westminster*, in the Year 1656. an Act had pass'd for a three years Assesment upon *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, at 35000 li. per mensum on *England*, 6000 per mensum on *Scotland*, and 9000 a month on *Ireland*, to determine the 24th of June 1660. of which one years proportion was yet uncollected, which made the House to passe an Act on the 18th of June this year, to authorize the collecting of that money, knowing it to be less difficult to continue a Tax already impos'd, than after the expiring of that, to raise a new one. In this Act, they appoint the whole Years Assesment to be paid in to the Treasury, on, or before the 10th day of August, and the other on the 10th of October.

Having as aforesaid, recall'd Colonel *Henry Cromwell* from *Ireland*, they appoint for the Civil Government of that Kingdom certain Commissioners, namely *Steele, Robert Goodwin, Matthew Thomlinson*, and *John Jones*; and for the Command of the Army, Colonel *Edmond Ludlow*, who with the Title of Lieutenant General, was immediately upon receipt of his Commission dispatch'd away.

In the mean time, the Kings Commissioners were not idle in engaging as many as they could for his Service; and Captain *Tim* was sent by his Majestie to Treat with Major General *Brown*, and such others in the City of *London* as he knew to be well inclin'd to his Interest. When he came to *London* and sent to *Brown*, he refus'd to have any Communication with him, and therefore he used the mediation of Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Beverly* of *Lincoln-Inn* to Treat with him, and they had several Conferences without any effect; for he being a Prudent wary man, was unwilling to hazard himself, till he saw some Body of Men together, to busie the Army, and divert the Forces in *London* and *Westminster*. *Tim* then address'd himself to Mr. *Mordant*, and the rest of his Majestie's Commissioners; and was very assiduous to them. So active were these Commissioners, that most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Wales* were engaged by them, and a day in July fix'd for the Raising. Sir *George Booth* was to raise *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Shropshire* and *Flintshire*. Sir *John Carter*, *Denbighshire*. The Earl of *Stratford*,

The Governour of *Dunkirk* submits to the change of Government.

The Dutch Ambassador courts out restor'd Senate in a high manner.

General *Monck* digests not the Justs Designs of Modelling his Army.

He useth his utmost industry to obstruct it.

An Old Act of Assesment reviv'd.

The Kings Commissioners active endeavours to raise the Country for his Majesties Service.

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ford, Leicestershire. The Lord Willoughby of Parham (who also advanced Money to buy Arms) A  
Suffolk. Colonel Rossiter, Lincolnshire: Colonel Popham, Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and to secure  
Bristol and Taunton. Mr. Edward Dunch and others Berkshire. Major General Maffry, the  
Lord Herbert of Worcester, and Mr. How, Gloucestershire. Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Le-  
venhorp, and Mr. Fanhall, Hantsfordshire. Mr. Mordant, Sir Francis Vincent, and Sir Adam  
Brown, Surrey; with many more in all places too long to name.

The first Rising was to be of such as had never engaged on the Kings side in the late Wars,  
thereby to draw the Army to leis opposition; for the Declaration had no mention of his Majesty,  
but was call'd, *The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen, in this  
once happy Nation.* The words of it were theic:

The Declara-  
tion of Sir  
George Booth  
emitted at the  
time of his  
Rising.

**S**ince it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the spirit of Division to continue in this  
distracted Nation, and to leave us without any settled Foundation, of Religion, Liber-  
ty, and Propriety, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, and contemned; The Army  
raised at first for our Defence abused, and mis-led into unwarrantable Actions by the Cun-  
ning and Ambition of some of the Superiour Officers; No Face of Government appearing  
either in any single Person, or a Body of Men in Council lawfully Constituted, to whom the  
Grievances of the People may with any probability of Success be properly addressed. There-  
fore We being Conscious of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nations Ruine, if  
these Distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed oppression by some Settlement incon-  
sistent with the Laws, Peace, and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence  
of Our selves and all others who will partake with us in the Vindication and Maintenance  
of the Freedom of Parliaments against all Violence whatsoever, of the known Laws, Li-  
berty, and Property of the Good People of this Nation, who at present groan under ille-  
gal, arbitrary, and insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors. This  
being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, We cannot despair of the  
Blessing of Him who gives Victory; nor of the cheerfull concurrence of all good People,  
nor of the undeceived part of the Army, whose Arrears and increase of future Pay, and  
advancement of high Command, We shall by all means procure, suffering no Imposition  
of force on any mans Conscience; And to this We doubt not but all honest English-men will  
say, Amen, Amen.

Sir George  
Booth's Rising  
aided by the  
Kings Friends  
from all Parts.

But yet many of the Kings Friends in all parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel Richard  
Arundel and Trelawny undertook if his Majesty would bring 500 Horse into Cornwall, and Arms  
for as many more, they would raise the other 500: And Major General Egerton did as much in  
Staffordshire; and many others in other Parts. The Preparation could not be expedited with  
that haste as was intended, so that the day of Rising was deferred to the first of August, and Mr.  
Cooper was sent by Mr. Mordant to his Majesty, to acquaint him with it; who was to soon  
dispatch't, but he returned in five dayes to those that sent him, to let them know, his Majesty  
would be present with them in a short time: With him Colonel Roger Whitley came into England,  
with some verbal Instructions to Sir George Booth, and some blank Commissions to disperse in  
Lancashire, Cheshire, and Flintshire; He staid no longer in London, than to receive Mr. Mordant's  
Commands, and some of the foremention'd Declarations to carry with him to Booth. Captain Tims  
was sent to the King, to let him know, all was ready: His Majesty thereupon remov'd privately  
from Brussels to Calais, about the first of August, which was two dayes after Tims came to him:  
He had in his Company only the Marquess of Ormond, the Earl of Bristol, Dr. Quartermaine, Mr.  
Daniel O'neal, and one Maurice Delaval, a Servant of the Marquess of Ormonds, with two other  
Servants, one belonging to the Earl of Bristol, and the other to O'Neil; nor did they Travel thir-  
er together, but by two and two: His Majesty had only Dr. Quartermaine with him, and the first  
place he came to from Brussels, was a little Village, where Monsieur Marfin met him, with whom  
he had much discourse about his Affairs; The place was to ill accommodated with Lodgings, that  
they could have but one bed, which the King would needs compell Marfin to accept, and he  
himself being contented with straw. Marfin accompanied his Majesty to St. Omers, where they  
parted; and then he went directly to Calais, where the rest met him; but to avoid being known,  
they dispersed into several Lodgings, and his Majesty had with him only Maurice to wait on him.  
The Dukes of York and Gloucester were at Breda, and were sent for to Brussels, but they arrived  
not till the day the King parted from thence, and that after he was gone. The Duke of York  
with Tims followed his Majesty to Calais, but the Duke of Gloucester by his Majesties appoint-  
ment continued at Brussels, ready prepared to come over upon the first intimation. The King  
staid three dayes at Calais, and a Shallop was ready at Boloign for his Transportation into Kent,  
upon the first News of any considerable Party's being in Arms.

The Duke of  
York follows  
from Breda.

The main of  
the Design  
prevented by  
discovery.

But in the height of this Expectation, one Mr. Baron arrives from Mordant with the ill News  
of the disappointment of much of the Design in all the South and West Parts of England, which  
was thought to be discover'd by a Letter intercepted at Reading from the Lady Mary Howard,  
about the latter end of July; but it was known long before that Letter, to Scott and some few  
other

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other Members of the Council of State, which hastned them so much in a more than usual Care in  
modelling the Army, and settling the whole Militia of the Kingdom, wherein the meanest Com-  
mission Officer in any of the Trained Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approv'd in Par-  
liament; and they had privately laid a contrivance to have Sculdiers at most of the Risings of the  
Kings Friends all over England: So that their accidentall intercepting of the Lady Mary Howards  
Letter by the officious diligence of a Post-Master, was rather a service than a disadvantage to his  
Majesty, since thereby his coming to England, which might have expos'd his Person to inevitable  
Perill, was prevented. Notice of this discovery could not be soon enough dispersed to prevent  
the appearance of many Gentlemen in divers parts. The Earl of Leitchfield, with Sir Adam Brown,  
my Lord Mordant, (so we now stile him, in regard he here first declar'd his having receiv'd the  
Dignity of Viscount) and about 25 others Rendezvouz'd near Guisford in Surry, but by reason  
of the taking of Sir Francis Vincent an active Servant of the Kings, there was so little appearance,  
that all divided to shift for themselves: The Earl of Leitchfield and my Lord Mordant came dis-  
guised by Water in the Common Barge from Chertsey to London, and got privately to Alderman  
Robinson's house, where they were for a while concealed.

The most considerable Body that got together, was under Sir George Booth, who with the Earl  
of Derby, the Lord Killmurry, and Major General Egerton, were met at the time appointed at  
Warrington, at first with a small Party, they having of the very Flow'r of the Gentry and Gallantry  
ingag'd among them, and their numbers encreased every minute: Colonel Roger Whitley deliver'd  
his Message to Sir George from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord  
Mordant, with an Account of his Majesties Preparations beyond the Seas, and his readiness to  
come over upon the first notice; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party,  
which then consisted of about Five hundred men. The first thing they resolv'd, was to march to-  
wards Chester, and the first night they marched to a place call'd Tradnam where they met Colonel  
Werden, who assur'd them, that the Gates of Chester would be open'd to them. And the next day  
they marched thither, and took possession of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them  
by Crockett the Governour thereof for the Parliament, who had one Company in it. The next day  
Major General Egerton was sent with a party to Chirk-Castle, where Sir Thomas Middleton hear-  
ing of his approach, opened the Gates, and joyfully received him. The next day he went with  
them to Wrexham, (having left his Son to Command the Castle for the King) and there, many  
came in to them. The next day after, Colonel Whitley was sent with a Party to put a Garrison  
into Hardinge Castle in Flintshire, which was newly left by a party of the Parliaments Souldiers  
that marched from thence to Denbigh Castle their next Garrison, but were seized by the Coun-  
ty, and brought prisoners to Sir George Booth's Party. Colonel Ireland at the same time declared  
for them in Liverpool, and Mr. Brooks, one of the present Members of the Junto House of Com-  
mons, willing to expiate his former mistakes, cordially joyned with them for the Freedom of his  
Country, and met at the first Rendezvouz.

Sir George  
Booth appears  
with severall  
others in a  
considerable  
Body.

They take  
possession of  
Chester City,  
but the Castle  
holds out  
against them,  
Chirk-Castle  
deliver'd to  
them by Sir  
Thomas Middle-  
ton.  
Col. Ireland  
and severall  
others declare  
for them.

The Junto somewhat apprehensive of these proceedings, cause all the Horses in and about  
London to be seiz'd, and all the Avenues to the City to be Guarded, and divers Troops and  
Companies to be placed in all the Wayes toward the West and North-West Parts. They had  
every hour news of the dispersing of several little Parties, and Lambert was order'd with a Bri-  
gade to march to suppress Sir George Booth and his Party. The Lord Mordant as the most active  
Agent for his Majesty was summon'd on a great penalty to appear; and Mr. Edmund Dunch and  
Brooks, two Members of the Junto, whom they suspected to be ingag'd for the King, were on the  
penalty of a hundred pounds apiece required to attend the service of the House.

They at Wrex-  
ham prepare  
for Defence,  
and send Lam-  
bert against  
Sir George  
Booth.

Mr. Nicholas Monk, a Reverend Minister, a Person of most firm Loyalty to his Majesty, and  
the only Brother to General Monk, came at this time to London in his way to Scotland, from Sir  
Hugh Pollard, Sir Thomas Stinkely, and others of his Majesties Friends in the West of England.  
His business was to ingage his Brother in his Majesties Cause to promote the present Design,  
being directed to receive further Instructions from Sir John Greenville. He came directly to Mr.  
Charges before he saw any one, and communicated his business to him, and afterwards to Green-  
will, who much encouraged his undertaking, and shew'd him two Letters he had received from  
his Majesty, one to General Monk, and the other to himself; which may not be impertinent to  
this History to be here inserted, to manifest the great Vigilance of his Majesty, whose eye was in  
every place where he had any prospect of assistance to his affairs. That to Monk was as follow-  
eth:

Mr. Monk a  
Minister sent  
into Scotland,  
to sollicite his  
Brother the  
Generall to the  
embracing  
his Majesties  
Interest.

SIR,

I cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason to do so; and the good I expect  
from you, will bring so great a benefit to your Country, and to your self, that I cannot  
think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives or sends this to you, hath Au-  
thority to say much to you from me; and if you once resolve to take my Interest to heart,  
I will leave the way and manner of declaring it, intirely to your own Judgment;  
And will comply with the Advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the person who

His Majesties  
Letters to Ge-  
nerall Monk,  
and Sir John  
Greenwill.

conveys

1659.

conveys this to you; and it is in your power to make me as kind to you, as you can desire, A and to have me always

Your affectionate Friend,

CHARLES R.

July the 21. 1659.

The other was to Sir John Greenwill of the same date, in these words; Viz.

His Majesties  
Letter to Sir  
John Greenwill.

I Am confident that George Monk can have no Malice in his Heart against Me; nor hath he done any thing against Me which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to do Me so great Service, that I cannot easily Reward, but I will do all I can; and I do Authorize you to Treat with him, and not only to assure him of my Kindness, but that I will very liberally Reward him with such an Estate in Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Interest: And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his Advice, shall promise to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command, (which Command he shall still keep) I will make good and perform upon the word of a King.

CHARLES R.

Mr. Monk Ne-  
gociates with  
Mr. Clarges  
about the fore-  
said business.

Greenwill earnestly pressed to have Clarges engaged, and Mr. Monk moved it to him, with a promise of a great advantage from his Majesty upon his Restoration. Clarges replied, That he needed not these temptations to oblig him to his Duty; and refused to have any Discourse concerning those Matters with Sir John Greenwill at that time, well knowing, that the least jealousy of his actions from those in power, might make him useless for that future Service which could not be done without him.

Clarges secretly  
conveys Mr.  
Monk on Ship-  
board for his  
Transportation  
into Scotland.

But because all the Wayes to Scotland were obstructed, he took care to provide a Frigate for the Transporting of Mr. Nicholas Monk thither, and convey'd him safe on Shipboard, fully instructed how to manage his Negotiation: with Caution, and to communicate with none but the Generals, except Dr. Samuel Barrow Physician to the Army, a very discreet Gentleman, and Mr. John Price his Chaplain: The first of which was ejected out of Trinity College in Cambridge, for his affection to his Majesty; and the latter, the Son of a Sequestred Minister, always educated in Principles of Loyalty, a good Scholar, and an honest Man; both recommended by Clarges to the General at his first going into Scotland, to be near his Person.

His Majesty  
removes pri-  
vately from  
Calais to  
Rouen.

The King when he received the News from the Lord Afordon of the disappointment of the Design, went from Calais to Bulloign, and from thence by easy Journeys, and very privately, to Rouen. The Duke of York, and Captain Titus stayed behind a while at Bulloign, and the Parts adjacent, to be ready upon all occasions if any thing should intervene. His Majesty at Rouen was in Consultation which way to move, when Dr. Alestrie came to him with the News of Sir George Booth's being in Arms, with Sir Thomas Middleton, and others with great Forces in Lancashire, Cheshire, and North-Wales, which put him in good hopes of Success. The first Rumour of this Rising represented it very formidable, for as much as his Majesty's Friends that lived at distance from it, were willing to receive it with the greatest advantage, so that the Numbers were believed to be much greater than they were, and by imagination advanced to what the willing Affections of the favourers of his Majesty's Cause would have them. His Majesty sent the Marquess of Ormond to Paris to Transact some affairs there, and went himself to St. Maloes by Caen, where he met the Earl of Bristol and Mr. O Neil.

Thence to St.  
Males.

They at Westminster in the mean time were very active in dispatching Lambert on the Expedition against Booth, but first they issued forth a Proclamation to proclaim Major General Edgeron, Col. Robert Werden, Sir George Booth, Sir Thomas Middleton, and their adherents Traytors and Rebels, which was Commanded to be proclaimed in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches.

Major General  
Massey, the  
Lord Hybryt,  
and others  
sent for the  
King in Glou-  
cestershire.

Major Gen. Massey was very active in Gloucestershire, and it by an accident of the interception of a Letter his Design had not been ruin'd, he had certainly taken Gloucester; and what with his own Reputation in these Parts, and the assistance of the Lord Herbert of Worcester, Colonel Barrow, Captain Glaysford, and others of the Kings Friends, they would have got together above 3000 men, Miners and others, out of the Forest of Dean, and from about Stroud-Water, and other places. There was in Gloucester a Troop of the Army Horse under one Dale, and a Militia Troop commanded by one Crofts, who upon this Discovery caused 300 Foot to be presently raised, and sent a party of Horse to take the Lord Herbert, Massey, Barrow, and Glainsford: They took the Lord Herbert, and brought him to Gloucester; Barrow and Glaysford defended themselves in Barrow's House, and upon Parol, to render themselves at Gloucester, were not taken. Massey and his Servant being taken prisoners, Massey himself was set on a Horse, and a good stout Troop set behind him, to hold him in his Arms, two rode on each side, and some Troop pers before his Horse, and others behind: It was about the Close of the Night, the Evening very dark and Tempestuous with Rain and Hail, inasmuch, that when they were going down a very steep Hill by Nimsfield-Road, about ten miles

The Lord  
Herbert taken.

And Major  
Gen. Massey.

1659.

miles from Gloucester, the way to Bath, Massey's Horse, with the man that rode behind him, fell headlong altogether, and tumbled down that steep Hill, whereby it hapned that the Fellow let go his hold, and molt of the rest also; so that all the Prisoners, except the Lord Herbert, and Massey's Servant, escaped.

Massey escapes  
together with  
several other  
prisoners.  
Lambert march-  
eth against Sir  
George, and in-  
creaseth his  
Force.

The Junta sent to Dunkirk for three Regiments to strengthen the Army; and Colonel Zanchy brought out of Ireland his Regiment of Horse, and Astel's Regiment of Foot, which landing at Anglesey, marched to joyn with Lambers, who at his first march from London, had not above 1500, but by Conjunction of several Troops and Companies that met him, increased to about 5000 before he engaged; Sir George Booth having not half the number, and those he had without any Order or Discipline, especially because many of them, being Noble-men and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aspiring to Command, whilst no body obey'd; Sir George Booth having Intelligence of Lambers drawing near to him, thought to have got a dayes march before him into Lancashire, to have increased his Numbers; and to gain time, he and Sir Thomas Middleton sent a Trumpeter, with two Ministers, to shew the ground of their raising an Army, and desired a Treaty, to save effusion of blood: To which Lambert agreed, on Condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender to him the Garisons in their power. To this there was no Reply; but some of Lambert's men pressed to hard the next morning upon Booth, that at a Bridge near Northwich, a sharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The Boothians, with much Courage, defended the Pass, till they were over-pow'd by Numbers. Capt. Morris, a gallant Loyal Gentleman, was kill'd, and some few others of Booth's Party; of Lambert's very few fell, and those that did of no great Note; all the vanquish'd dispers'd themselves. Sir George Booth, and Sir Thomas Middleton got away. The Lord Kilmurry, Brooks, Major General Edgeron, Sir William O Neile, and others, were taken prisoners, and all the Garisons immediately submitted to Lambert.

Sir Geo. Booth's  
Forces engage  
with Lambert.  
Sir George de-  
feated.

Sir George, although he had the good Fortune at that time to escape, was not long free, being seiz'd at Newport-Tunnel in a Disguise, as he was riding towards London, in order to his Transportation into some Foreign Part.

Taken priso-  
ner at Newport  
Tunnel.

The Curious that made Remarques on this generous Undertaking, as commonly wiser in the Discourse than Execution of any great Design, did much censure the Conduct of it. They said, that they had many Opportunities to have ruin'd their Enemies, but omitted all; That Collonel Zanchy from Ireland landing in Anglesey, might have been met, and with good probability of Success fought with ere he could have joyn'd with Lambert, they being with all their Force betwixt him and them; and that Collonel Lilburn, who was gathering men together in York-shire, might easily, by any small Force kept on Foot in Lancashire, have been broken, and hindered in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in small numbers came from several Parts, might have been met and dispers'd, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added so much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Accessions to their Party. Others (and perhaps with good reason) were of Opinion, that nothing was more destructive to his Majesty, than these Plots and Contrivances of Rising for him; and that the best Resolution he could have taken, since the end of the first Warre, was, to have fate in Expectation of some favourable Advantage to himself, from the Division of his Enemies; for what could new raised men do against experience and successful Soldiers? And where the late King with all his strength could not prevail, Parties could less expect to conquer; and indeed, the Event manifested the Truth of this Reasoning, for the Consequence of these Plots, was no other than the Ruine of many of the Estates of Noble-men and Gentlemen, the loss of some of their Lives, and the Depression of the Spirits of the rest; besides, an occasion of strengthening the Army so much the more, and giving their Party plausible Pretences, to infer a Necessity for their continuance, and to Levy Taxes on the People for their Maintenance, and unite and fix them the more against his Majesty. But nevertheless, the generosity of these noble Persons (to particularize any of them in a more eminent manner than any of the rest, would be to injure all) cannot be enough commended, since they valued no hazard, in respect of their Duty to their Sovereign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Country, and have left such an Example of Loyalty to their Posterity, as we hope will be maintain'd, as long as the Fame of their Vertues and Honour shall endure.

The Manage-  
ment of this  
Rising censur'd  
by many.

General Monk in Scotland, was so much prevail'd upon, by the Report of Sir George Booth's prosperous Success in his Enterprize, and the Impunity of his Brother Nicholas Monk, that he resolv'd to march into England, in pursuance of Booth's Declaration, which was very suitable to his own Inclinations.

Gen. Monk pre-  
paring to have  
march'd into  
England, and  
joyn'd with,  
Sir G. Booth.

He consulted in this Matter, besides his Brother, onely Major Ralph Knight, Major of his own Regiment of Horse, Captain Jeremiah Smith likewise of his own Regiment, Doctor Samuel Barrow Physician to the Army, Doctor John Price his Chaplain, and Dr. Thomas Gumble, then Chaplain to the Council of Scotland, in regard he had many Seditious Officers in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Actings, and therefore was oblig'd to be very wary and circumspect in his Proceedings; inasmuch, that when Colonel Atkins, a Royalist of his ancient Acquaintance, came into Scotland to him, about the same Errand that his Brother did, Monk (for fear of awakening the Jealousie of the Factions about him) durst not shew him any Countenance or Respect, but rather the contrary, sending him away somewhat discouraged: When all was ready for his March, and a Declaration to that end prepared, he demur'd for two days, upon the stop of the English Packets,

Is diverted, by  
the News of  
his Defeat.

1659.

The King receives News thereof at St. Malo.

He begins to derive his chiefest hopes from the Peace between France and Spain.

Sir Henry Bennet Negotiates for his Majesty at that Treaty. His Majesty repairs thither himself.

And is Honourably entertained by the Spaniards. Lockhart at the same time Agent at this Treaty for the English Commonwealth. Is countenanced & favoured by Cardinal Mazarini.

G. Monk sends a Letter to the House, signifying his willingness to be dismissed from his Command.

The said Letter, through Clarges's perswasions, is kept off by the Speaker from being read.

in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent Clarges, from whom he two days after received the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir George Booth.

The King being till at St. Malo's, in preparation of a Vessel to transport him into England, had the first Notice of these Misfortunes from Mr. Brett, an English Benedictine Monk, which in a while after was confirm'd to him by the Marquess of Ormond, who came to him from Paris, with Particulars of it: The King (always present to himself in the most difficult Accidents of his Life) discover'd not much alteration at this, though it seem'd a Cross that might very well no less sensibly affect him, than what ever had yet happen'd to him in prosperous, and giving Check to his Fortune, because hereby all his hopes became desperate, of his being ever restor'd to his Subjects, without such Foreign Force, as should be able to afford Assistance and Supply to their Endeavors for him, by holding his Enemies so long in Play, till by accession of his Friends, they might be strong enough to resist their greatest Power and Force: yet even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind, for that many late Successes of the English in Flanders, had made them seem invincible to those, from whom his Majesty was to expect Assistance. But since nothing now but Foreign Aid could visibly raise his Hopes, he resolv'd seriously to apply himself to the Treaty now in Agitation upon the Borders between France and Spain, about a Peace betwixt those two Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal Mazarini, and Don Lewis d' Haro, the two chief Ministers of the two Kings, to which his Majesty had an Eye long since, not doubting but he should be in some measure comprehended in it, so as to receive Assistance from those Princes his Allies, as soon as they should be freed from their Embarrassments; and in prosecution hereof, he had commanded Sir Henry Bennet, a Person of great Prudence and Address, his Ambassador Resident in Spain, not to fail to attend Don Lewis d' Haro to the Treaty, and be present there to negotiate his Affairs. The Treaty being near Conclusion, his Majesty, for fear it should be ended before he came thither, made all possible haste to repair to those Parts; and in order thereunto, took his Journey forthwith from St. Malo's to Reims, where he met Sir George Carteret, and after some small stay with him, went from thence to Nanterre, and there his Company divided, till they met again at Thoulouze, from whence he went by the Passage of Oleron, over the Pyrenean Hills, to Saragosa, the chief City in Aragon, and there he continued eight or nine days, and dispatched Mr. Onslow to Fontarabia, to inform himself of what pass'd at the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after some Conference with Bennet, they agreed to halt away Mr. William Dugan, an Irish Gentleman, to the King, to let him know, the Treaty was prolong'd, and that his Presence would very much quicken and advance his Affairs. His Majesty then immediately hastening by Post to Fontarabia, continued inognito, as he had done all this Journey, till he came within three Leagues of Fontarabia, where he was attended by Bennet with Coaches, to augment his Equipage; and from thence he resum'd his State, and went in Publick.

He was met by the Baron of Batteville, a Person of great Honour and Civility (Governour of Fontarabia) with a Troop of Horse, a mile and a half without the Town; and when he came near it, all the Guns were discharged, and Don Lewis himself met him within the Gate. During his stay there, he was entertain'd in as splendid a manner, as the time and place would handsomely admit. And during the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences with Don Lewis d' Haro, and was every day visited by him.

The Governing Power in England, employ'd at the same time to attend on Cardinal Mazarini at this Treaty, and to promote their Concerns, Lockhart, who had continued ever since Oliver's Death Extraordinary Ambassador in France. The Cardinal lay at St. John de Luz, the nearest Town to Spain, on the French Borders, where he shew'd so much Countenance and Respect to Lockhart, that the King thought it not decent to give him a Visit; but he received many from divers of the French Nobility.

General Monk was inwardly very much troubled at these Disasters; and the more, because he found himself every day more and more incapable to remedy them: for the House displac'd Col Daniel, the Governour of St. Johnston, and many other Officers, whom he much trusted, and were about to remove the rest: so that seeing which way things were likely to tend, and thinking it better to resign of his own accord, than to be worm'd out of his Command, or at least remain but like the Image of a General, and serve only for a property to other Mens Designs, he sent a Letter upon the Third of September, to Lenthall the Speaker, to be communicated to the Parliament, to desire a Dismission from his Command; pretending, That he was infirm in his Health, and had long continued in that remote Country; And therefore requesting, now that all Insuperable Disturbances to the Peace of the Nations were allay'd, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his days in quiet.

This Letter, though it was not sent to Clarges to be deliver'd, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have oppos'd that Resolution of his, and been very backward and dilatory in the delivery of the Letter; yet Mr. Nicholas Monk giving him Intimation of it, the Matter was so order'd, that the Letter came to his hands, and was by him deliver'd to the Speaker, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering it to be read for ten days, till a Packet came from Scotland to contradict it: Yet Clarges was put to great perplexity in this Business, for Vane, Salway, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private Advice of this Letter) often call'd to have it read; And had not earnest and dextrous prevention been us'd, to divert the House with other Business, by some that lov'd the General well, and were

A prepar'd by Clarges, he had by this Dispendency rendred himself incapable of doing that, for which he seem'd by Providence especially chosen and mark'd out.

The Defeat of Sir George Booth and his Party, heighten'd much the Spirits of the chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness, which was somewhat of late lessen'd by the Parliament, to call's and in Designation to be wholly subjected to them. To effect this, there was a strict and private Correspondence between some of the Officers at London, and Lambert, and those with him in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to engage the inferior Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependence on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker) to obviate this. It was advis'd, to attempt nothing at the General-Council of Officers in London: but to begin with those of Lambert's Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune, and therefore apter to be seduc'd by any plausible Advantages of Power. These therefore were all conven'd to the Number of Fifty at Derby, the 16th of September. The first thing on which they began their Debate, was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complain'd of several Milcarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appear'd in the time of the late Insurrection. They also seem'd much to resent the Parliament's unwillingness, to prosecute the Proposals of the Army at their first sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other things of like Concernment. These things were artificially insinuated into the Minds of the inferior Officers, who were easily enough drawn to an Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

However, these Matters were at first only Treated of in General, It being moved and agreed, that Colonel Zanchy, Colonel Michel, Major Creed, and some few others, should meet as Commissioners for the rest, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. Lambert himself went privately to London, and Lieutenant-Colonel Duckenfield, a great Creature of his, presently followed, to acquaint the General Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after the whole Matter being digested into the Form of a Petition, was sent up in a Letter inclosed, to Colonel Ashfield, Colonel Cobbet, and Duckenfield; by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be deliver'd to Fleetwood, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers: And at the same time, when this was sent to London, an Officer was dispatch'd with a Duplicate of it to Gen. Monk, and a Letter with it, to desire his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might join with them: which Letter was subscribed by 14 of the chief Officers employ'd under Lambert.

Sir Arthur Haslerig had secret Intimation of these Consultations at Derby; and the next day after the Petition came to London, which was on the 22 of September, he moved the Parliament, at their first Sitting, against it, exclaiming with much earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who (he said) were attempting alterations in the Government, to the setting up a Single Person over them.

This put the House into a Jealousie of Lambert; to whom, in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Contrivance; and though he outwardly appear'd passive in it, they said he aspir'd to succeed Cromwell: And because it was not yet time to effect his purpose in his own Person, he would set up Fleetwood to be General of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less Envy, to compass his Ends. For Fleetwood, they said, was of an easy nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing Lambert the Power of it, till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.

Fleetwood confessed he had the Copy of a Petition, but seem'd much perplex'd at Haslerig's laying such an imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavour'd to justify their Innocence, as intending nothing less than what was alledged, but all he said could not allay the heat rais'd by Haslerig, inasmuch that they Order'd, That Ashfield, Cobbet, and Duckenfield, whom he assum'd to have the Original in their hands, should that afternoon attend the House with it, and appointed Haslerig to give them notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. Monk made no Progress in Scotland in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were Anabaptists attempted privately to get Subscriptions, till they heard of the severe Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the Afternoon, the three Officers mentioned attended with their Petition: And because it was That, on which the chief Foundation was laid of that difference betwixt the Remnant Parliament and Army, which ended in the Dissolution of both, and was never yet Printed, We have thought it material enough to set here word for word inferred.

1659.

The Army began to contrive the recovery and advancement of their Power.

Consultations among the Officers of the Army, promoted by Lambert, in dislike of some Milcarriages of the Junta.

Their Desire concluded to be drawn up into the Form of a Petition.

Haslerig vehemently opposeth the Army's Proceedings.

And possesseth the House against them. The Junta's Censure of Lambert, in reference to this Business.

Fleetwood endeavour'd to justify the Officers of the Army, but in vain.

Ashfield, Cobbet, and Duckenfield attend upon the House with this Petition.

1659.

To the Supreme Authority of these Nations, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

The Humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedition.

HUMBLT SHEWETH,

The Tenor of  
the Army's  
Petition and  
Proposals.

That whereas we, with others who desire to fear the Lord in those Nations (though by our provocation we were ripe for destruction), have been again saved by the Lord, and have had a late view of his appearance as of old, in the beholding of whose gracious Footsteps, as we cannot but rejoice, so our selves tremble, lest the fruit of all (which the Lord may expect, and his People long earnestly for) become abortive now in the day of our deliverance; We therefore present unto your Honours Consideration these ensuing Proposals, which we humbly lay before you:

1. That the Humble Petition and Address of the General Council of Officers at Wallingford-House to the Parliament, which was so unanimously and cheerfully agreed to, and approved of, in a day of our greatest Confusions, may not be laid asleep, but may have fresh life given unto it; It being upon farther and clearer grounds still upon our hearts, as the best and only Expedient yet offer'd (notwithstanding many Essays) to a happy and durable Settlement, being a fixed and firm Fence and Boundary (under God) for the securing the Civil and Spirituall Liberties which the Spirit of the Nation is unwearied in travell, not only to invade, but upon every opportunity (as we have often seen, and lately had a clear evidence of) is ready to attempt the ruine and destruction of the same.

2. That whereas God having given a spirit to the Army fixed and faithful to the Interest of his People, and Our good Cause, when many who had been Friends were either Apostates, Malignants, or Neuters, Joyning with the old Enemy, leaving the Parliament and Army, and their few active Friends singly to Confront with their late difficulties; And having now no such hopeful way like to prevail to ruine and frustrate what we have so long contested for, as by working divisions in the Army, making breaches, begetting mis-understandings, and dissolve its Unity, wherein, under God, its greatest strength lies, we do therefore, as the most effectuall means for the maintaining the Discipline and Conduct thereof, and preserving its Unity inviolable, Humbly Propose, That his Excellencie the Lord Fleetwood may be settled Commander in Chief of the Armies (his Commission expiring within a few Months); That the Lord Lambert be the General Officer and Chief Commander of the Army next, and under him; And also, that the Lord Desborough be the chief Officer of the Horse under them: And that Generall Monk be the Chief Officer and Commander of the Infantry: They being all Persons under whose Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, we have had Eminent Success, Victory, and Deliverance, in the dayes of greatest Straights, and have been signally blessed and owned by the Lord; to whom, and not to Man, be the Honour of all.

3. That having had very sad experience of a grand Apostatizing spirit gone through the Nations, and amongst many of those who were intrusted for the Safety thereof, very few atting or appearing in several Counties, for the preventing the Plots, and suppressing the power of the Enemy in the late Rebellious Design, and many others not only flatterings, but falling in with them, whereby a totall ruine was threatened, and had been effected, had not the Lord in Mercy prevented; We therefore humbly Propose, That there may be a diligent enquiry in all parts, by faithfull men employed to that purpose, what intrusted persons have been guilty of any Contrivance, and acted against the Commonwealth-Interest, and that they may be proceeded against accordingly. And likewise what persons upon wicked purposes have been Neutrall in such a distressed day, when their Assistance according to their Employments and Trusts, would have been not less usefull then seasonable, and that all such may be removed from their Places and Employment, Civil and Military; and that such who on the contrary in this juncture of the discomposed Affairs, declared their owning of this Interest either in the County Troops or Militia Volunteers, or otherwise, may be looked on as Friends, encouraged, satisfied their Arrears, protected from Injuries, countenanced by you, and as they are capacitated, intrusted with Authority in their severall Countries.

4. That

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4. That in the late Insurrections, some considerable Corporations have not only aided, abetted, and countenanced the Enemies Design, but have also made use of the Arms lodged with them, and themselves appeared in the Rebellion, willingly receiving the numerous accession of all engaged therein: Therefore We humbly Propose, That such Corporations may be discountenanced, and that You would be pleased to give Your Signall mark of disfavours against them; As also for the future, so to regulate Corporations, That such persons well Qualified according to the Government of a well Constituted Commonwealth, may be intrusted with Authority of Magistracy in every of the severall Towns; That so the Footsteps of Monarchy may be rooted out.

5. We humbly offer, That all Persons who sever, Magistrates, Ministers, or others, who have openly or secretly stirred up or provoked the Inhabitants of these Nations to War and Comotions against the Parliament, and particularly to the late Insurrections, (of which is visibly apparent, many of them have not only been abettors, but in their persons appear'd with Instruments and weapons of War, as some of us know) may be proceeded against, as You in your Judgment shall think fit.

After the reading of this Paper, the House adjourned till the next Morning, and Ordered then to resume the Debate of it, and that no other business should intervene: And at their meeting, they Voted, That to have any more Generall Officers in the Army, than are already settled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous, to the Commonwealth; and that Fleetwood shall acquaint them with this Resolve.

They had it under Consideration, to have imprisoned those that brought the Petition; but because the chief and most remarkable design of it, tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

Fleetwood the next day at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the Parliaments displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the Petition and Proposals, and they thereupon resolved to decline the insisting thereon; but agreed, that some of their number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled, *The Common Enemy*) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the Commonwealth against all Disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a Generall Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27th of September, in the Chappell at Somerset-House.

And the said Petition was at the appointed time prepared and brought into the general Council by those to whom the care of framing it was committed, with a long preamble, and many Proposals far different from what was expected by many that were then present; for these seemed at their former meeting, to be a general fence and opinion, that they should humble themselves, for what they had before done, without the permission and consent of their Masters, and make some Declaration of their intention, never to interpose more in matters of Government. But contrary to this, they arraign'd them for what they had done against the Petition of *Lamberts* Brigade, and for what (they said) had been groundlessly and without cause alledged against them; and were so far from acknowledging their offences, thereby to recover the good opinion of the House towards them, that they justified their own proceedings with a kind of Reprehension of those that misinform'd the House concerning it. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Hucker*, Colonel *Sanders*, Major *Daberon*, Major *Barton*, and Major *Bremau*, with many others, did much oppose the carrying on of this Representation, which retarded the Progress of it. And some of the dissenting Officers writ to General *Monck*, and sent him a Copy of what was brought in, with all the debates thereupon, desiring him to employ his Credit with Fleetwood and Lambert, to put a stop to it; as if that which would, if not prevented put an irreparable breach betwixt the Parliament and the Army.

*Monck* was somewhat at a stand to know how to behave himself in this matter, but to avoid suspicion, he writ to Fleetwood a courteous Letter of his opinion of the whole affaire, but insisted chiefly on that part of the Petition wherein it was proposed, That no Officer or Souldier should be cashier'd or dismiss'd from their places, without a due proceeding at a Court-Martiall, or by his own consent, except in case of reduction or disbanding; desiring they would add (after the words Court-Martiall) or by order of the Commander in Chief of the Army upon the place, alledging, That although the removing or displacing of Officers or Souldiers, otherwise then by sentence of Court-Martiall, was a thing rarely practis'd: yet if a Generall, or the Supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more inferior Officers and Souldiers to affront the Superior, and the Generall himself, and would in time make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.

This Letter came not to Fleetwood, till the greater part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House. But *Monck's* intention was to make his advantage of this division, and to ascend, sent his Brother *Nicholas* to London to *Clarges*, to authorize him principally to acquaint such of the Members, as he thought most fit, That if they would assert their own Authority, he would march into England, to justify it against any opposition.

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During

The House signifies their displeasure, and vote against the effect of the Petition.

The Officers resolve upon more moderate Proposals.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former.

*Monck* writes his sense of it in a Letter to Fleetwood.

*Monck* offers himself to march into the assistance of the Parliaments party.

During this Debate at London of the Generall Officers, all imaginable endeavours were used by the dissenters, to protract and lengthen the time; but they were by much over-numbered. And the Petition was Signed by 230. Commission-Officers of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, who were then in and about London.

Orders made by the Junto of Common, for the encouragement of the Souldiers, the better to engage them to their Interest.

Orders for the sale of Hampton Court, Somerset-house, &c.

The Remnant endeavour in vain to divert the delivery of the Petition.

Describes words at the delivery thereof.

The leading Members had from time to time, notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands. They made many Orders concerning Pay of the Souldiers, and Mariners, and Provision for the maimed Souldiers, and Orphans, and Widows of such as were kill'd in their Service. To the Souldiers they Ordered, That all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia Troops and Companies, should be paid out of the Moiety of such monies as should be raised by the Sale, or other disposition of the Estates of Delinquents Sequestred, and to be Sequestred upon the late Insurrection, and out of one moiety of money to be raised by the sale of Forrests and Chaces, excepting New Forrest, and the Forrest of Deane. And excepting such Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Commonwealth, And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, They ordered the other moiety of the money to be raised upon Delinquents Estates. And also that Hampton-Court House, Parks, and Somerset-House (except the Chappel which was reserved for a French Congregation), and all other Mannors, Parks, Houses and Lands contained in the severall Acts for sale of the King and Queens Lands, should be sold, and the money go to that use. And for the maimed Souldiers, Orphans, and Widows, of such as were slain in their Service, They ordered the Committees formerly constituted for inspections into the Publique, to pay two months pay to them, and take care to put such of their Children to be Apprentices as were fit for it. They likewise to gain themselves the more generall Esteem, considered of some way to satisfie part of the Debts contracted to raise Arms against the King, at the beginning of the Warr, upon the Publique Faith of the Parliament, which had been long neglected; And in order thereunto, they ordered, that the other moiety of the money to be raised by the sale of the Forrests (except as aforesaid) should be employed towards the payment and satisfaction of those debts. The House imagined that these their proceedings, would so far satisfie the Generality of the Officers of the Army, as to divert them from the delivery of their Petition, and many of the most active members in credit with the leading men did what they could to hinder it, but could not prevail. And upon the 5th of October, Colonel Desborough, with many others, came to the door of the Parliament, and sent the Sergeant to inform the Speaker, that he, with some others of the Officers of the Army, attended with something to be presented to them, whereupon he was call'd in with those in his Company, and in the name of the rest, spoke these following words.

"I Am Ordered by the Generall Councell of the Army, with the rest of these Gentlemen, to wait upon you, to present unto you their Humble Representation and Petition; and they humbly desire you would accept it, as that which proceeds from the Hearts of those who desire nothing more than that the Lord would strengthen your hearts, in carrying on that good Work of settling these Nations upon the Foundation of a free Commonwealth, whereby the Religious and Civill Liberty of the good People thereof may be preserved and secur'd."

Having said this, he and those with him withdrew, and the Petition being deliver'd by the Sergeant at Arms attending, into the Speakers hands, was by his direction read. The Title was,

*The Humble Representation and Petition of the Officers of the Army, To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.*

The substance of the Army's humble Representation, and Petition.

In the Preamble they set forth, That having had by their Order some late Votes of Parliament Communicated unto them by Lieutenants Generall Fleetwood their Commander in Chief, occasioned by a Debate in Parliament upon the Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedition; They have inquired diligently into their hearts and wages with reference thereunto, and finding nothing amongst them but Faithfulness and Integrity to the Parliament and Commonwealth, They are sensible that there have not wanted some Persons who have endeavoured to beget mis-understanding betwixt the Parliament and the Army, and to that end have represented their Actions and Intentions so, as it is taken for granted, that there hath been irregularity amongst them, at which they fear they have taken offence; Whereas if there had not been an antipathion, they are perswaded it would have appeared to all unprejudiced spirits, that neither they (who for the generality of them were ignorant (for to they pretended) of that whereat the offence was taken) nor their faithful Brethren of the Northern Brigade who signed the said Petition and Proposals, did design or intend any thing tending to the Interruption of the Parliament, the prejudice of the Peace of the Commonwealth, or any other by or sinister respect not becoming the Trust reposed in them. Wherefore being sensible of the Evill: that persons abroad may make from the least apprehensions of difference betwixt the Parliament and the Army; and that they may as much as in them lies, remove all occasions of surmise, Justifie their own

own Innocency before them, and frustrate the expectations of any, who by blowing up the Coals of dissention, hope to warm themselves thereby; They have thought it their Duty to present their naked Thoughts to them, hoping they will find so much of Integrity and approved Faithfulness in them, for the welfare of the Commonwealth, as may continue a firm confidence of them, and engage their Zeal against all such as shall go about to reproach their Faithful Army, or any member thereof for the future, especially considering that the peace of these Nations depends much upon a Cordiall and affectionate Union of the Parliament and Army, and an uninterrupted good understanding of each other.

It could not rationally be believed, that these men could think this their manner of Proceeding suitable to the temper of Subjects to their Superiours, or that it could tend to any thing but that which they seem'd to avoid; namely, a Breach betwixt their Parliament and them: But a clearer manifestation of this, was apparent in their Proposals annexed to this Preamble, utter'd in with Four bold declaratory Assertions; of all which we shall insert the words themselves as they were presented. Where they say,

*We do humbly and plainly declare,*

1. That notwithstanding what any persons may suggest or say to the contrary, *We are not for, but against the setting up of any Single Person whatsoever in Supreme Authority: The Army's Proposals.* And for a demonstration hereof, *We may appeal to your own Judgments, upon our late Actions, wherein since our Declaration of the Sixth of May last, We have with all Industry and faithfulness endeavoured to render our selves serviceable to you and the Commonwealth, and have cheerfully observed your Commands, some of us with our Lives in our hands in your late Service, wherein to our great encouragement the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the Good Old Cause for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this Parliament to the discharge of their remaining Trust, we did with simplicity and plainness, in our Humble Petition and Address presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Desires, and that with much unanimity and fullness of consent; which we apprehended was well accepted by you.*

2. That we have not since changed our Principles, leading to a well regulated Commonwealth, wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civill may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety, and Ability employed in Places of Trust and Concernment; but resolve by the Assistance of God to remain constant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, That he would incline your hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Government, whereby all the good People of these Nations may rationally expect that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved to them and their Posterities. And we can truly say, That it is in our hearts earnestly to desire, that God would Crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy by such a Settlement, as may not be liable at every Change of Governours to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introducing new Governments.

3. Whereas a Petition and Proposals were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade that (under the Command of Major General Lambert) hazarded themselves in your Service with good success, whereby through the blessing of God upon them and others of your faithful Friends and Servants, the Peace of this Commonwealth is still continued: And the said Petition was sent up to some Officers here, to be presented to the Lord Fleetwood; which hath been by some interpreted to evil and sinister Ends, and from thence suggestions derived, as if there were Intentions to violate the Parliament, to set up a Single Person, or another Generall: In order thereunto, *We do sincerely profess, (whatever the design of any persons may be to promote such Causeless Jealousies) We have had no other than Faithfulness and Candor in our Hearts and Actions towards the Parliament; nor do we apprehend (with submission we may speak it) any reason or cause of offence to be conceived against your Faithfull Servants, who lately gave so ample proof of their Fidelity and Courage.*

4. We cannot but esteem our selves unhappy, to have been so misrepresented to the Parliament, as should occasion such a publique Admonition upon Record; And considering what Evil use may be made of these things by a Publique Enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote jealousies, or by mis-information to beget Divisions betwixt the Parliament and their Faithful Servants the Army: And that a good understanding may be preserved between them, *We humbly Pray,*

1. That the Officers of the Army, and particularly those who have reason to bear the marks

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marks of Your Favour for their Faithfulness in the late Northern Expedition, may A stand right in Your Opinion, and have your Countenance.

2. That whatsoever person or persons shall for the future groundlessly and Causelessly inform the House against your Servants, thereby creating Jealousies, and casting scandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Justice, and Condign Punishment.

3. That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty in a peaceable and submissive way, to Petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by Your selves Asserted, allowed and approved of; we cannot but also assert the said Liberty, and humbly conceive, that your Faithfull Servants of the Army have no way forfeited their Rights as Freemen, and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to submit B their humble Desires to the Parliament.

4. That You would be pleased to take into Your serious Consideration, the necessitous Condition of the poor Souldiers of Your Armies, and that all possible care may be taken for their timely supply, their wants being such as earnestly call for it: And that some speedy and effectual Course may be taken to provide for the Maimed Souldiers, and the Poor widows and Orphans, of such as have been slain in Your Service, that the Blessing of God may be upon You.

5. That such who have freely offered themselves in the severall Counties and Cities of C these Nations, to own and stand by You and your Cause in the late Insurrections, with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have Your Encouragement, and be Employed in Places of Trust and Command.

6. That it being a thing granted by all, that without due execution of Martial Discipline, the Peace, Union, and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved; The Discipline of the Army may be preserved inviolable, and in particular, That no Officer or Souldier of the Army may be cashier'd or Dismiss'd from their Places without a due proceeding at a Court-Martiall, or by his own Consent, except in cases of Reducement or D Disbanding.

7. That it being judged necessary by the Parliament, for the keeping of the Army under such a Conduct as may render the same Serviceable to the Commonwealth, to appoint a Committee of Nominations for the proposing of Officers to the Parliament for their Approbation; we humbly pray, That no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said Committee, and be by them presented.

8. The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this Commonwealth, and his Commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few months, we humbly pray, That the Consideration of that matter may come before you, and some such effectual course taken therein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confusion.

9. And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and against all discouragements whatsoever, proceed in the carrying on of that good work intrusted in your hands, for the Glory of God, and advantage of these Nations. In the prosecution whereof, through the help of our God, we shall be found (notwithstanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithfull to You and this Commonwealth.

The Insolency of these Proposals, gave our present Senators reason to suspect their Authority to be of no long continuance; but in regard many Officers of the Army dissented from the Representing and Proposing Party, they imagined the rest would not be very hasty to make a Rupture: Therefore they resolved to assert their Power at any hazard, in order whereunto, they had many sharp Debates about this Representation and Petition; but in the end they concluded with moderation, and directed their Speaker to call the Petitioners into the House, and acquaint them, That the Parliament had read their Representation and Petitions, and taking notice of the good Expressions therein of their Affections and Faithfulness to this Parliament and Commonwealth, had Commanded him to give them the Thanks of their House for them; and to let them know, That they had already taken into consideration the Relief of the Poor Widows, Orphans, and maimed Souldiers, to whom Pensions had been formerly allowed; and had also settled a way for satisfaction of the Arrears due to the Officers and Souldiers, and would endeavour to bring the same to speedy effect.

Desbrow gives an Account of this Answer to a Generall Cuncell of Officers who assembled that Afternoon on purpose. It was not unknown to them, That the House received their Address, and that in such a degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Constitution of the Army. To

The Junta dissemble at first their dislike at these Proceedings of the Army.

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The Council of Officers labour to get Subscriptions to their Representation.

A Letter from a Committee of the Council of Officers, to Generall Monk, concerning the Army's Representation.

A To provide against this, they thought fit to strengthen their Party, by getting more Subscriptions to their Representation and Petition, and immediately they agreed upon the form of a Letter to be sent to Ireland, and another to Scotland, and to every Regiment in England: for the Signing and dispersing of which, they nominated from among themselves a select Number in the nature of a Committee. That to Generall Monk, was in these words:

Right Honourable,

WE do by Command from the Generall Council of the Officers of the Army now in London, transmit the inclosed to you, being a true Copy of the Representation and Petition which was this day by them humbly presented to the Parliament; and the Votes of the House passed thereupon: And are further to signify as their Desire, that the same may be Communicated to all the Commission Officers of that part of the Army under your Command, and the Subscriptions of all taken to the Representation and Petition, that are free to Sign the same; Which being so sign'd, It is desired you will be pleas'd to cause them to be close sealed up, and returned to Thomas Sandford Esquire, Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood, who is to give an Account thereof. As we have thus fulfilled the General Councils Pleasure, we are well assured you will be pleas'd to comply with their Request; which is all at present from

Your humble Servants,

J. Lambert, Richard Creed, John Desbrow,  
John Mason, William Packer.

The Generall had intimation of this Letter from Charges before it came to his hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that passed upon the delivery of the Representation; which made him resolve to admit of no Subscriptions in Scotland. And when the Letter came to his hands, He returned in Answer to it; That he thought it unfit to have any Subscriptions made to that, to which now the Parliament had given an Answer, lest it should be understood to make a Party against them. And in pursuance of this Resolution, he sent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbid them to Subscribe.

The Substance of G. U. Monk's Answer.

The House a little before this Agitation, had begun to Court the Generall very much, as thinking it a matter of no small importance, to gain him wholly to them. And he having sent a Letter to them, (which they received Two dayes after the delivery of the Representation of the Army) to acquaint them with the peaceable condition of Scotland in obedience to their Government, where-in he moved something in favour of some of his Officers, and commended the temper of his Army: They returned him Answer the same dayes with this: Think of the House, and let him know, The high esteem they had of the Services which with so much Valour, Prudence, and Faithfulness he had performed; and that they had granted the desire of his Letters, with assurance to him and his Officers and Souldiers under his Command, of returns of Favour from the Parliament answerable to their merit.

He is Court'd by the Parliament Party.

And Complimented by Letters, with gratulatory expressions for his good Services.

Upon the Tenth of the said Moneth, they took the Proposals in the Armies Representation into Debate:

To the First, they Answer,

That the Officers of the Army have received, and shall from time to time receive marks of the Favour of the Parliament, and countenance answerable to their Merit and Faithfulness.

The House takes into Debate, and answers, one by one, the Army's Proposals.

To the Second they Answer,

That it is the Duty of all Persons, especially the Members of Parliament, to inform the House of any thing, which in their apprehension may concern the Publique Safety; And it is the undoubted Right of the Parliament to receive, and Debate those Informations, and to Resolve what they think fit thereupon.

To the Third they Declare,

That every Member of the Army, as Freemen of England, have right of Petitioning the Parliament: but withall, thinks fit to let them know, That the Petitioners ought to be very careful, both in the manner, and in the matter which they desire; That the way of promoting and presenting the same may be

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" be peaceable; and the things Petitioned for, not tending to the disturbance of A  
 " the Commonwealth, nor to the dishonour of the Parliament: And that it is  
 " the Duty of Petitioners to submit their Desires to the Parliament, and to acquiesce in the Judgment thereof.

In Answer to the Fourth Propofall,

" They Order Two Months Pay to be forthwith paid to the Officers and  
 " Souldiers of the Army in England, out of the Six Months Assesment of Five  
 " and thirty thousand pounds a month now due; And that the Council of  
 " State do give Order, that the same be paid accordingly; And that Two  
 " Months Pay be also isstued to the Officers and Souldiers in Scotland and Ire-  
 " land. To that part of the Propofal, To provide for the Maimed Souldiers, and  
 " the poor Widows and Orphans of such as had been slain in their Service,  
 " They refer the former Votes made in their behalfs.

To the Fifth Propofal they Answer,

" That such Persons as have been Faithful and Active for the Parliament in  
 " the late Insurrection, the Parliament will take care to give them all due encour-  
 " agement as occasion shall be offer'd.

This Resolute Procedure of the Members at Westminster, fill'd the Army with strange Rumours: And they in the mean time to provide against all Accidents, consulted, If any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as destitute as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such actions. And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, They for a time defer'd their further consideration on the Proposals of the Representation, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of Parliament; Wherein they Enact,

That all Orders, Ordinances and Acts, made by any Single Person and his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the Nineteenth day of April, 1653. and before the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 1659. and which have not been or should not be Enacted, Allowed and Confirmed by this present Parliament, should be declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force or effect from and after the said Seventh day of May, 1659. And that no Person or Persons shall after the 11<sup>th</sup> day of October, 1659. Assess, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Customs, Impost, Excise, Assessment, Contribution, Tax, Tollage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other Imposition whatsoever, of this Commonwealth, without their Consent in Parliament, or as by Law might have been done before the Third of November, 1640. And that every person offending contrary to this Act, should be adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and forfeit and suffer as in case of Treason.

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a Letter which had bin communicated to them, under the hands of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbet, Parker, Barrow, and Creed, directed to Colonel Okey. It was much to the same Purport, with that sent to General Monk before-mentioned, and in the same Form: This Letter was by accident delivered to Okey; for there being many Letters signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be dispos'd of by Fleetwood's Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to Okey; who, as soon as he had it, shew'd it to Sir Arthur Haslerigg, and he to the House; who look't upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but reliev'd the Consideration of it till the next Morning, which was the 12<sup>th</sup> of October.

That Night M. Nicholas Monk arrived (after not above four Dayes Journey) from Scotland, and had Orders from the General, to tell Charles, That he was resolv'd, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it; and if required thereunto, march into England in their Defence.

Charles, early the next Morning, communicated this to Walton, Haslerigg, and Seor, who were so much encouraged by it. That at the first sitting of the House, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they Ordered, That the Commissions of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbet, Parker, and Barrow, who subscribed the said Letter should be void.

They had it in Motion, to Declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delay'd that till the next day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them: And before they parted, they made an Act, appointing

An Act of the Remnant against raising of Money without Consent of Parliament.

A Letter to Okey, the Chief of the Insurrey putting forth of this Act.

Mr. Monk arrives from Scotland, with private Orders from the General to Charles.

The Commissions of Lambert, Desborow, and others, voted void.

A appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repeal'd and made void the ACT, Constituting Charles Fleetwood Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised and to be raised by Authority of Parliament, within England and Scotland, and all Power and Authority thereby given; And that all the Armies for the future, should be governed by Commissioners, in the place and stead of a Lieutenant-General. These Commissioners were, Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haslerigg, Morley, Walton, and Overton, who were empowered, to execute all and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11<sup>th</sup> of October, 1659. to the 22<sup>nd</sup> of February, 1659, &c.

They likewise Ordered the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for Discharge of the said Officer's Commissions, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because Lambert was the most considerable Person, and the next Officers to him were Men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately Ordered Camfield his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that Skepper the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Bradshaw to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these, lately Constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the Speakers Chamber at Westminster, and Ordered Colonel Morley's and Colonel Moser's Regiments, as a Guard to the Parliament, who possessed themselves of the Palace-Yard, and the Great Hall: Lambert, on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that Rate, as they were begun against him, thought best to play his Game, while it was in his Power to prevent; and to that end, drew some Regiments together, who march'd to Kings-Street, and possid themselves of all Avenues to the Parliament.

In the Morning, the Speaker came with his Coach towards the House; but at the Entry into the Palace-Yard, he was stop'd by Lieutenant-Colonel Duckfield; and after a little Expotulation, was forc'd to return. The Souldiers on both sides kept their Station till towards the Evening, in a Posture of Hostility, ready to have fir'd one against the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for the Onset; so that it was verily thought the Business would have come to a sharp Conflict between them: but they were better advis'd, inasmuch, that the Council of State meeting at White-Hall, and ordering all of them to draw off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed thereunto, and march'd away that Night: However, Lambert's Party obtain'd their Desire forasmuch as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future,

Fleetwood took care always to keep good Guards at the Door of the Parliament-House, to prevent them from Meeting. The next Day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met at White-Hall, and chose Ten Persons as a Council, for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the Commonwealth, till further Order. These were Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Desbrow, Sir James Harrington, Major Salway, Berry, Sydenham, and Archibald Johnston a Scotch-man, commonly call'd the Laird of Warreston; And at Wallingford-House, the same day, the General Council of Officers, greed, That Fleetwood should be Commander in Chief over all the Armies; That Lambert should be the next chief Officer under him; and Desbrow Commissary General of the Horse; and that all the Officers, to be continu'd in the Army, should be nominated by Sir Henry Vane, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desbrow, Ludlow, and Berry; but in especial manner they took care for

the preparing of Articles of Warre, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necessary for their Consistence. In this they were very industrious; and in all the times since the first modelling of their Armies, their Discipline was so exact, that the Carriage of their Souldiery was very tolerable to the People, and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Government, less obnoxious to Vulgar Censure: Some mentioned General Monk to be considered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not harkned to; and those that oppos'd it, assur'd the rest, That he had little power over the Officers of his Army; and if he disagreed to their Councils, he might be easily plac'd: They had not yet receiv'd his Resolution concerning the Subscriptions, about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their Representation and Petition, and therefore were ignorant of his Dissent from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Concurrency, they dispatch'd Colonel Cobbet to him, with a large Narrative of the Reasons of their Proceedings.

The Lord Mordaunt, and some others of the Kings Friends, lying at Callais, immediately upon the News of these Disorders in England, dispatch'd Mr. Nicholas Armorer to his Majesty, who was then at Fontarabie, industriously solliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large Promises from the Spaniards; and for the defraying the Expences of his Journey, he receiv'd from Don Lewis de Haro, a Present of Twenty Thousand Crowns: His Majesty had once a Purpose to have gone directly to Madrid; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. Armorer, in hopes that something might fall out in England to his Advantage, he chose to return to Brussels. The Earl of St. Albans coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Dissolution of the Treaty, met his Majesty at Bayon, in his Return from Fontarabie; Cardinal Mazarini being before departed from St. John de Luz, not having receiv'd any Visit from his Majesty before his Departure.

The Earl of St. Albans conferr'd much with his Majesty, whilst he staid with him, which was not long, and then he went to Paris, whither the King follow'd him incognito, by easie Journeys; and after some stay there, went back from thence to Brussels.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meetings at White-Hall, and a Junctio of the wisest of them were in deep Consultation, how to make such a Frame of Government, as should be durable and

1569.

An ACT appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army, and removing from the chief Command thereof.

Lambert removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced.

Col. Morley and his order'd with their Regiments to Guard the House.

Lambert, with the Reg. that adhere, stops the Passages to the Parl. House.

The Speaker forc'd to return Lambert & his Party dissolve the Remnant.

Parly by hindring the Members from coming into the House.

A Council of Ten Army-Officers appointed, to be Managers of the State-Affairs, pro tempore.

The prevailing Party of the Army no great Favourers of Gen. Monk.

Mr. Armorer sent by the L. Mordaunt to the King at Fontarabie to inform him how matters went in England.

The K. returns from Fontarabie toward Brussels, meeting the Earl of St. Albans by the way.

1659

The Council of Officers consult about a Frame of Government. A certain number of Persons call'd to take upon them the Government, under the Title of a Committee of Safety.

Their Instructions.

and lasting, against all Attempts whatsoever. They found most of the Gentry in England to be a some way or other involved in the late Endeavours for the King, and were advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and divide them amongst their own Party, whereby the Riches of the Nation, the most powerful of all Interests, would be absolutely chang'd into the Hands of Persons irreconcilable to Monarchy. This was such Advice, as if it had succeeded, might have prov'd fatal, and laid a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been subverted.

The General Council, on the 26 of this Month, nominated 23 Persons, to be intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom they call'd a Committee of Safety; And the next Day they invited them to sit, and gave them Powers and Instructions; of which, the chief were,

1. To Execute all the Powers of the late Council of State, together with Authority to call all Delinquents to Account, that were in the late Insurrection, and to proceed to a bringing them to Justice, and to give Indemnity to all Persons that had acted for the Service of the Common-Wealth, since the Year, 1649.
2. To oppose and suppress all Rebellions and Insurrections.
3. To treat with Foreign States and Princes.
4. To raise the Militia in the several Counties.
5. To dispose of all Places of Trust that are void, and to remove such as are Scandalous.
6. To make Sale and Compositions for all Delinquents Estates.

Their Names.

The Names of these Governours were, Bulstrode Whitlock, lately made Keeper of their Great Seal, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborow, Steel Chancellour of Ireland, Sir Henry Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salway, Walter Strickland, Berry, Lawrence, Sir James Harrington, the Laird of Warfflen, Alderman Irons, Tichborn, Hewson, Clark, Bennett, Colonel Lilburn, Cornelius Holland, Henry Brandriff, and Robert Thompson.

They likewise publish'd a Declaration, in the Close whereof they Declare, That

The Substance of their Declaration.

They think themselves obliged, for preventing the manifold Evils and Inconveniences, which must necessarily fall upon the other Good People of the Nation, as well as themselves, by reason of the several Orders, Acts, pretended Acts, or other Declaration, or any of them, Enacted, made, or past on Monday the 10th of this instant October, and on Tuesday and Wednesday then next following, to declare them, and every of them null and void, to all intents and purposes: And likewise all Acts, Orders, and Proceedings thereupon had or done, in as full and ample manner, as if the said Orders, Acts, pretended Acts, or Declarations, and every of them, had never been: All which they publish and declare, that all persons concerned may take notice thereof, and no person whatsoever suffer any further prejudice thereby, hoping that all peaceable, well-minded, and unprejudiced persons will acquiesce in the Necessity and Justice thereof.

They further Declare to the World, that it is upon their Hearts, and they earnestly desire, and shall endeavour, that a due Liberty may be assured to all the Free-born People of these Nations, both as Men and Christians; That a full and through Reformation of the Law may be effected; as also, that a faithful, godly, and painful Gospel-Preaching-Ministry may be encouraged and provided for, by some certain way that may be less troublesome to them, and less vexatious to the People, than that of Tythes. And further, that they have no Aim or Ends to set up a Military or Arbitrary Government over the Common-Wealth: But have already provided, That the Civil and Executive part of Government, shall be lodg'd in a Committee of Safety; and they oblig'd in a short time, to prepare such a Form of Government, as may best suit and comport with a Free-State and Common-Wealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers; And that they shall, to the utmost of their Endeavours, labour to obtain those desirable things so often declar'd for; and to maintain and preserve the Peace of these Nations, in their several Stations and Places, and shall hope, That God for his own Glory, and the good of his own People, will give a blessed end of these Troubles, by a happy Settlement upon the Principles formerly declared for; and which have been, and still are, so earnestly breath'd after, by all those that truly fear his Name.

And then to Cajole the Godly Party (as they called them) they proceed to tell them;

They doubt not, but such being truly sensible of the many Temptations besetting them on every Hand, the great Difficulties they laboured under (and know not what further

Streights,

A Streights a Day may bring forth) will say on their Behalfs; Who are sufficient for these Things? And out of former Experiences being taught, That the Lord is a present help in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them before the Throne of Grace; That the LORD himself may appear, and carry on his own work in their Hands: And if it shall please him by his Spirit, to stir up those that fear his Name to be instant on their Behalf, they shall not fear what Evil Man can do unto them.

These unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these Insinuations, to silence all Gainers, and to make the People believe, they could frame any Government, and yet be oblig'd to submit to it. Their Confidence was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Constitutions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Actings: yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded hope, in regard Vane, Whitlock, and Salway, and some others of the most prudent of their Party, assisted in their Councils.

Whitlock, indeed, was much Censur'd for his Conjunction with them; but some wise men that mark'd his Demour, and the Moderation he us'd, did believe, that if he had not in a great measure restrain'd the Exorbitancy of their Intentions, they had in the short time of their Tyranny, done much mischief to many of the King's Friends.

That which put the greatest Check to their Career, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good Men, was the Arrival of Letters from General Monk in Scotland, to Fleetwood and Lambert, which came to them the 28 of October in the Evening. He complain'd therein, Of their Violation of Faith to the Parliament; and declar'd his Resolution, to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.

Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborow, immediately met at White-Hall in much Confusion; and about Twelve at Night they sent Major Haynes, to desire Clarges to come to them; who when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the Generals Proceedings (to which he made very wily Answers) They desired him to go into Scotland with Colonel Talbot (whose Regiment was then at Edinburgh) to prevail with Monk for a Treaty of Mediation, to prevent the effusion of Blood. They said, they chose Talbot to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

Clarges was very glad of this Opportunity to get away, (for he fear'd to be much worse Treat-ed) and they were to pressing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his Journey.

In the mean time, Monk in Scotland had by an Express from Clarges, which came to him the 17th of October, received exact Information of the Interruption of the Parliament; and at several times before, he had Notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no less, and therefore gave him time to prepare for what hapned.

He had in Scotland at this time Ten Regiments of Foot compleat, each consisting of a Thousand Soldiers, besides Officers; except four Companies which had been drawn into England a little before upon the Alarm of Sir George Booth's Rising; his Numbers of Horse were but small, having had two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same occasion: so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, viz. his own, and Colonel Philip Twissleton's, and one Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by Major General Morgan: The Foot were dispersed at great distances, Eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at Edinburgh, and two of them at Dalkeith, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel Talbot's Regiment was quarter'd in Edinburgh, Nine Companies of Colonel Wilks's Regiment were in the Citadel at Leith, and one of them in the Castle at Edinburgh; Nine Companies of Colonel Read's Regiment were at Sterling, and the Tents in England; Eight Companies of Colonel Burton's Regiment at Dundee, and two of them in England; Colonel Daniel's Regiment lay at St. Johnstone's, Colonel Savies Regiment at Aire, Colonel Cobbet's at Glasgow; Nine Companies of Colonel Fairfax's Regiment at Aberdeen, and the other in England; and part of Colonel Smith's Regiment at Inverness; and the rest of the Garrisons in the Highlands: The Horse and Dragoons lay in several place near the Foot-Quarters; but at such distances, as might not incommode the Country.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilst they sat at White-Hall, had much chang'd the Officers in all the Regiments, both of Horse and Foot, which rais'd great Discontents amongst them: They had given Colonel Daniel's Regiment to Perfon, his Lieutenant-Colonel, an Anabaptist; They had also displaced Habbeshorn, who was Major to Colonel Talbot's Regiment; Hughes, who was Major to Wilks, they had reduc'd to be but Captain, and prefer'd one Knowles an Anabaptist to his Command; Johnson, the Eldest Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, and many more (too long to mention) in all the Regiments; few or none of those New Officers chosen at White-Hall, to supply the Places of those removed, were yet come into Scotland: So that General Monk, taking this Opportunity, to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them who had been thus disoblig'd before, thereby intirely depend on him.

Having resolv'd to stand upon his Guard, and Declare against the Army in England, the first thing he did, was to Consult, which way best to secure these Regiments, and the several Garrisons, with

1659.

The Exorbitancy of their Actions somewhat restrain'd by the mixture of some moderate men among them;

The Substance of Gen. Monk's Letters to Fleetwood and Lambert.

Clarges dispatch'd away into Scotland by the Grandees of the Army, together with Col. Talbot, to solicit Monk to a Treaty. Monk well into to m'd of all Pillages in En land.

What Forces he had, and how dispersed?

Monk keeps in those Officers, whom the Commissioners had displaced.

1659

And removes  
thoſe who  
he himſelf  
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with le ft hazard ; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution, than Council, he made very little Hæsitati on in what he intended to æd : He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which during his Absence in the Dutch War had been so transform'd, that most of the Officers were become Anabaptists ) and the Three Regiments in Glasgow, Ayre, and St. Johnstons.

The first Minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at *Westminster*, which was on the before-mentioned 17th Day of *October*, he sent Captain *Jeremy Smith* of his own Regiment of Horse, to *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, to signify his Pleasure to Major *Hubbleborn*, Major *Hughes*, and Captain *Johnson*, to have them come to him to *Dalkeith*: The first was Major to *Talbot's* Regiment of Foot; the other, to that of *Wilkes*, Quarter'd at *Leith*; and *Johnson* Commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horse.

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There came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain Morgan of his own Regiment of Foot, and Miller of Wilkes his Regiment, who had the Guards of Dulwich House: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Generals Regiment, were both Anabaptists, and at that time absent; Lieutenant-Colonel Cloberry of Read's Regiment, was by chance there, and was advised with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Resolution to march into England with a part of his Army, to re-establish the Parliament; To which they all freely consented: Hubbardhorn gave him perfect Assurance of all Talbot's Regiment, of which he had now the Command; because the Colonel, and Pommel the Lieutenant-Colonel, were both in England: And indeed much must be attributed to the Courage and Diligence of that Gentleman, whose Regiment was by him entirely, both Officers and Souldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quarter'd at Edinburgh, gave a great Reputation to he whole Undertaking: For although some in all the Regiments, and many in most, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the General's Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apt to follow in any Design (as most naturally are) than to begin the Action: Captain Johnson had been by the Noninators at London removed from his Troop, but was now by the General restored to it; and as he was eldest Captain of the Regiment, by the absence of Major Knight, he had the Command under the General, of all his Regiment of Horse, and was well-belov'd by them: Major Hughes gave him hopes of making all Colonel Wilkes his Regiment at his Service: Hubbardhorn (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was Order'd to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at Edinburgh, and to let all the Musketeers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; And Johnson was Commanded to be ready in Edinburgh at the same time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain Symmel's, an honest stout Officer: Hughes was appointed, in the absence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were sent for the next Morning to confer with the General, to secure the Citadel at Leith: He had upon some kind of Expectation of Change, kept Captain Witter (of the Regiment lying at St. Johnstons) and Captain Robson (of the Regiment at Aire) both at Edinburgh, and had sent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, One to secure the Citadel at St. Johnstons, and the other at Aire; which were very difficult Service to perform, in regard that most of the Officers in those Regiments, were very ill-dispos'd towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the sending an Express to Major Knight, who was then in York-shire at his own House, to hasten him to his Command.

The General  
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The next day after dinner the General marched to *Edenborough*, with onely Captain *Smiths*. Troop of Horse, having before dispatched away *Witter* and *Robson*. *Morgan* had been sent before to *Edenburgh*, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither March, Powder nor Ball: As soon as he came into the High-street, and found the Regiments in that order he expected, He retired a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and sent for *Morgan* to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant Colonel, Captain *Nicholas* he promoted to be Major, and at the same instant displaced all whom he knew to be disaffected to him, and such of them as were dangerous, he imprisoned: which done, he march't with both the Regiments to the *Gray Friers Church*, where he call'd together the Officers, and told them, That the Army in England had broken up the Parliament out of a restless unconventurable disposition of being pleas'd with nothing that tended to the welfare and happiness of the People, that though they had lately taken shame to themselves, (in their publick Declaration) for their former Apostacies, yet now finding the Parliament unsat to honour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them: He said he was resolved to make the Military Power subservient to the Civil, and that since they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to serve and obey them against all opposition; which should be his practice, and he expected their Concurrence and Assistance to joyn with him. But if any were dissatisfied, and would declare it to him, they should have free liberty, without Reflection to leave the Service, and have passages to go home.

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his Officer

Captain J  
for secure

Upon this, Colonel *Wilkes* and his Lieutenant Colonel, with all that were present, unanimously declar'd to live and die with him ; Captain *Johnson* was then dispatch'd to *Barnick*, to secure that Garrison, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Mayers* ; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great advantage to *Monck's* Designs ; Captain *Hart*, and Captain *Dennis*, two well approved Officers of Colonel *Cobbets* Regiment, being both at *Estim* brenels,

A *burgh* when these transactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at *Glasgow*, and to march with it to *Edinburgh*, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head-Quarters, and privately consulted with such of the Regiment as they were confident of before they publicly discovered their Orders: Lieutenant Colonel *Young*, who was there in chief in the absence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppose it; but he being presently secured, *Hatt* and *Dennis* perform'd their instructions, and immediately march'd the Regiment to the General.

Captain *Witter*, as soon as he came to *St. Johnstown*, drew up two Companies, whom he most Cap. *Witter* confided in, upon the Sands before the Citadell, and propoied to them what he had in charge takes possi- from the Generall; whereupon they all shoud in consent to it, at the noyfe whereof, the Sould- fiers coming in confusion out of the Citadell, he march'd with the foresaid Companies into it, and the Gen- rals possession thereof; He made Lieutenant Colonel *Keine*, and Major *Kelke* Prisoners; the Cit- adell of *St. Johnstown*. The first whereof, was afterwards upon his consent to joyn with the Generall, releasd from his Impri- sonment, but *Kelke* was still detained. Of this Regiment at *St. Johnstown*, *Witter*, for his hand- some performance of this undertaking, is by the Generall advanc'd to be Major. And is made Major of the Regiment.

*Robson* at *Ayr* was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders, he dealt to with the Officers, that most of them, except the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, agreed to comply with the General all. The Lieutenant Colonel privately got away to *Carlisle* and secured that Garrison for the Army in *England*; The Colonel temporized a while, but finding his Arts successful, and thereupon flying away into *England*, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to *Robson*, for his good Service, and sent into *England* for Colonel *Daniel*, who had been a little before displaced, and *Pierfon* his Lieutenant Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment, and it is made Command of Colonel thereof.

The settlement of these two Regiments gave much encouragement to the Generall, in reference to the carrying on of his Design; and the rather, in regard he himself had lookt upon it as none of the easiest works to compass.

He made no alteration at first in those Companies which belong'd to Colonel *Overson* at *Dundee*, because he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the *Garrison* at *Hull*, then under his Command, and in regard they were on that side of the River *Tay*, they could not have done much if they had opposed. He sent to Colonel *Fairfax* who quarrelled with his *Principles*

D at *Aberdeen*, to ha'th with it to *Edinburgh*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Clobergh* was sent to *Read*, his  
 Colonel at *Sterling*, to appoint him to march to the Generall with all his men, except two Com-  
 panies, which were to be left for the safety of the Town and Castle. And at the same time, he sent  
 a Commission to *Inverness* to Colonel *Man*, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of *Smith*, *Smith's* Regi-  
 (who adhered to the Army in *England*) and appointed him to send three of his best Companies to *Edinburgh*. He dispa'ch'd also some trusty Officers to the Horse-Troops, and then went himself *ment at Inver-*  
 to *Leith*, to settle the Citadel and Regiment in obedience to him; upon his first coming, he dis- *ness*, given to  
 plac'd *Kneller*, and confin'd him, and restored *Hughes* to be again Major to the Regiment, and the Generall *Colonel Man*.  
 likewise some other *Anabaptist* Officers were put out, and others plac'd in their Rooms; Captain *Cliffow*, who with a Company of this Regiment from *Leith*, had the Command of *Edinburgh* the Citadel,  
 E Castle, upon promise of faithfulness and service to the Generall, was by him continued in his *and Regiment*  
 Command with trust and Confidence. And thus these three Regiments of Foot at *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, were in one Afternoon pretty well settl'd, till more time could be allow'd to refine  
 them.

Upon the 21, he march'd some Companies of Horse and Foot to *Lindisgow*, intending to go thence to *Glasgow*, to settle *Cobbins* Regiment, of which he was in some doubt; but he there receiv'd Intelligence of what was done by *Hutt* and *Dimmis*; and therefore went no further.

And thence to  
Linthgow.]

Col. Cobbe  
detain'd Prison-  
er at Barrwick.

Two Declarations published by the General, in vindication of these proceedings of his.

1659.

And removes  
tho' who  
he himself  
distrusted.

with le hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution, than Council, he made very little Hæitation in what he intended to act: He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which during his Absence in the Dutch War, had been so transform'd, that most of the Officers were become Anabaptists;) and the Three Regiments in Glasgow, Ayr, and St. Johnstons.

The first Minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at Westminster, which was on the before-mentioned 17th Day of October, he sent Captain Jeremy Smith of his own Regiment of Horse, to Edinburgh and Leith, to signify his Pleasure to Major Hubblethorn, Major Hughes, and Captain Johnson, to have them come to him to Dalkeith: The first was Major to Talbot's Regiment of Foot; the other, to that of Wilkes, Quarter'd at Leith; and Johnson Commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horse.

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These came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain Morgan of his own Regiment of Foot, and Miller of Wilkes his Regiment, who had the Guards of Dalkeith House: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Generals Regiment, were both Anabaptists, and at that time absent; Lieutenant-Colonel Cleberry of Read's Regiment, was by chance there, and was advised with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Resolution to march into England with a part of his Army, to re-establish the Parliament; To which they all freely consented: Hubblethorn gave him perfect Assurance of all Talbot's Regiment, of which he had now the Command; because the Colonel, and Powell the Lieutenant-Colonel, were both in England: And indeed much trust be attributed to the Courage and Diligence of that Gentleman, whose Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Souldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quarter'd at Edinburgh, gave a great Reputation to the whole Undertaking: For although in all the Regiments, and many in most, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the General's Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apter to follow in any Design (as most naturally are) than to begin the Action: Captain Johnson had been by the Non-nominators at London removed from his Troop, but was now by the General restored to it; and as he was eldest Captain of the Regiment, by the absence of Major Knight, he had the Command under the General, of all his Regiment of Horse, and was well-belov'd by them: Major Hughes gave him hopes of making all Colonel Wilkes his Regiment at his Service: Hubblethorn (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was Order'd to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at Edinburgh, and to let all the Musketeers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; And Johnson was Commanded to be ready in Edinburgh at the same time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain Symmel's, an honest stout Officer: Hughes was appointed, in the absence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were sent for the next Morning to confer with the General, to secure the Citadel at Leith: He had, upon some kind of Expectation of Change, kept Captain Winter (of the Regiment lying at St. Johnstons) and Captain Robson (of the Regiment at Ayr) both at Edinburgh, and had sent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, One to secure the Citadel at St. Johnstons, and the other at Ayr; which were very difficult Service to perform, in regard that most of the Officers in those Regiments, were very ill-disposed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the sending an Express to Major Knight, who was then in Park-shire at his own House, to hasten him to his Command.

The General  
marches to E-  
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best advan-  
tage.

The next day after dinner the General marched to Edinburgh, with onely Captain Smiths Troop of Horse, having before dispatched away Winter and Robson. Morgan had been sent before to Edinburgh, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither March, Powder, nor Bill: As soon as he came into the High-Street, and found the Regiments in that order he expected, He retir'd a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and sent for Morgan to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain Nicholas he promoted to be Major, and at the same instant plac'd all whom he knew to be disaffected to him, and such of them as were dangerous, he imprison'd: which done, he march'd with both the Regiments to the Gray Friars Church, where he call'd together the Officers, and told them, That the Army in England had broken up the Parliament out of a restless uncontrollable disposition of being pleas'd with nothing that tended to the welfare and happiness of the People, that though they had lately taken shame to themselves, (in their publick Declaration) for their former Apostacies, yet now, finding the Parliament unfit to honour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them: He said he was resolv'd to make the Military Power subservient to the Civil, and that since they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to serve and obey them against all opposition; which should be his practice, and he expected their Concurrence and Assistance to joyn with him. But if any were dissatisfied, and would declare it to him, they should have free liberty, without Reflection to leave the Service, and have passages to go home.

Captain John-  
son seizes  
Barnwick.  
Capt. Hatt and  
Dennis, bring  
off Col. Cobberts  
Regiment to  
the General.

Upon this, Colonel Wilkes and his Lieutenant Colonel, with all that were present, unanimously declar'd to live and die with him: Captain Johnson was then dispatch'd to Barnwick, to secure that Garrison, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Mayers; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great advantage to Moncks Designs; Captain Hatt, and Captain Dennis, two well approved Officers of Colonel Cobberts Regiment, being both at Edin-  
burgh,

1659.

A burgh when these transactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then Quartered at Glasgow, and to march with it to Edinburgh, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head-Quarters, and privately consulted with such of the Regiment as they were confident of before they publicly discovered their Orders: Lieutenant Colonel Young, who was there in chief in the absence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppose it; but he being presently secured, Hatt and Dennis perform'd their instructions, and immediately march'd the Regiment to the General.

Captain Winter, as soon as he came to St. Johnstons, drew up two Companies, whom he most confided in, upon the Sands before the Cittadell, and propos'd to them what he had in charge, takes possession from the General; whereupon they all shouted in consent to it, at the noise whereof, the Souldiers coming in confusion out of the Cittadell, he march'd with the foresaid Companies into it, and took possession thereof; He made Lieutenant Colonel Keine, and Major Kelke Prisoners; the first whereof, was afterwards upon his consent to joyn with the General, released from his Imprisonment, but Kelke was still detained. Of this Regiment at St. Johnstons, Winter, for his handsome performance of this undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

Robson at Ayr was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders, he dealt so with the Officers, that most of them, except the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant Colonel privately got away to Carlisle, and secur'd that Garrison for the Army in England; The Colonel temporiz'd a while, but finding his Arts successful, and thereupon flying away into England, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to Robson, for his good Service, and sent into England for Colonel Daniel, who had been a little before displac'd, Colonel of the (and Pierfon his Lieutenant Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment) to take again his Regiment, Command of Colonel thereof.

The settlement of these two Regiments gave much encouragement to the General, in reference to the carrying on of his Design; and the rather, in regard he himself had look't upon it as none of the eafie works to compass.

He made no alteration at first in those Companies which belong'd to Colonel Overton at Dundee, because he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the Garrison at Hull, then under his Command, and in regard they were on that side of the River Tay, they could not have done much if they had oppos'd. He sent to Colonel Fairfax, who Quartered with his Regiment at Aberdeen, to hast with it to Edinburgh, and Lieutenant Colonel Cleberry was sent to Read, his Colonel at Sterling, to appoint him to march to the General with all his men, except two Companies, which were to be left for the safety of the Town and Castle. And at the same time, he sent a Commission to Innermost to Colonel Man, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of Smith, Smith's Regiment at Edinburgh. He dispatch'd also some trusty Officers to the Horse-Troops, and then went himself to Leith, to settle the Cittadell and Regiment in obedience to him; upon his first coming, he displac'd Kneller, and confin'd him, and restored Hughes to be again Major to the Regiment, and marcheth to likewise some other Anabaptist Officers were put out, and others plac'd in their Rooms; Captain Leith, who with a Company of this Regiment from Leith, had the Command of Edinburgh Cittadell, and Regiment there, plac'd him, and the other at Ayr; which were very difficult Service to perform, in regard that most of the Officers in those Regiments, were very ill-disposed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the sending an Express to Major Knight, who was then in Park-shire at his own House, to hasten him to his Command.

Upon the 21, he march'd some Companies of Horse and Foot to Linlithgow, intending to go thence to Glasgow, to settle Cobberts Regiment, of which he was in some doubt; but he there receiv'd Intelligence of what was done by Hatt and Dennis, and therefore went no further.

He there also had notice of the submission of the Cittadell at Ayr, and that Barnwick was render'd to him, where Colonel Cobbert was stay'd and detained in Prison; as he was coming into Scotland with his Regiment, and it was seasonably done; for if he had been permitted to passe, the opinion which was had of him by the Souldiers, might have much hinder'd the Generals Proceedings. He was brought with a Guard to Edinburgh Castle, and kept there, the General being much incens'd against him, upon private advice that he had Instructions to have seiz'd him, if he had not agreed to the Armies Actions in England. At Linlithgow at a Council of Officers, it was advis'd that some way should be us'd to draw off the Independent Churches in England, from favouring the English Army, which would have much weaken'd that party; if it had succeeded, for most of the inferior Officers were of that persuasion; for the effecting of this, a Declaration was fram'd, agreed to, and published and dispers'd all over England. And at the same time, another Declaration was also made to satisfy the Kingdom in general, with the reason of his taking Arms; alleging that he did it for the vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the freedom of Parliaments.

Two Expostulatory Letters were also writ, the one to Fleetwood, and the other to Lambert, blaming the violence of their Proceedings against the Parliament, and another to the Speakers, to be inform'd of his Condition wherein the House then was, declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right understanding between the Parliament and the Army, he would be ready, in case the Army persister'd to disobey their Orders, to assist them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

And thence to  
Linlithgow.]

Col. Cobbert  
detain'd Prison-  
er at Barnwick.

Two Declar-  
ations publish'd  
by the Gene-  
rall, in vindica-  
tion of these  
proceedings  
of his.

1659.

Major Knight arrives in Scotland.

Major Farmer sent by the General to possess Carlisle, is kept out by the Soldiers.

Major Knight sent with a party to seize Newcastle, is prevented.

Monck invites Lieutenant Gen. Ludlow in Ireland, to a conjunction with him. Coll. Lilburn in Yorkshire, makes all possible opposition against Gen. Monck.

He endeavours to seduce the General's Secretary from his Service, but prevails not.

He intercepts the General's Letters to Major Gen. Morgan.

Talbot and Clarges arrive at Edinburgh, and are well received by the General.

He discovers to Clarges some glimpsing of his intentions.

The present condition of Monck for money and ammunition.

Lambert's Army in great want of money.

By this time, Major Knight was returned out of England; for hearing of the disorders at London, and that some jealousies had been entertained of him, upon an Information that he had been some Months before engaged with the Lord Castleton in St George Booths Rising, he thought best for his own security, to make all possible haste down to his Command, his Arrival fell out to be three days after the General had first Declared, *Morgan's* Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Regiment of Horse, and Major Farmer was sent with a Troop to secure Carlisle, who when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as *Johnson* did into *Barwick*, but sent in to treat with the Governor, and was so long doing it, till *Ellon* that Commanded the Town had fix'd the Soldiers to a Resolution of keeping him out; moreover, *Monck* considering that his Army could not be got together in six weeks time, to march into England, he therefore to amule the faction there, sent Major Knight with four Troops of choice Horse, and six Companies of Foot, to surprize Newcastle. The Horse-Troops were Commanded by Knight, *Johnson*, *Wilmot*, and *Simmell*, and the Foot by *Miller*, *Mansfield*, *Collins*, *Winter*, *Seymour*, and *Belcham*, all gallant and well-resolv'd men. But being come as far as *Morpeth*, he had advice, that some Forces were got into Newcastle before him, which being intimated also to the General, he presently counter-manded him and his party to *Amwick*, where he stayed for some time; This not taking Newcastle was no discouragement to the General or his Army; for upon more deliberate Consideration, he thought the misfortune rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, since if he had taken it, it would in all probability, have been immediately beleagued by *Lambert*. And then he must have been obliged to attempt the relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole design.

The General at the same time that he sent the before-mentioned Letters to London, did likewise send a Messenger with Letters to Lieutenant General Ludlow, who Commanded the Army in Ireland, to move him to join with him, or at least to represent to him to fair an accomplice of his Actions, as might induce him not to be his hinderance in any of his undertakings.

Colonel Lilburn, who lay at York with some Forces, upon the first Rumour of Monck's Declaration, drew what Forces together he could, and without staying to be well informed of the Reasons of Fleetwood and Lambert's breaking up the Parliament, He drew all the Officers in those parts to enter into an Association against Monck, and to join with the Army at London, in whatsoever they design'd.

He also writ to Mr. Clarke, the General's Secretary, who was an active useful Instrument in his affairs, to seduce him from his Service; the truth is, the greatest part of Clarke's Estate was in England, and he was a man of so civil and ingenious a Conversation, that he might have been the better excus'd in a Neutrality to both parties, and his Interest did direct him to it. But he was resolv'd to hazard all his Fortunes in the General's Bottom, and would not by threats or cunning, which were both used by Lilburn to him, be prevail'd with to quit his party. For which his fidelity and constancy, at this time, he was ever after so much esteem'd by the General, that he trusted him with his most secret transactions.

Major General Morgan had lain long sick of the Gout at York, and began about this time, to recover his health. The Letter which Monck sent to him was intercepted by Lilburn, which Morgan a little resent'd, but thought it advisable so far to conceal his passion (till he might have a convenient opportunity to get into Scotland) as to seem to Lilburn rather to dislike than approve of the General's proceedings.

Colonel Talbot and Clarges, came not to Edinburgh, till the second of November, they were both very well received by Monck; but especially Clarges, being his Brother in Law, with whom he had that night much Conference in private. The General wonder'd, that Fleetwood and Lambert would send him, and thought it a good Omen to his success, that he had him to assist his design. Clarges frankly ask'd him what was the true end he aimed at in this Enterprize, telling him, that it was impossible for him to be ever trusted after this rupture, if he patch'd up a Peace with the English Army, and withal acquainting him that he observ'd a great Consternation in the Officers and Soldiers, as he pass'd, and that he believ'd many of them would fall off to him.

The General, as he is the most reliev'd man living, was in some trouble to be press'd to discover his intentions, and at that time open'd himself no further than to let him know he was resolv'd to endeavour to free his Native Country from the slavery it was under, and to effect it, he thought one of the best expedients would be to restore the Parliament; but in their Admission to sit (if it were by his Arms) he would make no difference betwixt them; but let in as well the secluded Members as others. Having said this, he conjur'd Clarges to secrecy, being very sensible, that the jealousy had on him by the Army, was so great (it having been often cast in his dish by some of his ill-willers, that the King was in the bottom of his Designs) that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beget a Confidence, even in his own Party to engage with him.

As to the present Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy thousand pounds in money, part whereof was already in his Treasury, and the rest would in a short time be paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well stor'd with Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessities, and that he had in part modell'd his Army fit for his purposes, and should in a while perfect it. Clarges let him know, that the wants in Fleetwood and Lambert's Army were very great, and that upon Lambert's Expedition, they were not able to advance one month's Pay for his Army, which would make them by free Quarter, be very burthenome and distastfull to the Country. So that if by a Treaty, or any other means he could protract time, his business might be

1659.

Gen. Monck takes hold for his advantage of Lambert's Overture for a Treaty.

Mr. Knight, Coll. Claberry, and Col. Wilks, made choice of to be the General's Commissioners in this Treaty.

Their Instructions.

As he done without hazard. The General replied, That he thought the overture of a Treaty from Fleetwood and Lambert, might be improved to his great advantage, for he could not in a month's time, draw his men together. And that his sending Knight with a Party to Lodge at Amwick, was to make them think him in greater readiness than he was; the more thereby to distract their Leavies. The General then Resolv'd upon a Treaty, and the next morning summon'd his chief Officers together, to nominate Commissioners, and to resolve upon Instructions for them. He chose to advise with his Officers in all these matters, to free them from suspicion. Colonel Talbot was very glad his Journey was so successful to obtain a Treaty so easily. The General and his Officers met, and at the first Proposition, they consented to the motion for a Treaty, and when he put them to name fit persons to be Commissioners, they referred it to him. He then appointed

Major Knight, and Lieutenant Colonel Claberry to be two, and put it to them to name a third, and they propos'd Colonel Wilks, who was reputed to be a good Religious man, and acceptable to Fleetwood, and the Officers in England. They then came to consider of Instructions, and were for in debate, that the Question was not without much content carried for allowing them a fortnights time for the treaty. The General was perplex'd in his mind at this, for he would not have them limited to time, because that was the only thing he wanted, yet he discover'd no displeasure; however, in the rest of the Instructions, he so invent'd matter to confound their debates, That they had no power given them to conclude any thing, for whereas those they treated with, were so ill Statesmen, that what they insist'd on appear'd to be rather a foundation for a new System of Government, then restoring the Parliament to their Exercise of Power, The Commissioners were to insist on the restoring the Parliament: But if the Members should refuse to sit, then to debate of some other form of Government. They were likewise to provide for an Act of Indemnity for all Acts done since the first of October, and to take care that the Arrears of such part of the English Assisment as was appropriated to the Pay of the Army in Scotland, should be forthwith paid; And that a godly, learned, and faithfull Ministry, with competent maintenance, and other encouragements, should be continued in the three Nations; the like regard being had to Schools and Universities, with many other matters sufficiently remote from the present affaire; Moreover, it was particularly urg'd, That they should provide, that the Acts of the Army in England, should not be deemed the Acts of a General Council of the Army, without the Concurrence of the Officers of the Armies of Scotland and Ireland.

These Commissioners were hasten'd away, and Lambert was so far advanced with his Army, as to meet them at York, where he told them he had full power from Fleetwood, the Officers of the Army, and the Committee of Safety, to treat, and conclude with them of all differences. They seem'd not averse to it, but when they began to enter upon the matter, and propos'd the restitution of the Parliament, he told them, Fleetwood and the Officers at London had agreed with him and his Officers not to conclude of any thing concerning that matter, without the common consent of all, and so they went forwards towards London. Nevertheless, as a thing previous to the Treaty, it was by both parties accorded, That the Forces of neither should advance from their Quarters, and that there should be a free uninterrupted intercourse of Letters during the Treaty.

The Army of Horse and Foot with Lambert did amount to near Twelve thousand, and Monck had not above half the Number; nevertheless he had this advantage, namely, that he paid all his Men, and the other did not. The way he had for providing Money, was very accidental: The late Parliament (so call'd) about the latter end of June (as is before express'd) had made a short Act to authorize the Payment of a Years Tax upon England, Scotland, and Ireland, appointed to be raised by one of Cromwell's Parliaments; And they in that Act directed One M<sup>o</sup>ney of the money to be paid the First of August, and the other the Tenth of October following. The Proportion for Scotland to pay of this Tax, was Six Thousand pounds a Month; and in regard the Country was poor, and burden'd with many other Payments, the General writ to all the Commissioners of Shires, and indulg'd them so far as to grant them forbearance of payment till the Tenth of October for the first moiety, and Two months after for the rest, which they readily undertook to do, and perform'd it for the most part: And this he had represented so effectually by Clarges his Agent to the Parliament, that he got Twenty thousand pounds in Money to be sent into Scotland towards the Pay of his Army, till that money could be Collected. And that was the bulk of all the Money he had in this Undertaking; but it was increased by Excise and Customs, and other Duties, for after he declar'd, he seiz'd on all. And of all this we make the more particular mention in this place, because some, ignorant of these Transactions, have published, That the General had an Assisment raised for him at a Convention of the Nobility of Scotland; which was first invented by the Scithious in England to his prejudice, and afterwards because uncontra-dicted, believ'd for a Truth.

Lambert was inform'd, That Major General Morgan (who about this time began to be recovered of his Gout) was dissenting to General Monck's Proceedings, and that he would be willing to go to him to dissuade him from the Course he took; Lambert encourag'd the Motion as if it had been made him by Morgan himself; and Morgan, it being taken for granted that he had undertaken the business, at a dayes Warning began his Journey from York towards Edinburgh, he had with him one Troutbeck a Chirurgeon, (upon pretence of taking care of his health) a very subtle Intelligent Person, Excellent in his Profession, and withal of great discretion, and much belov'd by the Soldiers of both Armies, and of considerable Interest amongst them. These got

They meet Lambert at York, and began the Treaty there.

But not agreeing, they set forward to London.

Monck's Army inferior to Lambert's in numbers, but better paid.

Major Gen. Morgan takes his Journey into Scotland to Gen. Monck.

1659.

His joyning with Monk, a matter of much Importance.

The Discourse between the Generall and him, at their first Meeting.

He privately delivers a Letter to the Generall, from Mr. Bolea a Minister of York. The Effect of the Letter.

Clarges sent to Fairfax, Roffiter, and others, to engage them to Generall Monk.

Col. Talbot prevail'd upon by Lambert, to take part with him.

Captain Dew, Mr. Caryll, Col. Whaley, and Goff, sent by Fleetwood to Gen. Monk.

Fleetwood by Letters Courts Monk to side with him.

The ruling Faction in Ireland declare their resolution not to joyn with Gen. Monk.

safe to Edinburgh about the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> of November; And the coming of Morgan was a good Accellion to Monk's Party, and a great encouragement to all the Officers and Souldiers: For he was esteem'd by them to be, next the Generall, a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near Forty years a Souldier, and present in the greatest Battells and Sieges of Christendome for a great part of that time; and particularly in Flanders, where he Commanded a Brigade of Foot, he acquitted himself to the Astonishment of his Enemies, and the admiration of Marshall Thurene, and all the French Commanders in that Service with him. At his first coming to the Generall, he ask'd him aloud, merrily, *If he would lay down his Arms, and be friends with Fleetwood and Lambert?* To which he was answered by him, *If they would restore the Parliament, he had little more to say; and if he pleas'd, he might let them know as much.* Morgan Replied, *I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortunes in all your undertakings; You know I am no States-man; I am sure you are a Lover of your Country, and therefore I will joyn with you in all your Actions, and submit to your Prudence and judgment in the Conduct of them.*

This generous Friendship was kindly received by Monk, and it was the more valuable, in that it was done at a time when the Army in England was at its greatest height; and that in Scotland very inconsiderable in respect of the other, and not yet well settled; for a day or two before, one of the Troops of Morgan's own Regiment ran over Tweed to Lambert.

In the Evening, Morgan was private with the Generall, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. Bolea a Minister of York, a very eminent Man of those Parts, and of great Credit with my Lord Fairfax, and many others of good Note in that County. Clarges being yet at Edinburgh, and Consulted with in the business. The Letter import'd, *That the Lord Fairfax and many others of good Interest in Yorkshire were willing to joyn with the Generall, but that they disapproved of his Declaration which was restrained to the restoring of that Part of the Parliament only which sat after the Seclusion of the rest; and was filled with many Protestations for the asserting of no other than a Commonwealth Government.* To this the Generall answered, *That Clarges could witness his Intentions in those Particulars, That what was P. in his Name, was not at that Conjunction to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason, because his Writings were drawn by other hands; and till his Affairs had a firmer Consistency, and he more Power in his hands, it was unreasonable for him to contradict what was done, since all that was writ, could scarce prevail with the Army to believe he had not a Design to set up the King in his Government.* The Conclusion of this, was to send Clarges to Fairfax, Roffiter, and several others, to engage them; it being thought expedient, at the same time, to employ all possible care to amule the Parliament and Army, till the Generall could get a Power in his hands to Justifie other Councils. Clarges was dispatch'd to Bowles, with a Letter of Credit to him, to cause a belief in him of what he should acquaint him with, on the part of the Generall; and another Letter to the same purpose to my Lord Fairfax, from whom he was to have an Address to Roffiter in Lincolnshire.

Talbot knew nothing of these Travels, but carried himself with much moderation all the time of his stay, and with so much profession of respect to the Generall, That he assur'd him, *If he would go to London and be a Neuter, he would preserve his Regiment for him:* Which he promised to do, but was afterwards by the importunity of Lambert, prevail'd upon to act contrary to that Engagement, and (some think) to his own Inclinations; for he was esteem'd by all that knew him, to be a Person not averse to a better and more Just Government than he at that time liv'd under, and was obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that needed his Assistance and help.

Fleetwood could not conceal his fears; for the same Week that Talbot and Clarges were sent to endeavour a Reconciliation, before he had any return from them, Captain Dew, one of the Treasurers, and not long after, Mr. Caryll the Minister, with Col. Goff and Whaley, were sent to the Generall on the same Errand: Likewise Mr. Hammon and Mr. Barker were deputed in the name of the Independent Congregations in and about London, to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Armies.

Mean while, Clarges and Talbot, of whose Negotiations we shall hear more hereafter, took their Leaves of the Generall to return home. The pretence of Dean's coming into Scotland, before Caryll and Whaley, was to look after his Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he travelled, to seduce Monk's Souldiers from him, bringing him withal a Letter from Fleetwood, which contain'd an Offer of what Command in the Army he should desire, upon the least private intimation of his inclining to take part with him: This made the Generall to believe there were some Jealousies betwixt Lambert and him; which he might have improv'd to the breaking of one of them; but he chose the more Generous way, and refused the Offer, Letting him know, *He fought not himself, but the good of the Nation;* and when that was obtained, he would rather lay the Command, he had, down, than seek to enlarge it.

Lieutenant Colonel Barret came at the same time from Ireland with a Letter from Sir Hardres Waller, John Jones, and the ruling people of that Country (for Ludlow was then in England), declaring their Refusal to joyn with the Generall; Letting him know by their said Letter bearing date the 4<sup>th</sup> of November,

That

1659.

A That at a Generall Meeting of the Officers of the Irish Army, they unanimously resolv'd not to approve of the Resolution he had taken, which tended (as they alledg'd) to the Engaging of part of the Armies of these Nations against their Brethren, or the dividing of them in Interest or Affection; being well Assured, that such a Practice would be found in the Issue to be nothing else but the opening of a door for the Common Enemy to come in, (whatever Umbrage should be put upon it) and destroy those very Persons and Authority on whose behalf their affections inclin'd them to undergo very great difficulties. Adding, *That they held it a Duty incumbent on them towards him (as their honourable Friend of whom they had a very high esteem) in the behalf of all the people of the Lord in these three Nations, to bear their Witness against any such Resolution or Practice, and to improve their utmost endeavours to prevent the same.*

The Generall was not at all discouraged at this return to his Civill Letters and Declaration sent thither, having at the same time received advice from Cornet Monk, by any other hand, That Sir Charles Coor, Sir Theophilus Jones, and a very considerable part of the Army, were resolv'd to Assist him; That Sir Hardres Waller himself might in time be drawn to joyn with them, and that he doubted not in a short while to receive good effects of their endeavours.

But in the mean time, upon notice that Dean and Barret were Active to withdraw the affections of the Souldiers from their Duties, they were thereupon sent away from Scotland with a severe Rebuke; The Generall being unwilling to punish them by Imprisonment or any severer course, because they came to him on publique Business.

These Men did much mischief amongst the Souldiers, who were many of them by their inveiglements seduc'd; Two Troops of Twisleton's Regiment of Horse, Commanded by Ashley and Dean, refused to joyn with the Generall, and were Thirty three of them dismounted, disarmed and cashier'd, and Foot Souldiers put on their Horses: But Forty of Dean's Troop with their Colours ran into England; And Two Companies of Foot of the Regiment which came from St. John's, being Quartered at Dunbarr, had like to have been betrayed to New-Castle by one Captain Guillim, who had been lately of that Regiment and was discharg'd; This Guillim procuring leave to go into England, came to Dunbarr, where he made the Souldiers believe that he D was by the Generall restored to his Command, and had order to secure Captain Thompson who then Commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to Berwick; Some of the Sergeants so far gave Credit to him, that they plac'd a Guard upon Thompson, whilst he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was so earnest in it, that he would have taken any, though never so leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men into some Jealousie, inasmuch, that they desired to see his Orders; whereupon he leav'd upon his Horse, and ran away.

At Sterling, a Troop of Col. Sanders his Regiment was in the like Disorder, and about 30 of the men dismounted, and others put in their places. This oblig'd the General to be more circumspect in the reforming his Regiments; so that he discharged all the Officers, whom he any way suspected, and sent them into England. In Colonel Fairfax's Regiment eighteen Officers were E discharg'd; and in most of the rest, some were put out, in all, to the number of seven score Persons: These Regiments wherein least alteration was made, were Talbot's, and Reads; the first, through the Diligence of Hubblehorn, who a while after deserting, upon Talbot's joyning with Lambert, had the Regiment conferr'd upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Person that always lov'd and esteem'd the General.

Lambert was much troubled, when he heard that Morgan had deserted him, and when Talbot and Clarges came to York, he complain'd of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by Clarges better satisfied: for he assur'd him, he heard him move General Monk to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuse to do his Duty, in staying there where his charge was, since the Difference between the two Armies was not yet come to that Degree, to make it beyond hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the same by his Presence, than Absence.

Clarges, as hath been already mention'd, had receiv'd a Letter to the Lord Fairfax, from the General, and some Instructions to Roffiter, and several others, about which he was secretly to confer with Bowles the Minister at York, to whom also he brought a Letter of Credit, for what he should propose to him; Bowles, with whom he had much Discourse, desir'd to be fully informed of the Generals Intentions, and was by Clarges so well satisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord Fairfax, Colonel Bethel, and several others in Monk's behalf; and for Evidence of it, he advis'd him to stay privately in York, till he went to confer with the Lord Fairfax at his House at Nym Appleton, six miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to send into Scotland) which he accordingly did. And at his Return, acquainted him, That Fairfax would rise by the midst of January, and he might be confident Bethel and Smithson would joyn with him, who were men of good Interest, and well-belov'd of the Souldiery in Lambert's Army: On the other side, Bowles press'd to know what Expectations the General had from other places, and was by Clarges inform'd, that Colonel Wetnam at Portsmouth was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the first Opportunity he could, to declare with that Garrison for him; which he lik'd very well, for Wetnam was a moderate man: He told him likewise,

Another party in Ireland inclinable to the General.

Dean and Barret sent back into Scotland with a Check.

Capt. Guillim endeavours to betray Two Companies of the Generall's men, but is found out.

The Generall takes care to reform his Regiments.

Clarges excuses Major Gen. Morgan to Lambert.

Clarges his Conference with Mr. Bowles.

1659.

Charles Negotiated by a Messenger his own.

Hastler having promised Aid against Lambert, withdraws for fear of giving encouragement to the Kings Party.

Charles deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to about Monks' Design against Lambert.

A Conference between Monk, and the Commissioners of the Independent Churches.

The effect of Mr. Caryl's Speech in the Name of the Churches.

The General's Answer.

likewise, that Colonel Hacker with his Regiment would raise some men in *Nottinghamshire* and *Leicestershire*, and Colonel Hutchinson, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, would join with them; and that Okey was labouring to make Disturbances in *London* amongst the Regiment there. *Bowles* at first was not well pleased, that he should make use of these Aids: But when he was acquainted by *Charles* with the Reasons which induced him to it, he was satisfied.

The first thing the General design'd, was to break *Lambert's* Forces, to make himself Master of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requisite to refuse no help, since the Major Part of the whole would be such as he could make use of to model the rest, to any purpose he could employ them in. Then they found out a secret Messenger to send with intimation of this Conference to *Monck*; And *Charles* went towards *Lincolnshire* to pursue his Negotiations: but about *December* he had so grievous a fall from his Horse, as he was riding Post, that his Life was despaired of; but after a little stay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt *Tuxford* and *Newark*, where he was forc'd to stay ten days ere he was able to travel; nevertheless, in the mean time he sent Expresses several ways, and by the means of one *Briffon*, a Confident of Colonel *Riffers*, he had opportunity to send to him, and had his Answer; which was, *That he would join with Fairfax, and do what he should direct.* When he came to *Leicestershire*, he heard nothing of *Hastlerig*, but that he had, in despair of doing any thing, retir'd to *Woodstock*; and the Reason he gave for it, was, *That if he should raise Forces in his County, it might give occasion to the Kings Party to join, and thereby hazard the whole Cause; and that therefore it would be better to close with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with so much danger to oppose it.*

*Charles* was somewhat troubled at this Discouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon sent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them privately to *London*, to assist with their Councils, in promoting the Restoration of the Parliament; which he did upon Obligation amongst the Souliers of *Lambert's* Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of *Monck*, for restoring that Authority, and were only diverted from joining with him against *Lambert*, upon a Jealousie of the Kings being in the Bottom of his Design; which was often insinuated by the Council of Officers at *London*, in their public and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance *Monck's* purpose of subduing the *English* Army, than to beget a Confidence in them of his adherence to his Declaration.

This Practice prevail'd so far, as to get the Council of State together in *London*, where they had many private Meetings: But in the mean time, the Commissioners for the Independent Churches, which were sent into *Scotland*, were solicitous to divert *Monck* from the prosecution of the War; and so far the Business proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at *Halswood-house*, where were present to treat with them, General *Monck*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Syler*, Doctor *Barrow* the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. *Gamble* one of the Generals Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. *Collins* an Independent Minister, (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in *Scotland*) was admitted to be present as a Newer.

Mr. *Caryl* was the first that spoke, who in a long and studied Speech declared, *That the Commissioners had desired him to speak for them; That they all came, not to deliver their own Sense of the Generals Proceedings but the Sense of the Churches, (for so upon every occasion he call'd the Independent Congregations; That the Churches had not given them Commission to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor to Debate whether Lamberts Action of turning out the Parliament were justifiable or not; but only to present it to his Lordship, as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be justified, yet his Lordship had not a Call to appear against it, in that manner that he then did; That his Lordship had only in Charge to keep Scotland in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any Differences that should happen in England. (Nor indeed could it reasonably be expected of him, he being in a place where he could not be supposed to have such true and timely Information, as was necessary in a Business of that Consequence.) He proceeded to shew Reasons, why the General should go on no further, telling him, That it would put a strife amongst those that hitherto had been Brethren engaged all along in the same Cause, Partakers in the same Dangers, and the same Successes, amongst those that still in their Papers, and all their Addresses, call'd and own'd one another for Brethren, and that at a very unreasonable time, whilst the Canonic and Perizites were in the Land: And thereupon he took occasion, to enlarge himself upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God (for so he call'd his own Party) might run into; And at last, by way of Aggravation, he told the General, That what Inconveniences sever should happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to have been the Beginner of the War.*

At this the General, in a little heat, interrupted him, saying, *That the War was already begun by Lambert and his Party, who had offer'd violence to those from whom they had all received their Commissions; not sparing freely and at large to lay open their restless Instability, which would not suffer the Three Nations to enjoy any settled Government at all, but kept them in a perpetual Circumlocution, till they were in danger to be brought to utter Ruine; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions; and declaring, That if they continued in that Course he was resolv'd to oppose them to the uttermost, and would (to repeat his own words) lay them on their Backs.*

*Caryl* and his Fellow-Commissioners endeavour'd to excuse that Expression of theirs, which stirr'd up the Generals Anger; and *Barrow*, on the General's side, did qualify and mitigate his Answer, not thinking it meet wholly to disoblige so considerable a Party as the Independents, as things

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A things stood at that time; and so by degrees Expressions came to be very calm on both sides, both being in Expectation of the Issue of the Treaty then on foot, between the Commissioners of the Army of *Scotland*, and those of the Army in *England*; but after this time, there was no more Meetings, for upon News from *England*, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, these Commissioners thought their Business done, and made hast to return to *London*.

*Charles* disabled by his Fall, could not get soon enough to *London*, to prevent the hasty Conclusion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the 15th of *November*) although he endeavour'd by several Letters to Major *Knight*, one of the Commissioners, to prevent it, for as much as the rest of them were to prevail'd on by the Impunity of the *English* Officers, or else to terrified with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the speed of it: As he came to *London*, he pass'd by *Cambridge*, and settled there a Correspondency with Mr. *Pradman*, one of the Fellows of *Kings-Colledge*, by whose Care and Secrecy all his Packets were conveyed safe to *Scotland*, when all the ordinary Ways were obstructed. Mean while, being much troubled to find, that that very Night he arriv'd at *London*, the Treaty betwixt the Commissioners on both parts was concluded, he seriously expostulated with the Commissioners about their precipitant proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the middle of *January*, there would be in many Places such strong Divisions made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends: That his Money would last till the beginning of *February*, and by that means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lye still, *Lambert's* Army by their great wants (which made them insupportable to the Country) must break of themselves.

*Knight* was very sensible of his Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinc'd, that in their Letter of the 16th of *November*, to the General-Council of the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, giving them an Account of the Conclusion of the Treaty, They confess, they had exceeded their Instructions, out of a Suspicion, as the Posture of Affairs then stood, That the Issue of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brethren of *England*, but of the Common Enemy.

The Agreement itself consisted of Nine Articles, which were expressed in the following words, *¶ 12.*

1. That we will, to the uttermost of our Powers, in our several Capacities, oppose the Interest and pretended Right of *Charles Stewart*, in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any share therein; together with, under, or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by virtue of his or their Descent from the same Line with him.

2. That we will not give our Consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any Single Person whatsoever, in the Place of, and for the Chief Magistracy of these Nations; and will endeavour to our utmost, That the Government of these Nations, may be settled in the way of a Free-States, or Common-wealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Lords.

3. That no Form of Government shall be determined of, and asserted by any part of the Army, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this Commonwealth, and the Territories thereto belonging, without the Approbation and Consent of a General-Council of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this Commonwealth; which General-Council shall consist of two Commission-Officers for each respective Regiment, chosen by the Commission-Officers of the said Regiment, or by the major part of them, who can conveniently meet together; and likewise such Governours of Garrisons, as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be spared, may be call'd to the said Council, and ten Officers of the Fleet, chosen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet; And that the Quorum shall be Thirty-one, and the Day of their Meeting to be the Sixth of *December* next at *White-Hall* in the Old Council Room.

4. That a Parliament, or a Supreme Delegated Authority of this Commonwealth, be with all possible speed constituted and Summoned in such manner and form, as shall be by the aforesaid General Council agreed unto; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord St. John, the Lord Warriston, Lieutenant-General *Eudlow*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lord *Whitlock*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, Colonel *George Thompson*, Colonel *Berry*, and Mr. *Scot*; together with the Lord *Steel*, Colonel *Barrow*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Dobson*, as Commissioners for the Army in *Ireland*, and three Commissioners for the Army in *England*, to be appointed thereunto; with the three Commissioners for the Army of *Scotland*; whereof the Quorum to be Nine.

The Treaty ended between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

The Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

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5. That the Proportion of Money out of the Assessments of England, formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of Scotland, be duly paid, and no further stop upon the same, but that it may be return'd by Bills of Exchange, or otherwise with all convenient speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void.

6. That the Case of Officers of the Army of England and Scotland, that are suspended or displaced, or that have laid down their Commissions since the 11th of October last, onely by reason of the present Differences, be determined by fourteen Commissioners of the Army in England and Scotland, or the major part of them; the one half of the said Commissioners to be chosen by the Council of Officers in England, and the other half of the Council of Officers in Scotland; and that forthwith the said Officers be discharged from their Imprisonments or Confinements. The Day of Meeting of the said Commissioners, to be the first Day of December next, and the place of their Meeting to be at Newcastle upon Tyne.

7. That no Officer or Soldier, or other Person of these Nations, that have acted in the late Differences betwixt the late Parliament and the Army, or between any of the Forces of this Commonwealth, for or against each other, relating to any Difference, since the 10th of October last, be question'd for the same, but fully indemnified, and all unkindness to be put in perpetual Oblivion.

8. That a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with competent Maintenance, and other Encouragement, be continued in the Three Nations; and that the Universities and Schools of Learning be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

9. That the Forces of Horse and Foot respectively, both of England and Scotland, that have been drawn forth by reason of the late difference, shall forthwith March to such Quarters in both Nations, where they may best secure and preserve the Peace of the Commonwealth against the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further difference or appearance of difference amongst us.

We the Commissioners hereunto appointed and authorized by General Monk, and the Generall Council of Officers in Scotland, do this 15th of November, 1659, in the name and on the behalf of the said General Monk, and Generall Council of Officers in Scotland, fully Consent and agree to the aforementioned Agreement, and every part thereof, and do engage our selves and every of us to the full performance of the same.

Present as Witnesses,

R. Barrow, R. Brown,  
Edw. Swift.

Signed,  
Tim. Wilkes,  
R. Knight,  
Jo. Cloberry.

Signed as the Agreement of the Generall Council of Officers of the Army met at Wallingford-House the 15th of November, 1659. And I do for my self, and in the name of the said Generall Council, consent to the aforementioned Agreement and every part thereof, and do Engage to the full performance of the same.

Witnesses,  
R. Barrow, Edw. Swift,  
Bry. Leavens, Ro. Brown.

Signed Charles Fleetwood.

Wallington and Lloyd, Two Captains of the English Army at London, were sent with this Agreement to General Monk to put it in execution; and as they went, Major Cambridge of Lambeth's Army was sent by him in their Company. But Clarges was careful to send a Copy of it to him some days before they arrived; and the General was in much perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which distressed his Designs almost past recovery; and was resolv'd not to accept of it, but could not well tell how to decline it.

To take any pretence from those Articles which excluded the Kings Government, would confirm the suspicion which was fomented of his secret Intentions for the Royal Family; and to ground his dissent from the Subscription of the Commissioners, where they assume an authority (which they never had) and undertook for the performance of that Agreement for the General and all his Officers, would not be thought material enough to continue the breach betwixt them: That which was most plausible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, That all the Officers displaced by General Monk, might be in a Capacity of being restored to their Com-

The General Consults how he might with the handiomest presence refuse his Assent to these Articles.

1659.

mands; and all those put by him in their places (wherein his strength consisted) be removed; He call'd together a few of his Confidants to advise what to do; These were Major General Morgan, Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Lydeott, Doctor Barrow, and Mr. Gumble; Lydeott was admitted, because he was from a private Captain newly prefer'd to the Command of Cobbe's Regiment, and therefore by interest suppos'd to be averse to this Agreement. The General and these Gentlemen having had much discourse of the business, They all thought it fit to disapprove of the Agreement, but offered in the manner; but as it was by Barrow proposed, and agreed to by the General and the rest, That they should not declare a positive dissent to what their Commissioners had done; but urge, That there was something untreat'd of, further to be agreed upon; and some of those things consented by their Commissioners, which without further explication, could not stand with their Declaration or Instructions; and that therefore it should be desir'd, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commissioners, to meet a like number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more absolute period to their differences.

The said Evening, Wallington, Lloyd, and Cambridge arriv'd; and the next morning at a Generall Council of Officers at Edinburgh, when the Agreement was communicated to them, they were so artificially prepar'd, that they unanimously disallow'd it, and a Letter was fram'd, which they all subscrib'd, to the same purpose with what was agreed on the day before, and Lloyd and those with him went with it to London.

The City of London was very much discontented at the Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General Monk sent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. Atkins, and Colonel Markham, about the 17th or 18th of November: Wherein he acquainted them,

That at the first notice he had of the Force upon the Parliament, he had sent a Letter to them, declaring his Resolution to endeavour their Re-establishment, and that his Army was very unanimous to Concur with him in it; but that Letter miscarrying, he had with the advice of his Officers now again written to them, to let them know, they were constant to their first Resolution; and were the more confirm'd in it, for being informed that the authors of that Force had proceeded so far, as to null and make void some Acts of Parliament, (which the King when he was at the highest never attempted to do, and which no true Englishman can endure to see done by any but Parliaments themselves) and after they had subverted the Foundation of an ancient Government, were contriving by their own power and authority to set up a new Government over the Nations. Adding, That if this should be suffered, he knew not to what purpose so much Blood had been spilt; so much Treasure spent, and so many Engagements made; They must take upon themselves the Guilt of all, and look upon this Slavery they had brought upon themselves, as a Judgment upon them for their Murders, Rapines, and Perjuries: He protested to aim only at the restoring Parliaments to their former Freedom and Authority, and the People to their Just Rights and Liberties; in which he expected to be sure of their Assistance. As to Religion, he told them, he intended not that those that truly fear'd God should be abridg'd of their worship, but he should be unwilling that some under Pretence of maintaining that Liberty, should endeavour the overthrow of Nationall Ministry, and by consequence leave the greatest part of the People to utter Ignorance and Atheism: Concluding nevertheless, That Religion was not that about which he did at present contend, being desirous to leave that to the Consideration of the Parliament, for the Defence whereof, he and those with him were resolv'd to venture to the utmost; and if he should miscarry through want of their timely aid, it would be too late for them by their own strength to assert their Freedom: And if he succeeded, it would be dishonourable for so Famous a City, and so much Concern'd, that its Liberty should be asserted without its own help; inciting them therefore now whilst so great an Army is waiting on him in the North, to use their Endeavours in the South, &c.

This Letter was dated the 12th of November at Edinburgh, and did so much incense the Committee of Safety, that the Gentlemen who delivered it were put into Custody: And the more to aggravate the business, Monk's Commissioners were either so imprudent or so unsincere, as to declare, That they believ'd the Letter was seditious; Which made the City less Active in pursuance of the Contents of it.

Whilst things were thus travell'd in London, Fleetwood, Lambert, and all the Officers in England, could not dissimble their Confusion of Mind, upon Monk's refusal to ratify the Treaty, and sending for a Blank Pass to insert new names of additional Commissioners, and many expostulatory Letters pass'd betwixt them about it, but more especially betwixt Lambert and his Officers and him; for they were very apprehensive, that this Motion of a Blank Pass for adding to their Commissioners, or the naming of new ones, was only meant to gain time; but

Lloyd and others sent with a Letter to the Officers at London.

Mr. Atkins and Col. Markham sent by the General with a Letter to the City of London, The Effect of the said Letter,

The Letter lock'd upon as seditious, and the Messengers imprison'd.

1652.

Nine of the  
Old Council of  
State meet.

And send a  
Letter to the  
Generall.

The Parli-  
ment Party  
begin busily to  
appear against  
Lambert and  
his Faction.

The Effect of  
a Letter from  
Lambert's Offi-  
cers to Monk.

The Confe-  
rence of Monk  
and his Offi-  
cers with Col-  
onel Zanchy.

but at last they did consent to it, though it never came to any effect, as shall be hereafter dis- covered.

Nine of the old Council of State met privately in London the 19th of November, they a little resented, that General Monk's Commissioners did not Communicate their Councils with them, yet omitted not to give him all the encouragement they could; And in order thereunto, one Captain Elms, with Horton a Servant of Sir Arthur Haslerigg's, was sent with a Letter to him to Scotland; Wherein they signified,

That his Faithfull Actions in discharge of his Trust and Duty to that Parliament, and for the good of the Three Nations and Poplery in these times of so great Hypocrisie and Defection, was most gratefully acknowledged by them; and they assur'd him, his Service was exceedingly well resented by all sober and interestd persons that love a Commonwealth; and that he might be confident, that they would adhere to him, and to their utmost promote the good Cause which he had hitherto with so much wisdom and Courage highly own'd, and that it was their Resolution to stand and fall with him in defence thereof; and that they would, as occasion should offer it self, the Lord enabling, be assisting to him according to his Declarative for removing the Force from this Parliament, that so they may Sit with Freedome, and by Gods Blessing, lay a Foundation of a happy and lasting Settlement.

This Letter was Subscribed by

Tho. Scott, President,	Valentine Walton,	Robert Wallop,
Arthur Haslerigg,	R. b. Reynolds,	Johannes Berners,
Herbert Morley,	Anth. Ashley Cooper,	Henry Newill.

This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in Scotland; for the wisest of them did conclude from these appearances of Action at London, that their Party was increased in England, Imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted.

Colonel Whitham at Portsmouth was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for Generall Monk with that Garrison; And Colonel Morley, Walton, and Haslerigg went privately towards him to Treat about it: But before they went, The Council of State, at another meeting before the time appointed by Parliament for their Continuance was expired, framed a Commission, wherein they Constituted General Monk absolute Commander in Chief of all the Armies in England and Scotland, which was Dated the 24th of November, Sealed with their Seal, and left in the hands of Clerges, till a safe Messenger might be sent with it to him.

As soon as Fleetwood had received Generall Monk's Letters against the Ratification of the Treaty, and his desire to have Two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at New-Castle, Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, the Commissioners, had their dispatch, and a Pistle to licence their repair thither; But before they got to New-Castle, at a Meeting of all Lambert's Officers, a Letter was fram'd, and sent by Colonel Zanchy to Generall Monk's Officers, and one from Lambert to the Generall himself.

In that from the Officers they write, That they had advis'd their Generall to acquaint Generall Monk, that if he pleas'd to appoint two Commission'd Officers of his Army to be added to those already in England, and signify their names to him, a safe Conduct should be forthwith given to them; but withall, That nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new matter, or further explanations admitted, which are not consistent to what is already concluded; And that the Generall Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at London,) to meet upon the sixth of December, may accordingly hold their meeting. And in a Postscript to this Letter, they complained of the detention of Colonel Cobbet, who, they said, was a publick Messenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Privilege accordingly except by some miscarriage he had forfeited the same. Colonel Zanchy was very kindly receiv'd by Generall Monk and all his Officers, and they met together with all convenient haste to give him his dispatch, acquainting him, That they should not disown anything in that Agreement that was conformable to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authoriz'd; but what should appear to be beyond, they insisted to have it Treated on and explain'd. As to the third Article mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any meeting in pursuance of it, till the whole should be concluded. And concerning Cobbet, they alleadg, That he came not to Scotland as a publick Messenger, but as a Colonel to Command a Regiment after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament (the day before their Interruption) and without any leave from Generall Monk; And that the Generall had intimation from a Person of Credit, That he had a design to seduce the Army from their obedience, if not to seize on his person. This Letter was signed the 7th of December at night, and the next day Colonel Zanchy was to have returned with it to Newcastle; but upon Intelligence receiv'd, that a Party of Lambert's consisting of three Regiments of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with two Drakes, was march'd into Northumberland, and that sixty Dragoons had possessed themselves of Chillingham Castle, near the Scotch Borders. The Colonel was stay'd, and the Generall at three of the Clock the next morning, march'd out of Berwick, and sent order to draw his Forces together

1652.

Colonel Whitham at Portsmouth, declares for Monk. Commissioners from the severall Shires and Burroughs of Scotland, wait upon the Generall at Berwick.

Their Proposi-  
tions.

The Generall  
advise with  
his Officers  
about them.

The Generall  
Answer to the  
Scots Proposi-  
tions.

together towards Coldstream, a very convenient Pistle upon the Tweed, where he seized his Head Quarters. A little before this, his own Commissioners were come to him to Berwick, where he confid Col. Wilks for discovering, or at least, not pursuing some private Instructions; but after a while, he was releas'd, upon satisfaction that what he did was out of Ignorance, and not malice.

Colonel Whitham at Portsmouth, very generously declar'd for Generall Monk with that Garrison, after he had secur'd Captain Penock and Captain Brown, and some other refractory Officers, that he was jealous of.

Commissioners from the severall Shires and Burroughs of Scotland, being sent to wait upon the Generall, and he having appointed them, to be at Berwick the 13th of December, he came on that day thither to meet them accordingly, releasing Zanchy, and sending by him a Letter to Lambert, wherein he acquainted him, he would by the next Post more fully inform him of his Resolutions.

The Scotch Commissioners appointed five to attend the Generall, and treat with him, which were the Earls of Glencairn, Rothes, Wemyss, and Eglington, and Mr. Alexander Bruce. These presented a Paper to the Generall, consisting of five Proposals.

1. That the Lord Generall may be pleas'd to appoint a Committee in each Shire, for regulating the Affaires thereof, in order to his Lordships Commands; and their own preservation.
2. That his Lordship will allow each Shire presently to raise (for securing the Peace and their own safety) some small proportion of Horses, under the Conduct of such Persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.
3. That his Lordship will declare, for the greater Encouragement of the Shires, at the return of their Commissioners, if the Treaty shall break up, and take no effect, immediately upon the notice thereof, that he did authorize the Shires to put themselves in the best posture they can for his Assistance, and their own defence.
4. That for the said effect, his Lordship will be pleas'd to furnish each Shire with some proportion of Arms, upon payment of just Rates thereof, within one Moneths time after the Receipt of them.
5. That all Gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordships desires, may for themselves and Servants, have liberty to carry their Arms.

The Generall, upon the receipt of this Paper, advis'd with some select Officers about an Answer to it (viz.) Colonel Fairfax, Major Jeremiah Smith, Colonel Lydcott, Colonel Read, and Doctor Barrow. And the chief Question debated on was, whether they should permit the Scots to Arm for their Assistance: Colonel Read was for Arming them, He Argued, That it was a common danger, and they ought to make use of any aid that could be obtained for their defence. The Generall himself told them, That if he should draw all the men from his Garrisons, he could make his numbers of Foot quickly equal to Lambert, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put Scotland out of English hands, and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had without weakening his Garrisons, he should well enough defend himself against Lambert.

Others were of opinion, That although they should not employ whole Troops, or Companies of Scots, yet they might safely mingle a good party of them with the English. But Doctor Barrow was against all motions of Arming the Scots at that time, believing, if it were done, many of their own men might desert them; But if the Generall would take any opportunity, though it were but to bear up any of Lambert's Quarters, so that they might once come to Blend, that the division being likely to increase after such an action, he might then strengthen himself with what accessions he pleas'd. Nevertheless, he mov'd that some privately might confer with the leading men of the Scotch Gentry, to try if they would be brought to provide any numbers of Horses, on which the Generall might mount English to re-inforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article, in the Generalls name.

To the First, That he would authorize the Noblemen and Justices of the Peace of each County, with the Advice and Consent of the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, to put in execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County.

To the second, That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the Highlands, viz. to the Counties of Dumbarton and Sterling, Forty Men to bear Arms; To the County of Perth, Forty men in Arms; To the County of Forfar and Kinkardine, Forty men in Arms; And to the County of Aberdeen, Forty men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take care, if he should have occasion to remove farther

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ther out of Scotland: And he would allow the Heretors of the above named Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to Command the said respective Guards: They giving Security to the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison for their Fidelity and good Behaviour, in Six hundred Round Shillings.

3. To the Third, His Lordship deferred his Answer, till the Issue of the Treaty now intended between him and the English Army.

4. To the Fourth, That he would furnish them with fit means for their defence, whenever he should apprehend their Peace and Safety to be in eminent danger.

5. To the Fifth, Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as should subscribe to live peaceably, and do nothing to the prejudice of England, should have Liberty with Passes to wear their Swords, and have four Servants Armed for their Attendants.

And Conference with the Scotch Commissioners, upon the delivery of these Answers to their Propositions, they seem'd unsatisfied with them, and the Earl of Glencairn, in the name of the rest, told the General, Since they were willing to hazard their Persons and Estates with him, They hoped he would not deny them to Arm for his Assistance, and their own safety, since if he should engage, and be worsted, they should be exposed to great ruin for their Affection and respect to him, from which otherwise by a Generality they might be secure. To which he answered, That if that should happen, they should then Arise to what numbers they pleased. To this the Earl replied, That the Country were now willing to rise in Confiance of his Conduct and Courage. But if his force should be defeated, they would not be persuaded to it. And besides, they could not under six weeks time, make their Levies. And if permission were now deny'd, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their bowels, before they should be in a posture of Defence.

The cautious General would not be prevailed on with these Arguments, and so they departed, he return'd to Coldstream to his Quarters, and the Scotch Noblemen and Gentlemen, to their severall Countries.

They had absolutely refused the raising any Horse to mount English, yet this came to no breach between them and the General, in regard, before they left Barwick, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from England, of the distractions in the English Armies, and other affairs, which made them to fear less than before their own Peace at home, and so all parted with mutual respect.

After this meeting, the General was contriving how to break off the Treaty with Lambert, which he had hitherto not without great Artifice delay'd; but he considered, that as soon as that should be done, Lambert would march towards him, and therefore he made preparation to fight him, if occasion should urge him to it. In order to which, he sent an express to Clarges, to provide him some good Horse-Officers, and send them by Sea in a nimble Barke. Mean while, in Northumberland the Eagles rais'd him two compleat Troops, and more Horse were raising, He increased his number of Pikes in each Company, to be equal to his Muskets, as thereby to be better able to make defence against Horse, in which Lamberts greatest strength was plac'd.

Coldstream was nine miles from Barwick, upon the Tweed, and he had Quartered all his men so conveniently, that he could draw them all together in six hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the Scotch than English Borders. And if Lambert march'd towards him, the Villages in Northumberland being thin, he must have Quartered at such distance, that his men would have been exposed to great hazard of being often disturb'd in their Quarters. And if he had march'd to fight; the General being upon the defensive part, could have brought as many hands to action as he. Or if he had march'd to Carlisle, to have invaded Scotland that way; Monk would then have march'd directly to London, and should have been two or three dayes march before him. Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have presently fallen on the nearest part to him.

In this posture he lay at Coldstream, when he received Intelligence from Clarges, that there were many great differences in London, betwixt Fleetwood and the City. That the Apprentices, and severall others in favour of him, had many Consultations to make disturbances, That they were framing a Petition to the Lord Major and Common Council, to press their Interposition for the restoring of the Parliament, and preservation of Magistracy, which was endeavour'd to be suppress'd by the Committee of Safety, who emitted a Proclamation to prohibit all gathering of hands to Petitions, which incens'd the young men so much (being fomented by wiser heads) that they rose in many places in a tumultuous manner. And thereupon, Colonel Hewson was sent into London, to many places in a tumultuous manner. And thereupon, Colonel Hewson was sent into London, to many places in a tumultuous manner.

That he had sent Captain Goodwin with some Horse-Officers to him by Sea to Barwick, and that Goodwin had his Lordships Commission for Commander in Chief, of all the Armies in England and Scotland. And that he had treated with Mr. Philip Howard, who had undertaken to raise

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A raise an hundred Gentlemen well Arm'd and mounted in Northumberland and Cumberland, on Condition to Command them for his Life-Guard, which he had promised his Lordship should consent to; but that just as he was preparing for his Journey, he was taken with the Small Pox, but his elder Brother in the mean time, had writ and undertook to promote the Levies of the men; That he had treated with Colonel Redman, a gallant Horse-Officer, and Colonel Bret, who had been both by Ludlow removed from their Commands, to draw off the Irish Brigade from Lambert, many of the men having been before Commanded by them, and therefore easily persuaded, and that Colonel Morley, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, and Colonel Walton, were Active in Portsmouth, and all the Foot which were sent to besiege that Town, had seized on their Officers, and carried them Prisoners into it, and five Troops of Colonel Rich his Regiment, and two of

B Colonel Barries, were come in to them; That those of Barries, were Commanded by Colonel Crooke, who was lately their Major, and is sent into the Isle of Wight, where his Forces are increased to Seven hundred: And at Tannion, and several other places, there was great defection amongst all the Souldiers; That Sir Michael Livesey in Kent, had raised two Regiments, and Colonel Gibbon was joyned with him, and Vice Admiral Lawson had with Two and Twenty Sail, declared for the Parliament, and was come into the Hope, stopping up the River of Thames. And the Black-houses near Gravesend, on both sides the River, had also Declared. (A Considerable Instrument in that, was Sireater the Controller of the Ordnance, who endeavour'd to beget a Right Understanding between General Monk and the Fleet, and was Succesfull therein: He being then forced to fly thither for the safety of his Life, after he was betrayed to

C the then Committee of Safety, for pursuing the Design of Securing the Tower of London, by the Advice and Countenance of Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, who most Prudently and Resolutely persisted in opposing the then Defection. In which, and all other Undertakings, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper (with the rest of the Secluded Members) Contributed the utmost of his Endeavours, to bring about the Restauration of his Majesty.) That the Lord Mayor and several Aldermen, have had many ineffectual Treaties with Fleetwood, and the Chief of the Army and Committee of Safety; the City demanding the management and Conduct of their own Militia, and the instant restauration of the Parliament, or the calling another, which are refused to them, and the discontents thereby much augmented.

Upon Receipt of these Letters, the General writ to Lambert, by Major Banister, one of the Officers at Barwick, acquainting him, That since his last by Lanchy, he had certain Advice That three of the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament, for the Government of the Army, were now in Portsmouth, acting by virtue of the same Authority, upon which he Acted, and declaring for the same ends. And that he and the Army were thereby obliged in Honour and Duty, to take their Advice and Consent in all Affairs that relate to the Cause they are now engaged in, which he doubted not, but he would judge reasonable and necessary; and therefore he desired a safe Conduct for the Major, to acquaint them with what had passed in the several Overtures betwixt them; but withall, he told him freely, he could not think it advisable to proceed further in Treaty (and he expelled the other Commissioners would be of the same mind) till he remanded all those Troops he had sent into Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmerland, during that time.

E Lambert upon advice with his Officers, would not let Banister passe, but sent him back to Barwick; for he now began plainly to perceive, that the General intended nothing less than to treat further; whereupon both sides prepared for War: But Lambert was so daily Alarm'd with the success of the Commissioners at Portsmouth, and the daily submission of several Troops and Companies of men, That he thought it more necessary to march Southward to assist his Friends in London, than hazard Battail with Gen. Monk.

At which time, Fleetwood with the rest of his Committee of Safety, were in no less disorder; for perceiving every hour, that some of their Souldiers forsook their party, they abandon'd all: And Fleetwood with great Contrition and submission, in behalf of the rest of his Confederates, sent to the Speaker, to desire him to send to the rest of the Parliament Members; and with them to return to the exercise of their Trust and Power for the Government of the Nation; acknowledging, That the Lord had blasted their Councils, and (to repeat his own words) spit in their faces.

Upon this, several Members met privately in the Speakers House, and gave Colonel Okey, Colonel Markham, Colonel Alured, and Colonel Moss, orders to draw the Regiments about Westminster, to a Rendezvous in Lincoln-Inne-fields; which being performed accordingly, the Souldiers declared to live and dye with the Parliament, and march'd down Chaucery-Lane, where at the Rolls they made a halt till the Speaker came to them, and received their acknowledgements, and from thence by his Orders, they went to their Quarters, having first from him received the Word.

G And two dayes after, that is to say, on the 16th of December, in the Evening, the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, refused the Government, and sat in the Parliament-House, having met first in White-Hall in the Council-Chamber, from whence they went on foot through Channon-Rowe (the Mace being carried before the Speaker) to Westminster-Hall, where as they pass'd, the Souldiers upon the Guard stood in Ranks, and made acclamations. At their first meeting, They ordered, Colonel Alexander Popham, Col. Thompson, Mr. Scot, Col. Okey, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Colonel Matthew Alured, and Colonel Markham, or any three of them, to

R r r 2

A Letter of Advice from Monk to Lambert.

The Treaty between Monk and Lambert broke off.

Lamberts party daily decrease upon the appearance of the Portsmouth Commissioners.

Fleetwood submits, and desires the Members to sit again.

Several Regiments being drawn up in Lincoln-Inne-fields, declare for the late Members.

They take their Seats again in the Parliament-house.

They order several Commissioners for the management of the Army.

Glencairn Argues to the General, for allowing them to Arm for his Assistance.

The Scotch Nobility depart from Barwick.

The General prepares to make defence against Lambert, if occasion were.

What advantages he had against Lamberts Army.

Differences betwixt the City of London and the Army, party there.

The Souldiers affected by the Apprentices, not without some blood-shed.

Oppositions from all parts increase against Lamberts faction.

order, direct, and Conduct the Forces of the Army, and all other Forces, and to Command the same to suppress all Tumults, Insurrections and Rebellions, and all such Forces which shall oppose or resist the Command of the Parliament, and to observe such Orders and directions as they should receive from time to time from the Parliament, or the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament, to Command the Army, or any three of them, till they shall come to London or Westminster, or until the Parliament shall take further order.

This was signified to Lamberts Brigade in the North, to draw them off from him, but they were all upon breaking, before the news came to them.

Mr. Evelyns attempt to bring over Colonel Morley to the King.

In the 7 19th Page of this History, though we deferred, we do not yet forget to insert a very material Negotiation for his Majesty's Service, attempted upon the Interruption given to the Parliament by Col. Lambert, and those that joyn'd with him therein, which was managed by one Mr. Evelyn of Say's Court near Deptford in Kent, an Active, Vigilant, and very Industrious Agent on all occasions for his Majesty's Restoration; who upon conjecture that the Members of this supposititious Parliament could not but ill resent that affront, endeavour'd to make an advantage of fixing the impression of it to the ruine of the Army: for the effecting whereof, he applied himself to Coll. Herbert Morley, then newly Constituted one of the Five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, as a Person by his Birth, Education, and Interest, unlikely to be cordially inclin'd to prostitute himself to the Ruine of his Country, and the Infamy of his Posterity.

Mr. Evelyn gave him some Visits to attemper his affection by degrees to a confidence in him, and thence by consequence to engage him in his Designs; and to induce him the more powerfully thereunto, he put into his hands an Excellent and unanswerable hardy Treatise by him written, and several times reprinted, intituled, *An Apology for the Royall Party*; which he back'd with so good Arguments, and dextrous Addresses, that after some private discourse, the Colonel was so well inclin'd, as to recommend to him the procurement of his Majesty's Grace for him, his Brother-in-law Mr. Fagg, and one or two more of his Relations. This, Mr. Evelyn faithfully promised to endeavour, and taking the opportunity of Sir Samuel Tuke's going at that time into France, he by him acquainted the King (being then at Pontois with the Marquis of Ormond, and others of his Council) with the Transaction of this Affair, whereupon he was so well pleas'd, as to declare, If Col. Morley, and those for whom he interceded, were not of those execrable Judges of his Blessed Royall Father. (as indeed some of the List had most injuriously presented him) they should have his Pardon, and he receive such other Rewards as his Services should deserve.

Upon the transmitting this advice to the King, the Colonel left London, because of the Jealousie which Fleetwood and Lambert had of him; but before he went, he desired Mr. Evelyn to Correspond with him in Sussex, by the means of Mr. Fagg his Brother-in-law, who then lay in the Mines.

Mr. Evelyn had good reason to believe Col. Morley very capable of serving his Majesty at this time, as having much a better Interest in Sussex, than any of the Party; whereby he might have facilitated the King's Reception in that County, in case His Affairs had required his Landing there, of which there were then some deliberations: But besides his Power in Sussex, he had, as he affirmed, an Influence on Two of the best Regiments of the Army, and good Credit with many of the Officers of the Fleet.

But before there could be any return from France of the King's determination in this matter, there intervened many little Changes in the posture of Affairs.

Upon the advance of Generall Monk in favour of the Parliament, and the universal inclination of the Army to him, Colonel Morley expected the restitution of that Power, and with it, of his own Authority, and was Leagued with Walton and Haslerigg in a private Treaty with Colonel Witham the Governour of Portsmouth, for the delivery of that Garrison to them; whilst Fagg kept aside privately from London, to raise a Regiment in Sussex to promote these Designs, but was suppress'd before he got any considerable Numbers of Men together.

Mr. Evelyn in the interim of these intrigues, in vain endeavour'd by all imaginable wayes to communicate the King's Pleasure to Colonel Morley, who was by this time in the Garrison of Portsmouth.

But when the Parliament re-assum'd their Power; and he was plac'd in the Government of the Tower of London, he thought it expedient to renew the former Negotiation between them for his Majesty's Service, as being then in a Post of most advantage for it; and in order thereunto, he often by Visits made application to him, but could never above once procure access, which ending onely in a Complement, and an uncertain answer, put Mr. Evelyn into a resolution of surmounting the difficulty of access, by writing freely to him in this manner:

That he came with a design to Congratulate his return, and the new Charge he had acquir'd, because he was perswaded he affected it onely for that noble advantage which he had more particularly discour-

Mr. Evelyns Letter to Col. Morley.

This is now a true Copy of my Letter:

sed to him, had his weighty Concernments favour'd him with an opportunity, or with the intercourse he promis'd him. But since his late attempts at the Tower made him despair of that happiness, he had presum'd to write to him, and to assure him of his earnest desires to serve him in something which should conduce to his honour, and to a stability of it beyond all that any present appearances could promise; That he was confident he had a nobler Prospect upon the success of the late Design, than to prostitute his Virtue and his Conduct to subserve the Passion or Avarice of any particular persons whatsoever, striving to enrich themselves with the spoiles which they daily ravish'd from their miserable Country, and for which they so zealously pursued the ruine of it, by labouring to involve men of the best Natures, and Reputation, into their own inextricable Labyrinths: That there was now an opportunity put into his hands, by improving whereof, he might securely act for the good of his Country, the redemption of it from the insupportable Tyranny, Injustice and Impiety, under which it had ground for so many years, through the treachery of many wicked, and the mistakes of some well natur'd men: In short, That by this, he should oblige even those whom they mistook for their greatest Enemies, to embrace and cherish him as a Person meriting the Honour of a brave and worthy Patriot, and to reward him with the noblest expressions of it, when by the best Interpretation of his Charity in obedience to the Divine dictates, he should thus heap Coals of Fire upon their heads, which would at once give both light and warmth to this afflicted Nation, Church, and People, not to be extinguish'd any more by those Impostors, whom God had so signally blown off the Stage, to place such in their stead, as had opportunities given them of restoring us to our Ancient Laws, native and most happy Liberties: That it was this which he held himself oblig'd to wish, to remind him off, to encourage him in, and to pronounce as the sincerest testimony of his Congratulations for his Return. And that having said thus much, he hoped he would not look on his Letter as any servile Address; but if he still retain'd that Favour to, and Confidence of the Person who presented it, which he had reason to promise himself, he conjur'd him to believe that he had made a perfect acquisition of his Service; and that however events might succeed, the Consideration onely of having done what became him, would return him abundant satisfaction. Finally, That he was still the same Person greedy of an opportunity to recommend the integrity of his affection, by prosecuting the Service he once injoyn'd him, and which he hoped he should not find without some capacities of expressing in effects, as well as in words, &c.

This Letter, written about the beginning of January, produc'd no reply; but in this conjuncture, certainly the most formidable, fierce, and full of Confusion that ever England had seen since it was a Nation; it was most unsafe for any of the Royall Party to have been meddling, especially it being as yet so hard to make any comfortable Prognosticks from the discreet Motions out of Scotland. What it was which induc'd Col. Morley, (at the time of his being Lieutenant of the Tower, a Post that qualified him (as matters then stood) to have done what he pleas'd) to decline Commerce with Mr. Evelyn for the King's Service, Whether it was that he doubted of the Concurrence of his Officers and Soldiers, so long





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Col. *Sirard's* Regiment; To *Buckingham* 3 Companies, to *Northampton* five Companies, and A to *Newark* upon *Trent* two Companies. The Confidence the General had of Colonel *Sirard*, in placing his Regiment in the midst of the Kingdoms, afterwards proved a good Expedient at the Breaking out of *Lambert*.  
The Regiment belonging to *Fleetwood*; To *Hereford* two Companies, to *Oxford* four Companies, to *Worcester* four Companies.  
Col. *Moss's* Regiment; To *Cambridge* five Companies, and to *Ely* five Companies.  
Col. *Fitch's* Regiment; To *Chichester* five Companies, and the rest to *Winchester*.

The Disposition of those to be in London, were in this Order:

The General's own Regiment of Horse in the *Mews*, and in the *Sirard*.  
Col. *Knight's* Regiment; To have four Troops in *King Street*, and *Twiltie Street* in *Westminster*, and two Troops in *Holborn*.  
Col. *Cloppher's* Regiment; Two Troops in *Southwark*, one in *Bishops-Gate-Street*, and three in *Smithfield*.

The General's Regiment of Foot in *St. James's*, and Parts adjacent.  
Col. *Read's* Regiment in *Somerset-house*, the *Strand*, *Long-Acre*, *Covent-Garden*, and *St. Martin's Lane*.

Col. *Lydcot's* Regiment in *Thauer-house*, *Peter-house*, and Parts adjacent.  
Col. *Flubbert's* Regiment, in *Holborn*, *Smithfield*, and Parts adjacent.  
Col. *Fagg's* Regiment in *Southwark*.

Col. *Adair's* Regiment in the *Tower*, and Parts adjacent.  
The next Morning the General march'd towards *Leicester*, and he met *Scot* and *Robinson*, the *Parliament's* Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him, till he came to *London*.

The General's Answer, concerning the Oath of Abjuration. *Scot* and *Robinson's* Message to him from the House.

At *Leicester* the General expected to be attacked about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled, to think how to divert it. *Charges* told him, He had a plain and a fair Answer to make to them; which was, That he heard many men of undoubted Integrity had refused the Oath, and till he came to *London*, to hear the Reasons on both sides, for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence resolve it. This Advice he follow'd, and succeeded in it. *Scot* and *Robinson*, at their first interview told him, That the *Parliament* had Ordered a Thousand Pounds a Year for ever, to be sent on him, and appointed them to wait on him with it; and to let him know, the sense the *Parliament* had of his great Services, and that they were providing Monies for his Soldiers, and were glad to hear of his repairing to *London*.

The General was never more put to it than in this Journey, to dissemble his Inclinations; For these men watch'd every moment of his time: At *Harbrow* *Alderman Fowke*, *Alderman Vinay*, and Mr. *Bromfield*, met him as Commissioners from the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*; and, at the same time, Sir *John Norris*, with many of the chief Gentry of *Northamptonshire*, welcom'd him into their County.

The Citizens, after a Congratulatory Speech, fell upon Particulars, for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. *Bromfield*, in a handsome free Speech, after the enumeration of the several Calamities it lay under, as the best Remedy, proposed the re-admission of the Secluded Members, that the *Parliament* might be made full and free. *Scot* was so impatient at this, That he took the Words out of the Generals Mouth, and would not permit him to answer them. He told them, Now the *Parliament* had subjected the Military Power, to a due subordination to the Civil, they were free, and that having already given their Judgment in the Case of the Secluded Members, it did not become them to insist on their re-admission. *Fowke* endeavour'd to qualify what *Bromfield* had propos'd, by saying, He consider'd they were not oblig'd by their Instructions, to desire the Generals Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, since it was unreasonable, that they should be Govern'd by a *Parliament* where they had not their Representatives.

This Discourse, on all sides, was manag'd with some heat; and the General was forc'd to comply with *Scot* and *Robinson*, in their Extravagancies, to preserve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him somewhat unsatisfied, and so they continued, till he sent *Charges* privately to give them a better understanding of his Intentions. But Sir *John Norris*, and the *Northamptonshire* Gentlemen, who were prepar'd to attend him at *Northampton* with an Address, were so much discourag'd, that they thought to decline it, till Doctor *Barrow* request'd Mr. *Philip Howard*, to advise them to proceed in their Intentions; and to assure them, That though they had not a satisfactory Answer, they might be sure it would produce a good Effect. At *Northampton* Sir *John Norris* deliver'd his Address; and as he march'd to *St. Albans*, several of the same nature were presented to him, from the Gentry of *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Norfolk*, and almost all Counties, which did all agree in the same Matter, (viz.) For the Resignation of the Members Secluded in the Year, 1648, and the filling up the Vacancies in *Parliament*, or else for the calling a full and free *Parliament*. All which were answer'd with much respect by him, although he durst not discover his approbation of their Desires; And it is very observable, That in all the Counties, so much Caution was observ'd, That no Gentlemen sign'd any of these Addresses, that had ever been engag'd in his present Majesties, or his Royal Fathers Cause, nor scarce any of the Sons of such.

Commissioners from the City, met the General at *Hatfield*.

They propos'd the re-admission of the Secluded Members. *Scot* ris'd up, opposeth them;

The General seems to comply with *Scot* and *Robinson*.

Sir *John Norris*, and the Gentlemen of *Northamptonshire*, make an Address to him. Several other Addresses, pleading for a Free *Parliament*.

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At *Bunstable* the General consult'd Major *Knight* and *Charges*, about the filling up the Blanks, in the Letter prepar'd at *Northampton*, having had Thoughts to send it by *Charges*, *Knight*, or *Clark*, his Secretary: But upon further consideration, it was thought convenient, not to part with *Knight*, because his presence would be requisite with his Troops, if any Disorders should happen, upon their march to *London*; as for *Clark*, he was so necessary to be with the General, for the issuing our Orders, that he could not be spar'd: and for *Charges*, it was judg'd more expedient, that he should be sent before, to prepare a Party in the House; so that *Lydcot* was chosen to be sent, as one very good and fit to the Speaker, to whom he was near ally'd, and Friday was the Day infer'd for his March into *London*. And upon the next Dayes Consultation, which was Saturday in the Evening, the 28 of January, he was dispatch'd away: And on Monday the Letter was deliver'd, which caus'd a long and violent Debate: *Hastlerigg* told them, the Council of State had before agreed, that four Regiments of those in *London* should march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevail'd that he said against the Generals Letter: So that after a Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the Result was in these Words.

Monday, January the 30. 1659.

Upon Reading of a Letter from *St. Albans*, from General *Monck*, Dated the 28 of January, 1659. and two Lists therein.

Resolved upon the Question by the *Parliament*, That the *Parliament* doth agree with the Distribution of the Soldiers, according to these Lists.

Resolved upon the Question by the *Parliament*, That it be refer'd to the Commissioners of the Army, to see the Soldiers forthwith distributed accordingly.

*Lydcot* returns to the General, with the welcome News of these Votes, as well might it be so to him; for from the moment of the execution of them, which gave him the possession of *London*, he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the whole Armies, in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

Captain *Cuff*, an Agent from Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland*, had attended the General, in all his March from *Newcastle* to *London*; and given him, from time to time, an account of all Occurrences, by which means, the General kept a strict Correspondence both with him, the Lord *Broughill*, and several others of the chief Officers there: Who, although they had reduced all that Kingdom to the Obedience of the *Parliament*, were nevertheless suspected by them; and *Scot* insinuated to the General, That notwithstanding all their Pretences, he had good grounds to believe, they had some other Interest in their Aims, than that of the present *Parliament*.

The General diverted this Jealousie, with assurances of their Fidelity, and that he would undertake for them; which allay'd the Suspicion for that time, or at least to rak'd it up in Ashes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

The Regiments that were to march from *London*, to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Months Pay assign'd to them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Muriny at their departure, especially those that Quarter'd at *St. James's* and *Somerset-house*, which was not without great Indultry of the Officers appear'd: Upon which follow'd about Midnight, an Insurrection in the City, where about six or seven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to joyn with them for a Free *Parliament*, and the Liberty of the City, in expectation to have the Soldiers joyn with them; but two Troops of Horse suddenly dispers'd most of them, and took the rest (about Eight and Thirty) Prisoners, which were the next Morning committed to *Lambeth-house*: This Insurrection, together with the Disorders of the Soldiers, so frighted the Council of State, that in the beginning of the fore-going Night, they had sent to the General, to march with all hast into *London*; but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew not near the Town till the Morning, and in the Afternoon, the others being all march'd out, Tumults quieted, and all both within and without in a great Calm; He march'd with his Army by *Grays-Inn-Lane* into *Holborn*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and so through *Temple-Barre*, along the *Strand*, to *White-Hall*. The Three Regiments of Horse march'd first, and He in the Head of them gallantly mounted, with his Trumpets richly Habited before him, and several Led-Horses after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and several Persons of Honour and Quality; and after them march'd the Foot: The Speaker of the House met him in the Street near *Somerset-house*, where they Complemented each other: after which the General march'd on to *White-Hall*, and the Speaker went to the Rolls: As soon as the Soldiers were Quarter'd, and all the Guards set, the General was visit'd by several of the Council of State; and being invited to take his place there, he went, in Compliance with them: But when the Oath of Abjuration was tender'd, he refused it, for the Reason before-mentioned, and was therefore not admitted, whereupon he return'd to his Apartment. The next Day was spent in Visits to him, from all the Members of *Parliament*, and many other Persons of the highest Quality: Mr. *Scot* told him, The *Parliament* did intend on Monday, publicly in their House, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected, he should there make publique Professions of his Affections to their Interest and Authority, and his Dislike of the Addresses to him, for the Secluded Members, and a Free *Parliament*.

*Lydcot* made choice of, for the carrying of the Generals Letter to the House, about the sending of their Soldiers out of the City.

The House consent to the Generals Desire.

The General hath constant Intelligence of all Affairs in *Ireland*, by means of Captain *Cuff*.

A Muriny among some of the Souldiers, that were to depart out of the City. ARist giveth the City, dispers'd by the Souldiers.

General *Monck* marcheth with his forces into the City of *London*.

He refuseth the Oath of Abjuration.

*Scot* inviteth him how to receive the intended Congratulations of the House.

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He made little Answer to him, but that he was much oblig'd to them, for the Honour of so great a Respect, and should endeavour by his future Services, to give Evidences of his just Remenbrances of it.

It is observable, That from this time, in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commissioner *Munk*, and not General: And although yet no publique Order had superseded the Commission of Commander in Chief, sent to him by the Council of State, they allow'd him no Authority, but conjunct with others, whereof he took little notice, but proceeded as before in the sole Exercise of the Command of the Army. He was somewhat perplex'd, how to behave himself in the Parliament, in reference to the great Professions and Pretensions they expected from him, of his Aversions from the King and his Party, to ballance his refusing the Oath of Abjuration: but he was resolv'd to act in that occasion, as moderate as the Season would bear, and yet to temper his Speech so, as not altogether to fail their Expectations.

On Monday, which was the Sixth of February, he was brought to the Court of Wards by *Scott, Robinson*, and some other Members; after which, *Scott* acquainted the House with his being there; Whereupon the Sergeant with his Mace being sent to attend him, carried it before him; *Scott* and *Robinson* conducting him into the House, to a Place on the left Hand within the Barre, where a Carpet was laid with Velvet, wasfer for him to sit on.

As soon as he had made Obedience, the Speaker bid him sit down; but he desiring to be excused, and standing behind the Chair, the Speaker expressed himself to him in these words:

The Speakers Speech to him.

*I* have been a common Observation, that the lighter Passions have a loud Voice, but such as are of greater Magnitude are always silent: As it is in Passions, so in Actions also: Those of a lesser Dimension, are often magnified above their Measure, but Historians do commonly fail in the Expressions of Noble and Great Actions, and such are frequently less'n'd; and so it may well be in those of this Dayes Remembrance: The Infalible Author tells us, That in Judea is God known, and his Name is great in Israel; That Knowledge and Greatness of GOD is verified in the Instance of Martial Affairs, That the stout-hearted are spoiled, they have slept their sleep, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands. This is verified this Day amongst us here present, that both We and You might acknowledge, that it is GOD, not Man, that hath perform'd this Great Work; that We his Creatures here may neither ascribe it to our wisdom, or our Valour, but that it was GOD alone, and none else. But yet I have always observ'd, that albeit the Glory appertains to the LORD, yet the Influence of that Glory extends it self to the Instruments in his hand; and thereby those Beames enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an especial Instrument; not as a Merit, but as a Reward upon your Prudence and wise Conduct. The Knowledge of what hath been done in this our Reformation, is not unknown in these Nations; I believe, to this Part of the World, how our Friends (as we conceiv'd) left us, and what Desolation hath been in Duty and Trust. The Face of this Land was covered with a Gloomy and Black Cloud, and the whole Nation left in the Judgment of Man, to the uttermost of Ruine: But, in that Condition, we did as the Prophet, in the greatest Misery of Israel, espy a little Cloud, no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an instant, become the Refreshment of the whole Nation: That little Cloud was discern'd afar off in your Hands, and by the Prudence of your wise Conduct, it dispersed the Miseries of these Nations, and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This House hath a true Resentment of your Prudence and Conduct in this great Work, and have commanded Me to return their hearty Thanks: But I must not end here, for they have also a full Sense of those Noble Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty, in this Expedition; And as I have return'd to You their Thanks, so it is their Desire, that you should return the same to Your Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, who have been Instrumental in these Actions.

After he had ended, the Generall stood up and spake as followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

The Generals Speech, in Answer to the Speakers.

*A*mongst the many Mercies of God to these poor Nations, your peaceable Reformation is not the least; It is (as you said) his Work alone, and to Him belongs the Glory of it; and I esteem it as a great effect of his Goodness to me, that he was pleas'd to make me, amongst many worthier in your Service, some way Instrumental in it. I did nothing but my Duty, and deserve not to receive so great an Honour and Respect as you are pleas'd to give me at this

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A "this time and place, which I shall ever acknowledg as a high mark of your Favour to me.

"SIR, I shall not now trouble you with large Narratives, only give me leave to acquaint you, That as I march'd from Scotland hither, I observ'd the People in most Counties in great and earnest expectations of a Settlement, and severall Applications were made to me with numerous Subscriptions to them; The chiefest Heads of their Desires were for a Free and a full Parliament, and that you would determine your Sitting; a Gospel Ministry, Encouragement of Learning and Universities, and for admittance of the Members seclused before the year 1648. without any previous Oath or Engagement. To which I commonly Answer'd, That you are now in a Free Parliament, and if there be any force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it; and that you had Voted to fill up your House, and then you would be a full Parliament also; And that you had already determined your Sitting: And for the Ministry their maintenance, the Lawes and Universities, you had largely declared concerning them in your last Declaration; and I was Confident you would adhere to it: But as for those Gentlemen seclused in the year 1648. I told them, you had given Judgment in it, and all people ought to acquiesce in that Judgment; but to admit any Members to sit in Parliament without a previous Oath or Engagement, to serve the Government in being, it was never done in England.

"But although I said it not to them, I must say with pardon to you, That the less Oaths and Engagements are imposed, (with respect had to the Security of the Common Cause) your Settlement will be the sooner attain'd to. I am the more particular in these matters, to let you see how gratefull your present Consultations about these things will be to the People. I know all the sober Gentry will close with you, if they may be tenderly and Gently us'd; and I am sure you will so use them, as knowing it to be the common Concern to to amplify and not to lessen our Interest, and to be careful that neither the Cavaleer, nor Phanatique Party have yet a Share in your Civill or Military Power; of the last of whose Impatience to Government, you have lately had so severe experience. I should say something of Ireland and Scotland; Indeed Ireland is in an ill settled Condition, and made worse by your Interruptions, which prevented the passing an ACT for the Settlement of the Estates of Adventurers and Souldiers there, which I heard you intended to have done in a few dayes; and I presume it will be now quickly done, being so necessary at this time, when the Wants of the Commonwealth call for Supplies; and People will unwillingly pay Taxes for those Estates of which they have no legall Assurance: I need not tell you how much you were abused in the nomination of your Officers of your Armies there, their malice that deceiv'd you, hath been sufficiently manifested; I do affirm, That those now that have declared for you, will continue faithful, and thereby Evince, that as well there as here, it is the sober Interest must establish Dominion. As for Scotland, I must say, The People of that Nation deserve much to be Cherish'd; and I believe your late Declaration will much glad their Spirits; for nothing was to them more dreadfull, than a fear to be o're-run with Phanatique Notions: I humbly recommend them to your Affection and Esteem, and desire the intended Union may be prosecuted, and their Taxes made proportionable to those in England, for which I am Engag'd to promise to become a Suitor to you: And truly, Sir, I must ask leave to intreat you to make a speedy Provision for their Civill Government there, of which they have been destitute near a Year, to the ruine of many Families; And except Commissioners for managing of the Government, and Judges to sit in Courts of Judicature, be speedily appointed, that Countrey will be very miserable.

"I directed Mr. Gumble lately to present some Names to you both for Commissioners and Judges; but by reason of your great Affairs, he was not required to deliver them in Writing, but I humbly present them to your Consideration.

And so concluding, he deliver'd them the Paper wherein the said Names were contain'd.

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His Speech excepted against by Scott and those of his Party.

The City continue inale- content.

The Generall Order'd to march into the City and pull down the Gates.

He obeys their Orders, though unwillingly.

Mr. Jolly's Prudent Speech to the Generall.

The Generall Writes to the House, to mitigate their Commands.

They so much the more Rur'd up, send more rigorous Orders than before.

The Generall Commands the Gates and Percullices to be broken down.

Scott and some others were much offended that he assum'd so much in this Speech, and were once thinking to interrupt him. They complained to their Confidants, *That he was too positive in undertaking for the Officers in Ireland, of whose Affections to the Parliament in the present Constitution of it, there was just cause of doubt; and that in the whole Speech he seem'd to affect Popularity, and gave the Cavaliers a possibility of being received into the exercise of Trust, with a total Exclusion of the more strict Parliament-Party, under the Notion of Phanatiques.*

But that which at this time more disquieted these men than the Generall's Speech, was the discontented Carriage of the City; for the Common-Council had been in very high Debates about the Government, and were resolv'd to pay no publick Taxes till the House was fill'd up with equal Representatives: This they looked upon as drawing towards a Contempt of their Authority, and thought they could not better provide for their own Securities, than by opposing in time, and punishing such contumacies; they therefore on the 8th of February in the Evening at the Council of State. Order the Generall to go into London the next Morning with a good part of the Army, and to seize upon Eleven of the most active of the Common-Council, and commit them to the Tower, as also to pull down the Posts and Chains, and take down the Gates and Percullices of the City, and Quarter his Souldiers there, till they were reduced to Obedience.

The Generall was surpris'd at this Command, and debated many things with them in mitigation of its execution of it, till near one in the Morning the next day, but nothing could divert their Resolution; so that he was forc'd to obey their Orders, or quit his Command, for he had no longer time to deliberate, than that very Morning in which they were to be put in Execution; insomuch, that after three or four hours of repose to refresh himself, he march'd into the City, and pull'd down the Posts and Chains, and took into Custody Nine of the Citizens which he had Orders to secure, the other two absented themselves: The Nine Imprisoned, were Mr. Lawrence Bromfield of Tower-Street, Alderman Vincent, Mr. Thomas Brown of Woodstreet, Mr. Daniell Spencer in Frydaystreet, Mr. Penning in Fan-Church-Street, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Richard Ford. The City was much Alarm'd at this proceeding; And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and several of the chiefest of the Citizens applied themselves to him to moderate his Actions. All the City indeed seem'd as People confounded with wonder and Anxiety. And Colonel Hubblethorne and others, the Generall's own Officers were many of them so much troubled, That they came to him to offer up their Commissions, rather than be employed in such an Action: They told him, *The honour and respect they had to his Person, engaged them never to serve against him, or dispute his Orders; but in this, since they could not without horror obey them, they with tears pray'd him to dispose of their Commands to some more necessary persons.* He was mov'd much at these their passionate expressions, but privately inform'd them of his own dislike of what was Commanded; and therefore Conjur'd them to continue their Confidence in him, and execute what he had given them in Charge, as that from which better effects would ensue, than was convenient at that time to be explain'd. With this they went away somewhat better contented, though not fully satisfied. He took his Quarter at the Three Tunns in Guild-Hall-Yard, where, notwithstanding this accident, he received with much Civility those which came to him: Among whom, one Mr. Jolly, a discreet Citizen, with modesty and temper represented to him the Inconveniences of what he had undertaken, and told him, *The Affections of the City to him was such, that what e're he reasonably could desire of them, should be easier obtain'd by Persuasion, than Force. That the Controversie between Enemies had nothing in it extraordinary; but to be ill Treated by Friends, was very grievous. When Hewson march'd into the City with a greater Number, he could not Compass his Ends, but received Opposition with Contumelies and Affronts both to his Person and Party: But when he came, a generall Calm and Kindness was seen in the Countenances of the People: And now that he had put his most rigorous Orders in Execution, they seem'd rather amaz'd with Astonishment to receive it from his hand, than provok'd to resent the Indignity of it.*

This Prudent Speech made great impression on him, insomuch that he told them thereupon, *That he had Orders to take down the Gates and Percullices as well as the Posts and Chains, but he would immediately write to the Parliament to mitigate their Commands. And accordingly he writ to acquaint them, That he had secur'd all the Persons given him in charge to Imprison, except Two that were absent; And that the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had appointed a meeting of the Common-Council, where they doubted not that all things would be compos'd to their Satisfaction, and the Assessments be pay'd, (which was the chiefest cause of his March into London) so that thereupon he had forbore to meddle with the Gates and Percullices, till he should receive further Orders, because such severe acting would highly incense the City, and he hop'd by mild means to reduce them to reason.* This Letter made them higher than before; for whereas in their former Orders they had appointed him only to unhinge the Gates, and pull down the Percullices; They now Command him to destroy both Gates and Percullices: And to prevent the meeting of the Common-Council, they Order'd, *That the present Common-Council of the City should be dissolv'd; and declared them null and void. And without any other Answer, they sent their Votes to the Generall.*

Upon this return, he was not a little perplex'd in Mind, and very thoughtfull what to do; but at last he resolv'd fully to execute his Orders, that the House might not take occasion from his dispute of them, in the unfetled Condition of the Souldiers, to vacate his Commission, and thereupon Commanded his Souldiers to Break all the Gates and Percullices in pieces. Which done, on Fryday in the Evening he came back to White-Hall; but at his return, Scott and Hazle-

vigg.

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A rigg, and some others of their Violent Friends were very much mov'd as if he had disobey'd his Orders, by which they said he was to continue with his Army in the City, till several Designs of theirs for the further humbling them to their purposes should be effected; and there was a Whisper as if he were to have been Question'd for it. It was also artificially contriv'd, that the same day the Gates were pull'd down, a Petition from a Factious Phanatique Party of Citizens was presented by one *Praise-God-Barnboe* to the House, to Countenance the Action, and to press an Oath of Renunciation to be taken by all that should be employed in Civil and Military Affairs: Nevertheless, to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, They had the Thanks of the House for their Moderation, in this time of disorder in the City.

That Evening *Clarges* privately went to the Generall, and represented to him the ill Consequences of his Proceedings in London; And that the Influence that City had by Commerce and other occasions all over England, would quickly diffuse the Infamy of the Fall: And all the Cities and Towns would be Alarm'd, believing if that Great City should be made a Village, all their Franchises and Priviledges would be quickly Subverted. So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return into the City with his Army, and declare for a Free Parliament. The Generall though he demur'd a little, upon this Counsel, yet he seem'd very sensible of the Contempt they at Westminster had put upon him in the whole Progress of this Affair, and was resolv'd after a day or two's private Consultation with some of his Officers, to do something to regain the Esteem he had lost; for the performance of which, he said he would take time, but till Tuesday Morning. This was the effect of their first Discourse. But a while after, Dr. Barrow came to *Clarges*, earnestly urging him to renew his Advice to the Generall, setting forth, *That delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his power the doing what he intended; And that it was most necessary to be speedy in the retrieving the good Opinion of the City, to manifest thereby the greater dislike of what he had done the day before, as that to which the necessity of the time (against his own Inclination) press'd him to. Whilest they were in this Discourse, Two Officers of the Army in whom the Generall then had much Trust, came in to them, and they altogether went to him again, and with the same Arguments reiterated, dissuaded from delay; Adding, *That they had certain Intelligence, that the Council of State began to be jealous of him, for that little Favour he shew'd to the City in the execution of his Orders, and that he ought therefore in Prudence to provide for his own Safety.* Barrow was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next Morning; And the Generall with *Clarges*, *Thompson*, *Saunders*, and *Barton*, which two last were adviced with as two Officers that very much inclin'd to Admission of the Secluded Members, Consulted what to offer to the House as a ground for their March into London: At last, waving all thought of making any excuse for marching into the City, they conclude, That Orders should be privately issued for about a dozen of the chief Officers, in whom he had greatest Confidence, to meet at Six the next Morning at the Generall's Quarters, and for the drawing of some men together before White-Hall, to be ready to March; And that a Letter should be sent to the House in the Morning sign'd by the Generall and a Select number of Military Officers, to Complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongst others,*

*E That they gave too much Countenance to Lambert, Vane, and severall that Engag'd with the late Committee of Safety; And that they had permitted Ludlow and some others to sit in their House; that had been by Sir Charles Coot and some of the Irish Officers accused of High Treason; And had Countenanced too much a late Petition, to exclude the most Sober and Conscientious both Ministers and others by Oaths, from all Employment or Maintenance: And in Conclusion, to Request, That by Fryday next they should Issue out Writs to fill up their House, and when fill'd, should rise at their appointed time, to give place to a Full and a Free Parliament.*

*F The Generall having agreed to these Heads, retir'd to his repose, whilest the rest penn'd the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the name of the rest of the Officers of the Army. The next day the Officers who had been sent for to meet at White-Hall, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced and read to them, (the Generall being present) and by all of them approv'd of, whereupon the Generall Signed it, and with him severall Colonels (viz.) *Saunders*, *Read*, *Lydcote*, *Knigh*, *Clobery*, *Redman*, and *Hubblethorne*. one Lieutenant Colonel, which was *Ethelbert Morgan*, who Commanded the Generall's own Regiment of Foot, and Six Majors, *Johnson*, *Barton*, *Smith*, *Barnister*, *Prynce*, and *Nicholls*; *Clobery* and *Lydcote* were sent with the Letter to the House, and *Clarges* at the same time was sent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the Generall's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City; and to dispose of him and the City to give him a favourable reception.*

*G These things thus order'd, the General immediately march'd away to Finsbury, where he drew up his Souldiers, till he should hear from *Clarges*, how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reserv'd, and averse to the Generals coming, as terrified with his Actions the day before, had applied himself to Alderman *Robinson*, and some others that he durst trust, and acquainted them privately, that the Generals coming was for good to the City and Kingdom; but did not instance the Particulars, of what was in agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, till it was known how they at Westminster should receive the Letter; Nevertheless, *Robinson* sends*

S C C 2

A Petition to the House from the Seclarian Party of the City.

Clarges Counsells the Generall to endeavour the speedy recovery of the City's good Opinion.

Dr. Barrow urges the danger of delay in this business.

The Generall upon advice with some of his Officers, concludes to return immediately.

The Substance of his Letter to the House.

The Letter being sign'd by the Generall and severall Officers, is sent by *Clobery* and *Lydcote*.

The Generall having sent *Clarges* before to my Lord Mayor, marches to Finsbury. *Clarges* finding my Lord Mayor or dissentfully resolves himself to Alderman *Robinson* for

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for two or three Aldermen of his Confidants, and with these they go to the Lord Mayor to mollify him, but without any effect for the present: Nevertheless, *Clarges* told him, the General was resolv'd, though he quarter'd not in the City, at least to be his Guest at Dinner: And accordingly, he sent to the General, to desire him to march with all his men to *Leaden-Hall street*, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While Matters were thus carry'd on in the City, the House was in great Disorder, at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporiz'd so far, as to shew no publique Disaffection, but Ordered,

The House dissimble their resentment of the Generals Letter, and give him good words.

That the Thanks of the House should be given to the General for his Faithful Service in securing of the City; and that, as to filling up the House, the Parliament were upon Qualifications, before the Receipt of his Letter, and the same should be dispatch'd in due time; and that Mr. Scot, and Mr. Robinson, should attend him with their Votes, in Answer to his Letter.

The General troubled at the Lord Mayor's Diffidence of him.

As soon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, *He was very welcome to his house but that the City was full of Fears and sad Apprehensions, of his sudden Return, after such violent Aliens as the Day before his Soldiers had been employed in.* The General told him, *He hoped to make them of another mind in few hours.* Yet was he inwardly somewhat troubled, not knowing what hindrance this Coldness he found might give to his Designs; inasmuch, that he call'd *Clarges* aside, and checkt him, as one who had over-hastily press'd him on, upon so little time of Consideration, to so great an Enterprize. To which, he answer'd, *That he was now too far advanc'd to go back; and that the best Advice he could give him, was, to desire the Lord Mayor presently to appoint the Aldermen and Common-Council, to meet him at four a Clock at Guild-Hall, and there to acquaint them with his real Intentions, to comply with the Desires of the whole Kingdom.*

Requests the calling of a Common-Council.

This Motion pleasing, and the said Request being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately sent out; but in the mean time, *Scot* and *Robinson* came to him from them at Westminster, with the before-mention'd Answer to the Letter.

Scot and Robinson sent from the House to the General, with their Answer to his Letter. Bridges & Clowberry sharply upbraids them.

Scot made Protestations of the Parliaments Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of staying in the City: But Colonel *Bridges*, an Officer of Ireland, that stood by, told them, *The General had no reason to credit their fair Speeches, since their Words and their Practices agreed not together, as was manifest in their Contempt of those his Friends in Ireland, who for his sake, hazarded themselves in their Service; And when now he came from the Irish Army, to impeach Ludlow and Jones of High-Treason, he could have no Justice, but was put off from Day to Day, when Praise-God Barebone could be heard and admitted with a Seditious Petition, the first moment he came to the Door of the House.* And *Clowberry* told them, *The General and all his Officers could not but perceive, that they grew jealous of them, and that they went about to Balance them, with such as had been their Enemies, which made it high-time for them to consult for their own safety.*

An Act for constituting Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

The General closed all with Moderation, telling them, *All would be well, if they strictly observed the Advice of the Letter, and issued out Writs on Friday next, for filling up their House.*

With this Answer they return'd to their Fellow-Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they pass'd an Act to divide the Government of the Army among Five Commissioners; namely, General *Monck*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, the Colonels, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Alured*, and made the Quorum of them to be Three.

This was oppos'd by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress: at last, for an Expedient, it was moved, That General *Monck* should always be one of the Three for Quorum: But upon putting the Question, 'twas carry'd in the Negative. When word was brought him of this their Ingratitude to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council, being met at Guild-Hall about Five of the Clock, the General told them,

The General executeth his late Proceeding in the City, before the Common-Council.

That the Employment whercon he was sent, at his last being in the City, was the most ingrateful to him that ever he undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if any thing less than quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Employment; nor did he value his Commission, out of any respect to himself, for he had often desired to lay it down; but as knowing how much it import'd both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclin'd as He, to the Settlement of these Nations; That what he had now to tell them, was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, to issue out Writs within seven dayes, for the filling up of their House; and when fill'd, to sit no longer, than till the Sixth of May, to give then Place to a full and a Free Parliament.

The City joyfully receives the News of a Free Parl.

The News of this was quickly dispers'd through all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bon-fires, and Ringing of Bells.

After

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A After this, he retir'd for some time to the Bull in Chappside, to give Order for the Quartering of his Soldiers, and went himself to Lodge at the Glass-house in Broad Street, till Drapers Hall could be accommodated for his Reception.

The Monday after his stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, To desire his presence with them, to assist with his Counsels, in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation.

To which he the next Day return'd Answer,

That till the Oath should be taken away, which put a barre to him and many others, from acting as Counsellors, his presence could not be useful to them there: And withall, he inform'd them, That the Distractions of the City were insur'd, by the continuance of Arms in the Hands of Phanatiques, and Persons Disaffected to the Parliament, who had 7000 lately out of the Stores deliver'd to them, and were providing more: Wherefore he desired them immediately to recall these Arms; and withall, to excuse his stay in the City for some longer time, till the Minds of the Citizens were compos'd.

The General's Answer to the Council of State, inviting him to come and sit with them.

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Chief of the Officers (hearing how earnest the Parliament was, to draw him again to White-Hall) importun'd his Continuance in the City, and to induce him to it; they assure him, it cannot be safe for him, or them, that he remove; for that they had certain Information, That many private Letters were sent from *Haslerigg*, and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Souldiery from him, and that certain men were employed to severall Regiments, to debauch them: This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolv'd before: So that when Colonel *Alured* came from the Council of State, to persuade him against staying in the City, he acquainted him with what he had heard. *Alured* labor'd to insuffle a Belief in him, of his having been mis-inform'd in those things. It was answer'd by the General, That he put no greater stress on those Reports, than to be vigilant over the Aliens and Motions of the several Parties, deferring the belief of them, till time should evince the truth. But he assur'd him, He was advis'd from Persons of good Fame, That notwithstanding that *Lambert* was resolv'd, and Vane put out of the Parliament, and order'd to leave the Town; yet the stay of the latter was resolv'd at, and Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, and several others, corresponded with them both.

The City, and chief Officers of his Army, dissuade him from hearkning to the Parliaments Invitations, to return back to Whitehall. Col. *Alured* solicits his return in vain.

D Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited, to the admission of the Secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Temper for it; but to prepare them, he received Visits from some of the Secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations. In this Method, he so far proceeded, as on the 18th of February, to have a Conference before him, of some of the Secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the Sitting Members, were, Sir *John Haslerigg*, *Morley*, *Thompson*, *Ashley-Cooper*, *Weaver*, *White*, *Feilder*, *Hutchinson*, and *Rawleigh*; *Scot* and *Reynolds* also were intended by the General to be there, but for want of timely Notice they came not. The Secluded Members that met them, were, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Colonel *Popham*, Mr. *Annesley*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Trevor*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Norton*, Sir *John Temple*, and Colonel *Birch*. They discours'd of many things, in order to a mutual Accord, for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the Sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their Consent, which could not be known but by Vote: Yet severally all of them who were then present, seem'd well satisfied with that Moderation and Temper, which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferr'd.

The General is importun'd from all Parties, to admit the Secluded Members.

He admits of a Conference before him, of the Sitting Members, with some of the Secluded.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done by Common Consent, he Resolv'd to admit them without it.

F The Officers of the Army were consult'd with, and they were willing enough to have them sit, on condition they would promise to Declare for a Common-Wealth Government, and pass an Act, for the Confirmation of the Possessions of their Lands, dispos'd of since their Seclusion, and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclin'd, to admit of those Conditions, Mr. *Clarges*, Colonel *Clowberry*, and Doctor *Gumble*, were appointed to Treat with some of them, who when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter;

The Officers of the Army consent to the admission of the Secluded, upon certain Conditions. Mr. *Clarges*, and others, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded, concerning the said Conditions.

The Secluded Members Declared, as to Government, they intended no alteration in it, or to all further, than in preparation for a Parliament to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Summon, but by writs, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, by Authority of Parliament, they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced: As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next Parliament, to pass an Act for their Confirmation; and for the time of their Sitting, They were contented it should determine in a Month's time. *Clowberry* urg'd the great Insecurity the Army and many of their

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Friends would be in, if their Publique Lands were not confirm'd, which was the Price of their Blood; and though their not disturbing such Possessions in England, might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of Ireland was unsettled, both as to Adventurers and Souldiers. To this it was Replyed, That they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all Jealousie of their Actions, they would consent to be Limited to the Chief Heads of what they should Consult, during the short time of their Continuance.

The Consultations upon what the Members had deliver'd of their Intention.

When the Conference ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the Secluded Members, except the not Confirmation of Publique Dispositions of Lands; and their refusing to pass any Acts of Parliament: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, Charles told the Officers, they had less need to trouble themselves about that, in regard he thought those Persons could not answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of respect to their own private Interests; That the greatest part of his own Estate was in Ireland, and that it was acknowledg'd by all, the greatest Insecurity of Publique Estates was in that Kingdom: yet he would for his own part submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament; rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the hazard of the Publique Peace. And as to that of Publique Acts, he told them, He doubted not, but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised, to supply the Necessities of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be, but by an Act.

The General & the Officers agree, upon admitting the Secluded Members.

The General, upon hearing this, seem'd very much satisfied; upon which, all the rest assented. And it was agreed, That the Secluded Members that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper, to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the Four Heads following.

The Chief Heads recommended to their Consultations.

1. To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the Three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.
2. For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.
3. To the appointing a Councill of State to settle the Civill Government and Judicatures in Scotland and Ireland, and to take care for the Issuing of Writs for the Summoning of a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 20<sup>th</sup> of April.
4. To their own Legall Dissolution.

The General meets them at White-Hall, in order to their Admission into the House.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on Tuesday following in the Morning, the General gave them a meeting at White-Hall; Whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations, with assurance, That he would impose nothing on them, they went to take their Places in the Parliament; being Conducted thither by Captain Miller who Commanded the Guards.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General Summon'd all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about London, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the Secluded Members; which was referred to a Committee to be drawn up, with speciall Directions to satisfy them, That nothing was intended for alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a Free State and Commonwealth: This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as affairs stood, to keep the Army in temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepar'd, and so many Clerks were employed, That Copies of it were that Night Signed and dispersed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was penn'd in these Words:

Dear Brethren and Fellow Souldiers;

The General's Letter to all the Regiments, to acquaint them with what he had done.

You cannot be Ignorant of the many Endeavours and earnest Desires of many good Men in these Nations to bring us to a Settlement; which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confusion: Which that we might prevent so great Calamities impending, after our earnest seeking God for his Direction and Assistance, we find no expedient so likely for the satisfaction of the Good People, and the Quiet and welfare of this Commonwealth, as the re-admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a Legall Dissolution of this Parliament by their own free Consent, and to Issue Writs for a future full Representative of the whole Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under such Qualifications as may secure our Cause, to convene on the Twentieth day of April next at Westminster, for the establishing of this Commonwealth upon the Foundations

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ons of Justice and true Freedom. And to take away all just Jealousies from you, we do assure you, That we shall joyn with you in the maintenance of those Ends, and do expect your Chearfull Concurrence with us; having no intentions or purposes, to return to our old Bondage; but since the Providence of God hath made us free at the cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithfull to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but we do resolve with the Assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear purchased Liberties, both Spirituall and Civill. The reason of Our proceeding in this manner may seem strange, but if you duly consider the necessities of our Affairs, and the present state of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure Publique Interest, and to engage the Nations peaceably to submit to a Free State; most of the said Members having given in full assurance, that their Session in Parliament shall not be longer than absolute necessity will require, to the putting the Government into Successive Parliaments, they not being free so to Act by the old Writs, as when they shall be called upon a Commonwealth accompt: And it's the Opinion of the truest Friends to a Free State, That it cannot be consistent with the perpetuall Sitting of these Members, being contrary to the nature of such a Government.

And as we are confident the present Parliament now Sitting, will not Repeal any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, for Sales, or publique dispositions of Lands; so we shall in our station observe, and cause to be observed, all other Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament whatsoever, and humbly interpose with the next succeeding Parliament, not only to passe a further ACT of Confirmation of all such Sales and Dispositions of Lands, here and in Scotland, but also of the distributions and dispositions of Lands and Houses in Ireland to the Souldiers, Adventurers, or any other Persons, made by or in pursuance of any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And we intreat you to send up an Officer to give to the Lord General Monck an accompt of your Acquiescence with us herein.

And if any disaffected persons shall take occasion to make disturbance of the Peace of the Commonwealth, either in favour of Charles Stuart, or any other pretended Authority, we desire you to secure them, till the pleasure of the Parliament or Councill of State be known in that behalf. You shall speedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Money; and indeed it was not the least Motive to induce us to this way of composition of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raising of Monies for the Subsistence of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwise have been done (if at all) but with effusion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to assure you that we shall ever remain

White-Hall, Feb. 11.

1652.

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers,

Your very affectionate Friends,

GEORGE MONCK,

R. Knight,  
John Clabery,  
Tho. Read,  
John Hubblethorne,  
Leonard Lydcott,  
Tho. Saunders,  
William Eyre,  
John Streeter,  
Richard Mosse,  
William Farley,  
Arthur Evelyn.

Colonels.

Ethelbert Morgan,  
James Muslow,  
James Emmerson,  
Joseph Witter,  
Dennis Pepper.

Lieut. Colonels.

James Dennis,  
Richard Wasthaff,  
Thomas Johnson,  
Francis Nicholls,  
Jer. Smith,  
Nathaniell Barton,  
Thomas Higgin,  
John Clarke.

Majors.

John Butler, Quarter-Master-Generall.

William Goodwin,  
Merry Ogle,

Captains.

Their

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Upon the Admission of the Secluded Members, divers of the rest quit the House.

These Transactions were managed with so much Secrecie, that the Members that were sitting in the House knew nothing of them, till they saw the Secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surpris'd, were at first at a demur amongst themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the House; till at length, the grand Sticklers of them for a Commonwealth, well knowing that it would not be in their power by staying, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the House, resolv'd since they could not hinder them the partiall possession thereof, to resign it into unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined stay'd behind, and took their Seats amongst the new admitted Members: Who in the first place applied themselves to Vindicate the honour of their House as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all Votes whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein; Next, they Order Mr. Vincent and Mr. Bromfield, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the Council of State Orders when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where Imprisoned upon Sir George Booth's Risings, or for making Addresses for the Admission of the Secluded Members: Moreover, they Constituted Generall Monk by ACT of Parliament, Captain Generall of all the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and repeal'd that ACT which made him only a Joynt-Commissioner with Colonel Morley, Haslerigg, Walton, and Alured, for Government of the Army.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which number was Mr. William Morrice, whom Mr. Nicholas Monk, the Generall's Brother, knowing him to be a Prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince's Service, and the good of his Country, writ to Charles to put the Generall in mind of sending for him, that being near him; he might be assistant to him in his Counsells: To this the Generall was easily perswaded, having had long before by his Brothers report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was somewhat allied to him. Charles acquainted Mr. Nicholas Monk with what he had done, and inclosed a Letter from the Generall to Mr. Morrice, to acquaint him with his admission of the Secluded Members, and to desire him to repair to the Parliament: Where he arrived whilest they were sitting, and took his place in the House; wherein he appeared a most usefull Instrument by his great Abilities, in Promoting and carrying on of the Generall's Affairs in relation to his Majesties Interest.

The Parliament repeald the ACT for the former Council of State, and the Oath of Abjuration; and pass'd an ACT for another Council to consist of One and thirty Persons: Which were;

Generall George Monck,  
William Pierpoint,  
John Crew, Esquire,  
Colonel Rositer,  
Richard Knightly, Esquire,  
Colonel Popham,  
Colonel Morley,  
Lord Fairfax,  
Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper,  
Sir Gilbert Gerrard,  
Lord St. John,  
Sir John Temple,  
Lord Commissioner Widdrington,  
Sir John Evelyn of Wills,  
Sir William Waller,  
Sir Richard Onslow,

Sir William Lewis,  
Colonel Edward Mountague,  
Col. Edward Harley,  
Col. Richard Norton,  
Arthur Ansley, Esquire,  
Dezill Hollis Esq;  
Colonel George Thompson,  
John Trevor, Esquire,  
Sir John Holland,  
Sir John Potts,  
Colonel John Birch,  
Sir Harbottle Grimstone,  
John Swinsin, Esq;  
John Weaver, Esq;  
Serjeant Maynard.

Most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

The Generall hearing that Colonel Rich was about St. Edmunds Bury, and having actually debauch'd Two Troops, was endeavouring to Corrupt the rest of his Regiment, he sent the Life-Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Colonel Ingoldesby to Command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in defection with the rest of the Troops under Lambert, and had not been mustered since the Restauration of the Parliament, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief. And therefore the Generall thought fit at this time to modell that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain Philip Howard, making Mr. Robert Harley his Lieutenant, and his Kinsman Mr. Henry Monk, Cornet, who were so active, that in Six hours time they displac'd all of whom they had any suspicion, and fill'd up the Troop with honest and gallant Men; who immediately march'd towards Suffolk, to execute the Generall's Orders upon Colonel Rich; but he having notice of the marching of that Party towards him, retir'd privately, and the Regiment quietly received Colonel Ingoldesby to Command them, who by the Generall's appointment

The Life-guard modell'd, and conferr'd upon Captain Philip Howard.

Rich his Regiment submit to the Generall's Orders.

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A pointment put out all such Officers as were of froward and Seditious Principles in Religion or Government.

And to reduce North-Wales to a more settled Condition, than it was in at that present, the Generall gave Colonel Carter a Commission to be Governour of Beaumaris Castle, (the Souldiers whereof had been plac'd there by Colonel John Jones) with authority to raise Forces to reduce Denbigh and Conway, which had been in very ill hands, and to settle that Country in Quiet: where he did in a very short time, to the great satisfaction of all the Gentry and People in those Parts.

The late Commonwealth-Parliament before the admission of the Secluded Members, had given Desbrow's Regiment to Colonel Walton; but the Generall dispos'd of it to Colonel Charles Howard of Namorth, whom he also made Governour of Carlisle.

The Parliament pass'd an Act of Assesment for a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Moneth for Six Moneths, and proceeded with much haste to settle the Militia both in the City and all other Parts of England and Wales, having vacated the former ACT made before their admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over England, were of Persons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in London, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in severall Parts of the Kingdome; The Parliament by Proclamation Commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges, and nor to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord Generall: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord Generall's Licence, should return forthwith to their last Quarters formerly Assigned, or to such others as should be assigned them by directions from the Lord Generall.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the Parliament, Colonel Overton was designing to make Disturbances in Yorkshyre: He drew up a Letter to Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Bethell, and Colonel Smithson, which he caus'd to be Subscrib'd by all his Officers; And therein signified to them;

That having received intimation from private hands, That the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart doth seem so to shine in the face of Publique Transactions, that many Jealousies and dissatisfactions were created amongst their Brethren in the Army, who remained faithfull to the true Cause they had contended for, inasmuch, that (as it was represented to them) severall Regiments had declared their disconcurrence with these present Distractions, and their Resolutions in adhering to the Cause God had determined with Victory against all Monarchicall Interests, they could not but judge it incumbent upon them to wake in such a time, and to endeavour to be found in the discharge of that Duty which their Intrustments Commanded from them; wherein as on the one hand they were unwilling to appear precipitate in their proceedings, so on the other they were afraid to fall short of a timely interposing of their Assistance against that old Bondage which was likely to break in anew upon them: And therefore they thought fit to expedite that Intimation unto them, and desire to understand as well what was their sence, as what was signified or imparted to them: That as they were equally engaged and concerned in one Publique Cause, so they might (if occasion required) be as conjunctively abetting and assisting to the defence of it, which through the Assistance of God they were resolv'd to assert and maintain (as the fruits of their Blood, the Nations Treasure, and the Prayers of the People of God) against any Design whatsoever which threatned the ruine of their Civill and Religious Rights.

Many Copies of this Letter were dispers'd amongst the Souldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these words, This is Overton's and the Officers of the Garrison of Hulls Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the ready Concurrence of all honest Fellow-Souldiers who have been engaged in the Good Old Cause against the Interest of a King and Single Person.

If Colonel Fairfax, Smithson, and Bethell, had not been very Active, this practice had perverted many Souldiers; but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon knowledge of this Letter, The Generall Writ to Overton by Colonel Alured and Major Smith, to give him Satisfaction in his proceedings here; and the Council of State upon his Motion did the like. Major Smith was well known and belov'd in Hull, and the Generall having a Design to Remove Overton, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Souldiers under him who lov'd him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; And as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel Fairfax, to whom he gave a Commission to be Governour of Hull, to draw some Companies to Beverly, and Writ to Overton to repair immediately to him, his Letter was sent to Colonel Fairfax open, that he might see the Import of it. The Letter was in the following Words:

The Generall takes care for the settling of North-Wales.

The Parliament levy a new Tax, and proceed to the settlement of the Militia.

They Command all Officers and Souldiers to repair to their several Commands and Quarters.

A Letter of Col. Overton and the Officers with him, to some of the Generall's Officers.

The Generall sends Colonel Fairfax to take possession of Hull.

1659.

SIR,

The Generall's  
Letter to Co-  
lonel Overton.

I Have seen a Letter from you and some others at Hull, dated from that Garrison on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February last, and directed to Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Bethell, and Colonel Smithson, wherein you Complain of the present Transactions of the Publique Affairs, as if they tended to the bringing in of the King and a Monarchicall Bondage, which (you write) seems very likely to break in anew upon us, and threatens the ruine of our Civill and Religious Rights: All which, you say, is derived to you from private hands, which do not only insinuate their private Jealousies, but inform you that severall Regiments have declared their disconcurrence with present Transactions. I must confess, I am a little Surpriz'd at this your Letter and manner of proceedings, having so lately sent to you from my self, and the greatest part of the Officers of the Army, a full account of the Necessities that induced us, to consent to the returne of the Secluded Members to the exercise of their Trust; and our Resolutions to that Cause we have so long contended for, and to the Parliament in the prosecution of it: And (notwithstanding the Information you pretend to have receiv'd) I cannot in my own observation discern any Grounds for such apprehensions of Affairs here as you seem to entertain; nor has there appeared a discontent in any one Regiment of the Army, except part of Colonel Rich's Regiment which is since reduced; wherefore (although you pretend not to be too precipitate in your proceedings) your dispersing Copies of your Letter before you sent it, may reasonably make me judge otherwise: And if you prosecute the matter further, I cannot but interpret your Action as tending to divide the Army, by withdrawing their Obedience from the Parliament, and consequently to involve the Nations in a new and bloody warre. So that to avoid all occasions of this nature, I desire that within 24. hours after this Letter comes to your hands, you set forward from Hull towards London, to give me an account of the present posture of that Garrison; And that within Six hours after this comes to you, you signify to Colonel Fairfax and Colonel Bethell, your Compliance herein, and the Day wherein you intend to begin your Journey and be with me here, where I shall expect you within a Week after your departure from Hull. I have written to Colonel Fairfax more particularly concerning the Peace and Safety of the Northern Parts, and of the Garrison of Hull; and if he Communicates any Orders from me to you, I expect your obedience to them.

Yours,  
G. Monck.

The Colloanel  
submits to the  
Generall's  
Orders.

Colloanel Overton was surpriz'd at the receipt of this Letter, but finding himself in no Capacity to dispute the Order for his delivery up of Hull, he submitted to it; And sent to Colonel Fairfax to acquaint him with that his Resolution; And himself at Eleven of the Clock the same Night, began his Journey towards London to the Generall.

The Generall about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. Clarges to be Commissary Generall of the Musters of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and to Mr. Morrice to be Governour of Plymouth; and to Major Generall Morgan to be Commander in Chief of the Army in Scotland.

The Army in  
Scotland well  
satisfied with  
the Generall's  
Actions.

Morgan was already upon the place, but wanted sufficient authority, till he had this Commission sent to him, and all the Army there submitted to the Generall's Actions in reference to the Secluded Members, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of Orkney Commanded by one Watson, which was reduc'd by Captain Man, and Watson and his Officers imprisoned, and his Company disbanded.

Many private Overtures were made to the Generall by some of the Lords that sat in the Lords House a little before the death of the late King, to be admitted to Sit; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in regard the Army was already so Jealous upon the Sitting of the Secluded Members, that he had difficulty enough to moderate them. Yet at the Request of the Earl of he sent Commissary Generall Clarges to Confer with him.

A Conference  
between Com-  
missary Clarges  
and a Peer of  
the Land,  
about the Sit-  
ting of the  
Lords House.

The Earl told him, The Sitting of the Lords would be very advantageous to the good of the Kingdom, and to the Soldiers in particular; for that they would Joyn in an ACT for the Confirmation of their Estates: And if it should be thought convenient for the good of the Kingdom to receive the King, he could not upon any Conditions wish so much Safety be restored, as such as should be made by Act of Parliament.

To this Clarges Replied, That the Generall was very well satisfied, that the Parliament was Dissolv'd by the Death of the late King; and that the present Sitting of the Members, was a Constitution rather taken up upon Necessity, than Right, which was but

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A to make way for another Parliament; That one great Argument for the Admission of the Secluded Members, was their Consent to a quick Dissolution; which could not be, if the Lords should Sit: For they would then think themselves invested in that perpetuity which some fancy is of right in this Parliament still. But that which was most convincing, was, That the Army was not yet in temper for it.

Every Post brought the Generall Addresses from all the Regiments in England, of their Consent to his Actions: And Sir Charles Coote in Ireland had with many other Officers upon the same day that the Secluded Members were admitted, declared at Dublin for them, and had secured Sir Hardres Waller, that had dissented from him.

B Those of the former Members who stay'd in the House after the admission of the Secluded, that they might engage against the King, promoted an ACT for the settling of Hampton-Court, with all the Parks and some other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which so troubled him, that he used all the friends he had to divert it; and at last an Expedient was found out, by giving him by Act of Parliament, a Present of Twenty Thousand Pounds in Money, and the Custody or Stewardship of that House, and the Parks for his life; They also Confer'd upon Commissary Clarges the Hamper-Office: And about the 13<sup>th</sup> of March they Ordered, That the Engagement appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament, in these words, (viz.) I do declare and promise, That I will be true and faithfull to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without King or House of Lords, should be taken off the File and made null.

C Scott, Hazlerigg, and some others, (whose names we shall forbear to mention, because they are yet living, and have repented of the rashness of their former proceedings) were much Alarm'd at this proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognostique of introducing the King; and though they so much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they chose rather to have the Generall take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon himself, than to have the King restored: They consulted privately with some of the Officers of the Army, whom they trusted most, and these approv'd so well of the Expedient, That the Generall was Treated with about it in White-Hall; Where Hazlerigg told him, That many of his Friends were much troubled at the Parliaments Actions, which tended both to the ruine of him and all the good People of the Nation, since it was evident that by what they had Voted the day before, nothing was intended but the restitution of the King. His overthrow, they said, must needs succeed the admission of the King; for a Merit too great to be Reward'd, could have no recompense but death; whereof frequent Examples are to be found in all History, and in none more pregnant than our own, where it is Recorded, That the same Stanley who plac'd the Crown upon Henry the Seventh's Head, had his own Head struck off, upon a very frivolous pretence, when the reason was only excess of Merit. They told him likewise, They found a Commonwealth Government not agreeable with the disposition of the People, who are always bad Judges of what is best for themselves, and therefore since a Single Person was necessary, there could not be one fitter than he for that Office. To which, they had very good grounds to believe all the good People of the Nation would concur with them.

E The Generall told them, He himself was not well pleas'd at the late unnecessary Vote of Parliament concerning the Engagement; but many of the most discreet Members had been with him, and satisfied him, That they had no design in it, but to keep themselves free against the next Parliament; for in regard (they said) that he had consented that the final determination of Government should be refer'd to them, they were unwilling to anticipate their Councils by determining of it by that Engagement; which would be too great a Snare unto them: Still urging, That they knew not any cause he should have of fear, for that the very writ of Summons of the next Parliament, did sufficiently defend the Government, in restraining their Debates to it. As for the Government in his own Person, he said, The experience of Cromwell's Fate gave him Reasons to avoid the Rock on which that Family was split.

F They Replied, That Oliver Cromwell usurp'd the Dominion against the Suffrage of the Army, and the Consent of all the good People; whereas he should have it by their unanimous consent, and under what Name and Title he pleas'd to accept it.

The Generall would by no means hear more of these Temptations, resolving not to lose the Honour deriv'd to him from as Ancient a Stock of Gentry as any was in England, by so treacherous a Prostitution of it.

A little before these Men went to the Generall, Commissary Clarges had been tampered with by them, to the same purpose; and observing them to go from him to his Lordship, he deliberated how to extricate him from further applications of this kind, and punish the Insolency of these undertakers.

G The Council of State Sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the place where it was Transacted, he sent in to the Council to Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, and inform'd him both of what he knew, and what he further suspected: Upon which it was agreed, That as soon as the Generall should depart from them, and come into the Council, the Commissary being call'd in, should move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Councillors, should withdraw, and the Doors be lock'd, and then declare, That he had had Information of a dangerous Design in some seditious persons who were contriving to make Disturbances in the

An Act pro-  
posed for the  
settling of  
Hampton-Court  
upon the Ge-  
nerall.

The Engage-  
ment abrogat-  
ed.

The Common-  
wealth Faction  
desire the  
Generall rather  
to take the  
Government  
upon himself,  
than to bring  
in the King.  
They Treat  
with him about  
it.

The Generall  
refresh their  
Offer.

Commissary  
Clarges gives  
intimation of  
these proceed-  
ings to the  
Council of  
State.

to

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The Generall  
in favour of  
those Persons,  
mitigates the  
matter.

They yet at-  
tempted to  
make a Mutiny  
in the Army.

A Declaration  
brought by the  
Officers to the  
Generall to  
Sign.

Okey's Speech  
at the Council  
of Officers.

Commissary  
clarges his  
Answer.

The Generall's  
determination  
of the matter.

the Nation, and that they had proceeded so far as to make some indecent Overtures to him, of which he desired that the Council might receive a full discovery, that thereupon they might apply themselves to prevent the Consequences of it.

But the Generall being unwilling to expose those men to ruine, (though they deserved not his favour) because his Purposes were designed to be effected by the most peaceable wayes, told the Council, That there was not so much Danger in agitation as they apprehended; but that it was true, some had been with him to be resolv'd in scruples concerning the present Transactions in Parliament, but they went away from him well satisfied.

Thus the goodness of the Generall was abus'd; for these unreasonable men, when they saw they could not allure him to their ends by the temptation of Power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevail'd so far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their first, they were so heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepar'd, and brought by some of them to the Generall, to oblige him with his Army to declare for a Commonwealth, and engage against all them that should attempt the setting up of a Single Person; And that he should send to the Parliament to joyn with them in this Declaration.

Commissary Clarges and Mr. Clark, the Generall's Secretary were with him when this was brought to him; and observing great trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the signing or giving any opinion of it till the next morning, because then the Officers of the Army were to have a Generall Council. This was done, that the Generall might have time to provide himself of Arguments against it, and prepare some of his Friends to joyn with him: One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. Morrice an Officer of the Army, was to have his aid in Consultations at such times as these: for there were frequent Meetings of Officers; and one of so good Judgment and Eloquence as he, could not but persuade much: so that he had been the fittest Person that could have been thought on, had not his being unused to such Assemblies, made him not care to be present at them.

The next morning a great Concourse of Officers met at St. James's; And Colonel Okey open'd the Council, with a long Speech, of the fears they were in of an Inundation of Evils breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil, and Religious Liberties; and that if great Care was not used to prevent it, Charles Stuart would be introduced: And that the best Expedient that could be thought of, was to send immediately to the Parliament, to oblige them to declare and engage for a Free-State and Common-wealth, without a King or House of Lords: And if they refused to do it, to take such a Remedy as God should put into their hearts to save the Nation from destruction.

Commissary Clarges Answered, That he saw no Cause for those fears that were insinuated; and that if they sent to the Parliament in such a manner, they would find no pleasing return from them; for if these Men would have been terrified by the Army, there would not have been 14 of them impeach'd at one time of Treason, and Two hundred Secluded at another; and the first thing they would probably do, upon the receipt of such a Message, would be to Dissolve themselves, and then there would be no Government; but instead of the Single Person they were so much afraid of; they must necessarily have recourse to Richard Cromwell, and expose themselves to his Revenge, for the Indignities they had lately with so much scorn put upon him and his Family.

And then (applying himself to the Generall) he said, The only help was for his Excellency to assume the Government: When as he knew well enough how averse he was thereto, having often heard him say, He would rather be drawn in pieces with Wild Horses, than be so treacherous to the Nation.

The Generall concluded, and told them, The time of this Parliaments ending was so near, they could not do the ill some of them (he hop'd) causelessly fear'd; And that from the next Parliament he doubted not they would receive better satisfaction than they had in this, since it was provided in the ACT for their Assembling, That none should be Elected that had been against the Parliament since 1641. Withall, he confirmed what Commissary Clarges had said, That if by this violent proceeding they should make the Parliament hastily Dissolve themselves, and leave the Nation in Confusion, They must not expect he would take upon him the Government, which he had rather lose his life, than accept.

After this, there was little mov'd by any of the Officers; Only one said, That little could be hoped from Qualifications for a new Parliament; for they themselves being to be Judges of them, might so happen, that the major part might be of such as were not themselves Qualified.

The Generall knew this to be an unanswerable Argument, (and it was for this reason, he press'd for a new Parliament on any terms,) but was unwilling to hear more discourse of this kind, and therefore told them, Nothing was more injurious to Discipline, than their meeting in Military Councils to interpose in Civil things. And from that time he forbade them to assemble again; and within a few dayes after, that is to say, On the Seventeenth of March, the Parliament by

1659

The Conference  
between  
Officers de  
hon'teays, and  
Commissary  
clarges.

A Act dissolv'd it self, having before summon'd a Parliament to succeed them the 25th day of April following.

Monsieur de Bourdeaux the French Ambassador then Resident in London, was very desirous to interesse Cardinal Mazarini, in this great Revolution of Government, and having had acquaintance with Clarges, expected by him to discover all the Generalls Designs; and in order thereunto, sent his Secretary to him, To desire him to move the Generall, to have Licence to give him a visit, and to confer about some overtures he had to make to him.

Clarges, upon this intimation, went to the Ambassador, who carried him into his Closet, and they two being alone, he told him; That it was visible to all, that the Generall had some great Design in projection, and that most wise men believ'd it was, either to advance himself to the Monarchy of these Nations, or introduce the King; and that in either of these, he had the advantage of being more serviceable to him than any other; for if he should use any Englishman in so important an Intrigue, if he should not have success, that would be brought in evidence against him to his destruction: Whereas if he as a stranger, and a publique Minister could not be questioned. He further said, What he propos'd, was not only in reference to himself, but to Cardinal Mazarini, who would be glad to have the honour of his friendship, and assist him faithfully in all his purposes. He said moreover, That he would not undertake to determine, Whether it was not best for him to dignifie his Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or to restore the King to them: They were both actions of much glory; and if the latter were as easie, the honour of it would be as great: But that he might be confident of the Cardinal, he did assure him, that Oliver Cromwell kept so strict a League with him, that he did not assume the Government without his privacy, and was directed step by step by him in the progress of that action: And therefore, if he resolv'd on that course, he should not only have the Cardinals friendship and Counsel in the attempt, but a safe retreat and honourable support in France, if he failed in it. Or if he would admit the King, and put the manner of it into the Cardinals hands, whatever he would desire for himself of Security, or honour from the Crown, he would undertake to obtain, and in such a manner, that it should rather seem by the Cardinals advice, than his particular Inclination; and the King would gladly receive it, and France should be the place to which (if he agreed) the King should presently retreat; where he should have a Train provided proportionable to his greatness, that his People here might, with greater Reverence, apply themselves to him; and by this way (he said) the Generall might not only oblige the King of England, but the King his Master also, by making him a Mediator and Instrument in his Restoration.

To this Clarges answered, That the matter was too deep for him to be involv'd in; in regard (as he himself had acknowledged) of the danger of having such a secret known to any second Person a Native of England.

But nevertheless, to satisfy him, he assured him, That the Generall did not intend to take upon him the Government, but submit all to the determination of the next Parliament.

He then replyed, That a Parliament in England was a kind of tumultuary Council; so various in their Debates, that no certain measure could be taken from them, and that therefore for not taking this course which he advis'd, he might be hurried by their forward proceedings, to some sudden Enterprize, neither safe for himself, nor good for the people; and that with him, in any misfortune, all his Relations would be ruin'd.

To this Conference, Clarges put an end, by telling him, He would take a sudden occasion to sound the Generalls Inclinations; and though he would not directly tell him what had pass'd betwixt them; he should nevertheless guess, whether it might be fit for him to impart it to him; the onely difficulty that remain'd, was the Generalls want of the French Tongue; Which the Ambassador said, was not necessary, for that he had English enough to be understood, and to understand all that should be said to him; and thus they parted.

Clarges told all that pass'd to Mr. Morrice, and to the Generall himself, who absolutely refus'd to have any Commerce with the Ambassador or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might not appear uncivil, he was contented to receive his Visit, but on Condition, That he should not propose any thing to him in reference to the publick affairs of Government.

This was signified to the Ambassador, and he came that Evening to complement the Generall, making great professions of his Services to him, on all occasions, without descending to particulars.

Much more successful was the Application made by Sir John Greenville, who being an active Agent for the King, and a near Kinsman to the Generall, was therefore by his Majesty thought a fit person to be employed to him; but he knowing the wary temper of the Generall, was much troubled how to get access to him; till bethinking himself of Mr. Morrice, his Neighbour in the Countrey, a person often conversant with the Generall, he concluded by his mediation to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the Generall know, he had something of great Importance to impart to him, and desired he would give him the opportunity to do it.

The Generall  
refuseth to  
treat with the  
Ambassador, or  
the Cardinal.

The manner of  
Sir John Green-  
vill's applica-  
tion to the  
Generall.

T C

When

1659.

When Mr. Morrice inform'd the Generall of this, he receiv'd it with much Strangeness; for although Sir John was his near Relation; yet by reason of his youth, and the Generalls long absence from his Country, they had little acquaintance with each other, and therefore he told Mr. Morrice, Except he would send him information by him, of the nature of his business, he could not admit of any intercourse with him.

Mr. Morrice told him, He had already desired to know that, but Greenville refused it. The Generall in his mind, liked well of this reservedness in Sir John, and bid Mr. Morrice acquaint him, That if he came the next day at nine in the Evening to St. James's, he would speak with him: And accordingly Greenville came to him, at the appointed time, which was the next Evening; after the dissolution of the Parliament.

His reception.

When he came, after he had desired Pardon for the importunity of his visit, he desired his permission to deliver a Message he had to him from his Majesty. The Generall seem'd surpris'd at this saying, but seeing that there was nobody in the Room but Mr. Morrice, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleas'd.

He delivers his Message.

He then presented to him a Letter from the King, &c. told him, That his Majesty had great Confidence in his affections to him, and since he had complied so far with the desires of all the sober part of the Kingdom, for the admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a free Parliament; The consequences of that could not but give a sufficient evidence of his Inclinations to his Majesties Service and Restitution, which would naturally flowe from his Endeavours, in Conjunction with their Councils.

The Generalls Answer.

The Generall replied, That he had long lamented the miserable distractions, of his Native Country, and waited a fit occasion to contribute his assistance to the Redemption of it. And when Lambert and those with him had interrupted the Parliament; Considering that the Army had been newly in a great measure by that Parliament modell'd; he supposed by a Declaration for their Restitution he might gain a Power in his hands for better purposes, and, as the better to bring these his purposes about, he resolv'd if by his Arms the Parliament should be restored, together with those few Members which sat at their interruption, to admit those also who had been seclud'd, intending to that end, by degrees, to put his Army into such hands as would favour his intentions; that it was well known to all, How he was disappointed in that design, and through what difficulties he arriv'd to the Station he was then in, nor was he even at that time secure from great danger of disappointment, if he should not manage his affairs with more then ordinary secrecy.

As to the Kings Majesty (he said) None wish'd him greater felicity than he, nor desired his Restoration with more passion; but if it were not cautiously attempted, it would be out of his Power to serve him in it, since in Councils of so nice concernment, there would not be room for two Errors. The People he told him, had been long seduc'd by seditious insinuations, and the Army in the hands of such, as had always been against his Royall Father, and many of them even against Monarchy it self; but nevertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same security under his Majesties Government, as they had under the usurpers of it, he might not despair of their reduction to obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble advice, that his Majesty should prevent their fears, by declaring a free and generall Pardon to all his Subjects, and engage himself to give it under the Great Seal, to all that should submit to his Authority, except such as should be exempted by the Parliament.

And that he would consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament, that should be presented to him for the settlement of publique Sales and Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Souldiers, and others; and the payment of the Souldiers Arrears: As also for toleration of Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects, And that none should be punished for differences in matters of Religion, who should not disturb the publique Peace.

Sir John asked him, what he would give him in Command for himself; and if he would write to his Majesty? Which he excus'd at that time, saying, If his Letter should be intercepted before he had compleated the Reforming the Armies, it would be impossible for him to keep them in temper, or hinder the subversion of all he had hitherto done; Adding, That he sought not his own advantage in his Endeavours for the publique benefit of his Country; and that having with much hazard, brought matters near to a fair issue, in pursuance of the generall suffrage of the Nations, he was unwilling, by indiscretion, to venture a relapse, but would choose to involve himself in the same Condition with the generality of the People, in expectation of what the next Parliament should bring forth, to the happiness of his Majesty, and all his Kingdoms.

Sir

A Sir John Greenville writ down the substance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the Generall, to be the better able to retain it in his Memory; but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to bear it in pieces, and conjur'd him to acquaint no person whatsoever with their Conference, except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all things, he intreated him, To desire his Majesty from him, to go out of the King of Spains Dominions, to Breda, or some other place under the Government of the States of the United Provinces; for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detain'd by the King of Spains Ministers, if he stay'd in his Dominions.

And at Sir John's parting from him, he told him, He was glad that this occasion of presenting his Duty to the King, was an effect of his diligence, when he was glad to find so industrious and vigilant in his Majesties Service: of which he had before some experience when his Brother Nicholas came from him into Scotland.

He promis'd to observe all the Generalls Instructions; and when he came to Ostend (where he arriv'd the 23<sup>th</sup> of March) he put all that had pass'd betwixt them into Writing, and digested it into form, to be presented to his Majesty. And in the Conduct of the whole affair, he was so secret, that the Lord Mordant, who went over with him to his Majesty, knew nothing of it.

At Brussels he retired to a private house, to which his Majesty (upon intimation) very secretly repaired, and with great satisfaction receiv'd the Intelligence he brought; but because he could not prosecute the Generalls desire (as to his removal) without advice for the manner of executing it, he consult'd the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, being persons in whom, from just reason and experience, he had most intire confidence, by whose assistance the matter was so order'd, that in two or three dayes, he took his Journey to Breda; where we shall leave his Majesty in Consultation, to return to the Transactions in England, of that busie time.

The Council of State took care to have the Act put into speedy execution throughout England, for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and for putting the Militia into sober hands: And because many seditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they published a Proclamation to forbid all persons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers and Souldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any dissatisfaction might be rais'd towards the present Government, to endanger the peace of the Nation, giving power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any Persons offending as aforesaid; And for the better encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared, and promised to give to the discoverer of any such said person, who should apprehend and secure such offenders, the sum of ten pounds. And this Proclamation was order'd to be published in the Head of every Regiment, Troop, and Company of the Army, to the intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual execution: And the Generall sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill humours amongst the Souldiers, which made Commissary Clarges consult privately with the Generall, about some other more effectual course; he propos'd to frame an Engagement for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next Parliament should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to be executed; nevertheless, he encouraged him to go on, and that night he alone fram'd it, and immediately advis'd with Colonel Howard, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Mr. Ansley, and Colonel Knight (who all of them with one consent approv'd it, being all Persons of great Credit with the Generall) about the putting it in execution; Colonel Knight undertook by the next day at noon, to get it Signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the Generalls Regiment of Horse, and the Life-Guard; and Colonel Howard did the like for his Regiment which lay about Croydon, for he had so modell'd it, that he was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time, being accordingly effected, they met together, at Sir Anthony Ashley-Coopers Lodging, and glad to see their business so well advanc'd by the subscription of these three Regiments, they in the next place, thought it expedient to have the Officers of all the Regiments in London, to be summon'd to meet that Evening at St. James's; which was accordingly done, and they being all met, It was mov'd to them by Colonel Knight,

That at this time, when several Imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many Dissent'd Persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publique Testimony of their Affections and Inclinations; and in order therunto, some Officers having shew'd him an Address, which they had fram'd to be presented to the Generall, to testify their Resolution of Obedience and Duty, to the Powers God had plac'd over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by him to those who first advis'd it, to be tender'd to every Regiment of the Army; of which, there being a great care here, they had by the Generalls Permission invited them thither, to communicate what was done, and to desire their Concurrence with them in it.

Colonel Knight and Clarges had before pregared most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from Scotland, so that they made no difficulty of it, especially seeing a Subscription of other Regiments to induce them; Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the privacy and permission of the Generall, which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose. The Address was immediately read, and was in these words:

1659.

Sir John takes his Journey towards Brussels.

He gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, and the effects thereof. The King resolves to Breda.

The Council of State set forth a Proclamation for the preventing of tumults and disturbances.

Commissary Clarges drawn up an Engagement to be subscribed for acquiescing in the determinations of the next Parliament.

The Officers of 3 Regiments subscribe it.

The substance of Col. Knights Speech to the Officers at St. James's, incouraging them to subscribe the Engagement.

1659.

The Form of  
the Armies In-  
gagement.

**V**EE the Officers of the Army, under your Excellencies Command, whose Names are hereunto written, being truly sensible of the merciful and wonderful Providence of Almighty God, in bringing us, after so many Revolutions and Changes, into an hopeful way of Settlement: and perceiving, to our great grief, that there are too many, who seeking more their own private Interest, than the Publique Good, are endeavouring to reduce us again to our old Necessities and Confusions; and that they have proceeded so far, as to cause Jealousies in the Council of State, in whom the Supreme Power and Trust, now, till the Meeting of the Parliament, is residing, do hold it our Duties, for the preventing of all such Jealousies for the future, & for the strengthening of your Excellencies Hands, in the carrying on of this Good Work, in which it hath pleased God to make you so highly Instrumental, humbly to make this Address unto your Excellency, in the Name of our selves, and all the Souldiers under our Command, and to Declare, That we shall, according to our Duties, carry and behave our selves, as Officers of an Army instructed by your Example and Discipline, to obey, and not to dispute the Orders of our Superiours, and shall freely and readily observe such Commands, as we shall receive from your Excellency, or the Council of State, or the Parliament, when Assembled: And, in particular, we shall, according to the late Proclamation of the Council of State, of the 17th of March, decline any Meeting or Meetings, for the contriving or carrying on of any Declaration or Subscriptions, concerning Affairs of State, or Government, thereby avoiding those Mischiefs, which made many lately in Arms, so justly distastful to the People, by making themselves a divided Interest from the rest of them. And we are the more willing to make this Address at this time, to evince to all the World the Integrity of our Obedience, because of the great Expectation of the next Parliament, from whom we hope for a happy Settlement to all the Nations; And that they may have no ill Apprehensions of us, we are resolved, as it becomes us in Duty, to submit to whatsoever the Lord shall bring forth from their Consultations, knowing that Parliaments only can secure us in our Religious and Civil Rights: And forasmuch as many Representations heretofore made to Persons in Eminent Authority, have been too frequently contriv'd in the Name of the Army, which were done rather in Formality, (as we perceive by the Event) than otherwise; We do solemnly desire, that this may be Recorded as a Testimony and Witness against us, if ever we shall be guilty of any such Backslidings.

At that very time, this Ingegument was signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan, and all the Officers of the Generals Regiment of Foot; by Colonel Hubblehorn, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Colonel Claberry, Colonel Lydcott, Colonel Read, and the rest, with all their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had sign'd before, Ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-Guard, and all the General-Officers. Also, Colonel Fairfax, and Colonel Beibel, who upon the first Consultation of this Matter had been sent unto, in four dayes had return'd the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, That Colonel Howard, with forty Officers, should present it to the General; which was done at St. James's the 9th Day of April, and was with much satisfaction and content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General Morgan in Scotland, to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in England, with an Account of what had bin done in London, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concurr'd in it.

Two more Regiments sent into Scotland.

All disaffected Officers displaced, and others put in their rooms.

Lambert etc. put out of the Tower.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Souldiers in Scotland, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major-General Morgan might confide in, to assist him, if need were, to model the rest. In conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions return'd to the General; only some Officers refus'd it, and were immediately displaced, and the General took that opportunity of giving to the Lord Faulconbridge, Colonel Rossiter, and General Monmouth, to each of them a Regiment of Horse, and to Colonel Sheffield a Regiment of Foot. And whilst he was thus employ'd in ordering the Army, the Council of State was active in forming the Militia, in all the Cities and Counties of England and Wales, wherein such care was taken, to have the Arms in good Hands, that from all Parts the Lists of the Officers were sent to the Council of State, to be by the General and them approv'd.

These Preparations enraged many Factious People to design against the Government, inasmuch that on the Evening of that Day, wherein Colonel Howard presented the above-mentioned Address to the General, Colonel Lambert having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal'd by some of that Party, that had been lately engaged against General Monk, and some others of Fanatique Principles: These held a Council in London, but were not so private in their Consultations; but the General had from time to time intimation of such of their Proceedings. They sent

A sent some busie men to all the Regiments in England, and these Officers that refus'd the Address, had intic'd many of the Troopers to rise after them; but such was the vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above Seven or Eight Troops of Horse in a Body to joyn with Lambert, and but one Company of Foot.

On Wednesday the 18th of April, the Generall, upon Advice from Colonel Sireater, of Lamberts hovering in the North Parts, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters; sent for Colonel Ingoldby to him, and told him, He must be at Northampton with his Regiment on the Saturday following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Colonel Rossiters Troops to his Assistance, which quartered in those Parts: He also told him, That Colonel Sireater, a Person whom he could Trust, was with some of his Companies at Northampton, whom he would find ready to joyn with him. The Colonel told him, That his Regiment was dispersed in Norfolk and Suffolk, but he would do his endeavours to get them together. And he was so diligent herein, that by the Friday following he got his Regiment to Cambridge, and on Saturday in the Evening to Northampton.

The General also sent Colonel Howard with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards Worestershire and Warwickshire, to hinder any Defection of the Troops in those Parts, and to have an Eye towards Coventry, which Lambert had design'd to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, had not the Care of the General prevented it, by Ordering Three Companies of Colonel Sireater's Regiment to Quarter in that City: The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shew'd them Lambert's Orders to march back again: But the Lieutenant that was Intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Colonel's Orders, march'd in with great speed, stood upon his defence, and oppos'd them Twice in his march thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation, declar'd Lambert and his Adherents Traytors, and the General was careful the very next day after his getting out of Prison, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent his Design of seducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending these Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One Merry, a Disbanded discontented Officer of Col. Smithsow's Regiment, had incited forty of Captain Foverell's Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on York, but by the care of other Troops they were dispersed; and one Everard, and Captain Lockier, two discontented Officers, that had been lately in Custody, and releas'd upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Publique Peace, did nevertheless march through Nottingham, with a Seditious Troop of their Companions.

Whereof Captain Sherman of Colonel Sanders his Regiment, having notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain Craddock of Hackers Regiment, to engage them: but immediately Craddock's Troop joyn'd with the Enemy, which made Sherman (finding himself too weak for them) to retreat to Nottingham, to secure that place, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Gentry, gave him ready assistance. This Newes made the General give Orders, That the late Address signed by the Officers, should be tender'd to all the private Souldiers also, which made so through a Reformation, that in many Regiments Thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would consent to it, and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General's Regiments in London, that march'd with him from Scotland, there were but two Dissenters.

On Easter-Even, Colonel Ingoldby joyn'd with Colonel Sireater at Northampton; where was at that time, and had been some dayes before, the Earl of Essex who with severall Loyall Gentlemen of that County, to the number of near One hundred Horse, with much Resolution offer'd to assist Colonel Sireater: Likewise the Trained Bands of that Town were in Arms at the same time, in order to the securing of that Place, in case of a Necessity of Colonel Sireaters attending Lamberts Motion: The Colonel purposing that Night, if need had been, to have mounted 400 Foot of his Regiment with the Horses that came into the Town that day (against the Fair on Monday following), and to have beaten up Lamberts Quarters.

On Easter-Day early, Intelligence was brought to Colonel Ingoldby and Colonel Sireater, That Lambert was at Daventry; upon which they march'd towards him: When they came to Daventry, they heard Lambert was march'd two miles from thence, and therefore halt'd to meet him; which they did in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them; Lambert had with him, besides the Troops of Horse before-mentioned, these Persons, viz. Colonel Okey, Colonel Astell, Colonel Gobbe, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spingee, besides divers private Souldiers, who were Anabaptists.

The two Parties fac'd one the other near four hours; during which time, Colonel Ingoldby, and Colonel Sireater spent their time, partly in their vigilant observation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in Encouraging of the Horse and Foot under their Command, whereby they begot a more than ordinary Resolution in both Horse and Foot: In the mean time, Lambert sent out several Scouts towards them; but Ingoldby would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himself riding up towards them, had many Discourses with them; Ingoldby was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Souldier, dealt so effectually with them, by laying open the danger of their Action, that 25 Troopers, with a Quarter-Master, came over to him. The Colonel dismounted and disarm'd them for the present, because they were unwilling to engage in his part, but afterwards restored their Horses and Arms to them.

Tcc 3

Lamberts

The Generall takes great care for the suppressing of Lambert.

1660.

1659.

Defeats his  
Party, & takes  
him Prisoner.

Lambert's delay in Engaging being observed by Col. Streeter, he Advised, That both Horse A and Foot should immediately advance, and put the Business to an Issue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot especially: And withall desired Col. Ingoldsby, That if he should be Rout'd, he would Rally with what speed he could; For that he should be Confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground. Colonel Streeter's Foot being about Five Hundred; two Compleat Companies, the rest Commanded Men out of several Companies, most Pikes, which in that Champion-Ground would serve well to secure the Body against the Horse.

When the two Bodies came near, just as Col. Ingoldsby was going to Charge, Colonel Streeter Commanded Six Files of Musqueteers to advance, one File gave fire, and hurt one or two of Lambert's Horse; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given strict Command that his Musqueteers should not fire till they came as near as Push of Pike. But Lambert's men held the Notes of their Pistols towards the Ground, and Nelbropps Troop came off to Ingoldsby; Hestriggs Troop having deserted him before; for Colonel Ingoldsby sending Captain Elmore before him with a party, as he march'd to find Lambert, met Captain Hestrigg, and took him prisoner, but releas'd him upon his Parole, to send his whole Troop over to joyn with Ingoldsby, which he faithfully perform'd, sending it to them by his Quarter-Master, but he retir'd himself: Colonel Ingoldsby told Lambert, He was his Prisoner; Whereupon Creed and the rest earnestly intreated him, to do what he pleas'd with them, but to permit Lambert to escape; acquainting him, That his Life could be of no advantage to him; Which Ingoldsby absolutely refused, telling them, He would not be treacherous to those that had commanded him by such an ungenerous Act: Lambert then turned about his Horse, and attempted to escape, but Ingoldsby pursued him so close, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to pistol him, if he did not immediately yield. Lambert, in great depression of Spirit, twice pray'd him to let him escape; but when he saw he could not prevail, submitted, as all the rest did, except Okey, Axell, and Cleer, who escaped.

Gen. Monk  
acquires the  
Council of  
State with the  
condition of  
the Fleet.

General Mountague, who had been some time before by the Generals Advice, made one of the Generals at Sea, (General Monk being himself the other) and sent to take charge of the Fleet, sent an Account to the Council of State, of the Condition of it, how that Vice-Admiral Lawson, and with him the whole Navy, had receiv'd him with great satisfaction, and were all fix'd in obedience to their Authority, with Resolutions to submit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

The Appear-  
ance of the  
City Militia in  
the Park.

The Tuesday after this Defeat of Lambert, all the Militia of the City of London drew into Hide-Park; there were Six Trained-Band Regiments, the Red, the White, the Green, the Blew, the Yellow, and the Orange, besides several Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Colonel Bateman Alderman, the White by Colonel Wale Alderman, the Green by Colonel John Robinson Alderman, the Blew by Colonel William Vincent, the Yellow by Colonel William Bromfield, and the Orange by Colonel Thomas Bloodworth, all men of Courage and good Affections, to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country. They made up in all Twelve Thousand Men: The General, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great Concourse of Noble-men and Gentlemen, were present at the Appearance. And that Evening, Colonel Lambert, Colonel Cobbet, and Major Creed, were brought Prisoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next day the rest of the Prisoners were brought by Captain Parry to the General, and by him committed to the Marshal-General.

Col. Leubert,  
Col. Cobbet, &c.  
others, sent  
prisoners to the  
Tower.

Several Sediti-  
ous Pamphlets  
publish'd and  
dispers'd.

The Defeat of Lambert did not make the Phanatiques leave the pursuit of their Mischief, several Seditious Pamphlets being published in Print to deprave the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Souldiers. But none of them appear'd to have been penn'd with more virulency and malice, than that vile supposititious Paper which they scatter'd about, carrying in its Front-piece, *A Letter from Brussels*, &c. with which some of his Majesties most implacable Enemies (by some suspected to be Nevil) attempted to poison, or palliate the now high Expectations, and Impressions of his good Subjects: And it was in truth so fatally tim'd, and so subtilly contriv'd, that it had like to have done a great deal of Mischief amongst some, who not acquainted with the innate, and unparalleled Inclination of his Majesty to Clemency, began to apprehend their forwardness for his Restoration, and to remit of their former Zeal: But this Hydra was dextrously cut off by Mr. Evelyn, whom we formerly mention'd, in a Reply which was Printed, to the inire satisfaction of all that read it. I take pleasure to mention the Particular, because upon another occasion, long before, he publish'd, with no small hazard of his Life and Liberty, his *Apology to the Royal Party*, in Answer to that *Remonstrance*, Entitled the *Plea of the Army*, (contriv'd and set forth by that Phanatick Power, immediately upon their Dethroning of Richard.) as being it seems no longer able to support the common, but unjust Reproaches of his Majesties Cause, by Arguments deriv'd from their ill Conduct, and Fatal Success of divers of his suffering Party; and because I take it to be the boldest Piece (not excepting even the famous *Killing no Murderer*; written, as we since learn, by Captain Tim) that ever durst see the Light in that raging Period; and for that it was no less than thrice re-printed (an Honour which the Pamphlets of that Age did seldom arrive to) and observ'd to have won more Proselytes to the King, and kept up the fervour of his then almost expiring Party, than any thing of that nature had done before it; which, believe it, was a Service (however look'd upon and esteem'd) the greatest that Conjecture was capable of, and none of the least to his Majesties Advantage all along; as those who shall please to call to mind the Effects of these Paper-Weapons, must needs acknowledge, by warming and inspiring the Hearts of a Languishing and almost desponding People.

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A in danger of being poison'd by the perpetual Venome of his Majesties Adversaries, whose Pens as well as Swords, were daily sharpen'd against him, but for such seasonable Antidotes, as upon all occasions encountered their Libels, and insidious Discourses; amongst which there were also several Letters sent to the General from unknown Hands, to subvert his Allegiance likewise; and to Clarify it was written, That notwithstanding his Practices, to introduce the King and his Family, all his Endeavours were blasted by Morrice, who had ascribed to himself alone the Reputation of that Service, and dispersed to all the Royal Party, that he had no Credit with the General, and therefore to him only Application should be made, as to one in whom the General reposed his greatest Trust. But these and all other Artifices were too poor to subvert the Loyalty of one, who valued not to whom the good of his Service was attributed, if the Effects he desired were produced by them: But nevertheless, these Practices, to divide the Generals Friends, made the Council of State, the General, and all his Officers, more watchful for the Publique Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errors, by several publique and private Discourses of the Clemency and other Royal Indowments of his Majesty: That which they most apprehended, was from Rumours which had been dispersed amongst them, of the implacability of all those of his Party, of whom it was said, If they had Power they would shew themselves full of Rancour and Revenge against all that were engaged in the late War against them: and observing that most of the Members of Parliament were such, notwithstanding all the Qualifications for their Elections, many strange Doubts possessed them; and amongst other Effects of their Diseased Imaginations, they fancied, the Parliament (when met) would rather hinder, than promote his Majesties Goodness and Mercy towards them: But whilst they were in the midst of these various Inquietudes, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of England, published several excellent Declarations, which fully satisfied and appeased their Minds, wherein they Declared, That they resolved to adhere to the largest Assurances of amicable Agreement with all Persons, and that they would never put any Difference betwixt such as should now unite with them, and those who first engaged in the same Persuasion with themselves. Of all which, we shall only herein publish one, they being all to the same purpose: It was Intituled,

*A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, that adhered to the late King in and about the City of London; which was expressed in these words:*

“After the Miseries of a Civil Warre, and the many and fruitless Attempts  
“Towards Settlement, upon several Interests, and imaginary Forms of Go-  
“vernment, It having pleas'd Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderfull  
“means, to give these Nations a probable hope of being restored to those  
“Laws and Priviledges, which have been transmitted to them from their An-  
“cestors; We do Declare, That we think our selves oblig'd, next to Divine  
“Providence, to attribute this Gracious Work to his Excellency the Lord  
“General Monk, who, as he had the Courage to assert the Publique Liberty,  
“and the Prudence to carry it on against so many Difficulties, has also had the  
“Happinefs, to lead Us thus far through the Wilderness of Confusion, without  
“passing the Red-Sea of Blood; And because the Enemies of the Publique  
“Peace, have endeavour'd to represent those of the Kings Party, as men impla-  
“cable, and such as would sacrifice the Common Good to their own private  
“Passions; We do sincerely profess, That we do reflect upon our past suf-  
“ferings from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent  
“Thoughts or Inclinations, to have been any way Instrumental in them; And  
“if the Indiscretion of any Spirited Persons, transports them to Expressions con-  
“trary to this our sence, we utterly disclaim them. And desire, that the Im-  
“putation may extend no further, than the Folly of the Offenders. And we  
“further Declare, That we intend by our quiet and peaceable Behaviour, to  
“testifie our submission to the present Power, as it now resides in the Council of  
“State, in expectation of the future Parliament; upon whose Wisdome and  
“Determinations, we trust God will give such a Blessing, as may produce a  
“perfect settlement, both in Church and State.

The Declara-  
tion of the No-  
bility and Gen-  
try about Lon-  
don.

“And as his Excellency hath not chosen the sandy Foundations of self-Gov-  
“vernment, but the firm Rock of National Interest; whereon to frame a Settle-  
“ment; It is our Hope and Prayer, That when the Building comes to be rais-  
“ed, it may not like Rome, have the beginning in the Blood of Brethren, nor  
“like Babel, be interrupted by the Confusion of Tongues; but that we may all  
“speak one Language, and be of one Name; That all mention of Parties and  
“Factions

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"Factions, and all Rancour and Animofities may be thrown in, and buried like A Rubbifh under the Foundation.

Subfcribed by

The Marquess of Dorchester.	Sir Thomas Armstrong.
The Earl of Northampton.	Sir John Stephens.
The Earl of Devonshire.	Sir Humphrey Bennet.
The Earl of Berkshire.	Sir William Howard.
The Earl of Dover.	Sir Henry Wroth.
The Earl of Peterborough.	Sir William Dacres.
The Earl of Norwich.	Sir Robert Malewory.
The Earl of Cork.	Sir Ferrace Clifton Knight and Baronet.
The Earl of Carbery.	Sir William Thorald, Baronet.
The Earl of Desmond.	Sir Tho: Corbet, Baronet.
The Viscount Ogle.	Sir Tho: Littleton, Baronet.
The Viscount Grandifon.	Sir Arthur Gorge.
The Viscount Lumley.	Sir Anthony Jackson.
The Viscount Brunker.	Sir Robert Butler.
The Lord Bellasis.	George Morley, D. D.
The Lord Loughborough.	Tho: Warmstry, D. D.
The Lord Lexington.	Philip King, D. D.
The Lord Breton.	Jer: Taylor, D. D.
The Lord Lucas.	Tho: Howard Esquire.
The Bishop of Kerry.	John Russell.
Sir William Compton.	Will. Alburnham.
Sir Francis Vane.	Edw. Vilers.
Sir Tho. Prestwich, Baronet.	Edw. Penruddock.
Sir Orlando Bridgman.	George Penruddock.
Sir Edward Pye.	William Legge.
Sir Lewis Kirke.	Tho. Lover.
Sir Thomas Smith.	Herbert Price.
Sir Robert Stapleton.	Tho. Panton.
Sir William Coney.	Robert Ruthen.
Sir Nicholas Crispe.	Col. Frelsvelt.
Sir Hugh Cartwright.	John Jeffries.
Sir Sutton Coney.	Adrian Scroop.
Sir Henry Chicheley.	William Burgh.
Sir William Morton.	John Maynard.
Sir Edw. Savage.	Ed. Roscaracke.

The Parliament assembled.

This and the other Declarations of the same nature, were wholesome Preparations to usher in the Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 25th day of April; The Lords chose the Earl of Manchester to be their Speaker; and the House of Commons Sir Harebottle Grimstone; where after the appointment of the usuall Committees for Priviledges, and other essentiall matters usuall at their first Assembling, They gave all due acknowledgments to Generall Monk, for his Eminent Services and great Wifdome in subduing his Enemies without Blood, magnifying the Mercies of God, That made him so Instrumentall to keep up the Nations from sinking, when no way appeared whence Deliverance should arise.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg being suspected by the Generall, clears himself.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg was by the Generall suspected to have contributed towards the Infurrection of Lambert; but upon notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident proofs to the contrary, and promised to live peaceably at home; having before quietly submitted his Regiments of Horse and Foot to the Generall's dispose, together with the Garrisons of *Burnick, New-Castle, Carlisle, and Timmish.*

Sir John Greenwill presents the Generall with a Commission from his Majesty, and a Letter for the Council of State.

On the 27th of April, Sir John Greenwill attended the General, and presented to him a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and the Council of State, with a Commission from his Majesty to constitute him Captain General of all the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland; Informing him likewise, That he had Letters from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the City, and the Navy.

His Excellency received the Commission with all Humility and Respect; but in regard the Parliament was Adjourn'd for three dayes, advis'd him the next day to deliver that Letter which was to be by him imparted to the Council of State, to the Council at their next Sitting; which he

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he accordingly did, but they would not presume to open it without the Parliaments directions, and took Caution of Sir John Greenwill to attend the House at their next Sitting. At which time, by the Generall's advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the House of Lords, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir John Greenwill attended at the Door with a Letter from his Majesty, The Earl of Manchester went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a Declaration inclosed in it; which were both read in the House: The Letter first, which was in these words: (*Viz.*)

## CHARLES R.

**R**ight Trusty and Right Welbelov'd Cousins, and Right Trusty and Welbelov'd Cousins, and Trusty and Right Welbelov'd; We Greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise Our Self an end of Our Common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our Own Just Power and Authority will with Gods Blessing be restored to us, Than that we hear You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your Birth, and the Fundamentall Laws of the Land: And we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your help in the composing the Confounding Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those we have undergone Our Self; And therefore you cannot but be the most proper Countellers for removing these Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust we repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; which Trust, we are most confident you will discharge with what Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon your experiences, how one violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as Jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves: And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness and Honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that Foundation which can only support it, and we shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall hold Our Self obliged in an especiall manner to Thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you upon this Subject, because we have likewise writ to the House of Commons, which we suppose they will communicate to you: And we pray God to bless your Joynt Endeavours for the good of us all. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

His Majesty's Letter to the House of Lords.

Given at Our Court at Breda, this 23 day of April, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

The Declaration was next read, which was Intituled,

His Majesty's gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects.

## CHARLES R.

**C**HARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the Generall Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom; doth not awaken all men to a desire and longings, that those Wounds which have so many Tears together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose: However, after this long silence, we have thought it Our Duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto: And that as we can never give over the hope in good time to obtain the Possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made Our due; So we do make it Our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in Compassion to us and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that Our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to Our People as is possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what is Ours, then that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire administration of Justice throughout the Land; and by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

His Majesty's Declaration.

And to the end that the fear of Punishment may not engage any Conscions, to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness

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piness of their Country in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights. We do by these Presents Declare, That we do grant a Free and Generall Pardon, which we are ready, upon Demand, to passe under Our Great Seal of England, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within Forty dayes after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publique Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; Excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament: Those only excepted, Let all Our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever Committed against us, or Our Royall Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of any of Our best Subjects; We Desiring and Ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties be utterly abolished among all Our Subjects, whom we Invite and Conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under Our Protection, for the re-settlement of Our Just Rights and Thiers, in a Free Parliament, by which upon the Word of a King we will be advised.

And because the Passion and uncharitableness of the Times have produced severall Opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of Conversation, will be Composed, or better understood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Consciences, And that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And because in the continued distractions of so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Souldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon severall Titles; We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to the said Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the Just Satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, That we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, And for the full satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Souldiers of the Army, under the Command of Generall Monck, and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manuall and Privy Signet at Our Court at Breda this 14 day of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

After the Reading of these, the Lords Ordered Thanks to be given to Sir John Greenwill, for bringing that Gracious Declaration and Letter, and Resolv'd by Vote, That they do own and declare, That according to the Ancient and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.

Sir John Greenwill came then to the House of Commons, who were before his Coming acquainted with the Letter he delivered to the Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door, was admitted, and presented a Letter to them from his Majestie. The Letter had in it a Duplicate of the same Declaration which was inclosed in the Letter to the Lords: The Letter and it were both read, and the Letter was Superfcribed;

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Commons.

Trusty and Welbeloved, We Greet you well. In these great and insupportable Afflictions and Calamities under which the poor Nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a more naturall and proper Remedy, than to resort to those for Counsell and Advice, who have seen and observed the first beginning of Our Miseries, the Progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings which have produced and contributed to Inconveniencies which were not intended;

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intended; and after so many Revolutions, and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by Our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, and to provide proper Remedies for these Evills, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness and Security of the Kingdom.

We do assure you upon Our Royall Word, That none of Our Predecessors have had a greater Esteem of Parliaments, than we have in our Judgment, as well as from Our Obligation; We do believe them to be so vitall a part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government of it, that we well know neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them: And therefore you may be confident, That we shall always look upon their Counsells as the best we can receive, and shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and as Carefull to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to Our Self, and most necessary for Our Own Preservation.

And as this is Our Opinion of Parliaments, That their Authority is most necessary for the Government of the Kingdom; So we are most confident, that you believe and find, that the preservation of the Kings Authority is as necessary for the preservation of Parliaments; and that it is not the Name but the right Constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evills which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby establish their Peace and Security. And therefore we have not the least doubt, but that you will be as Tender in, and as Jealous of, any thing that may infringe Our Honour, or impair Our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property; which is best preserv'd by preserving the other.

How far we have trusted you in this great Affair, and how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and People as happy as they ought to be; You will find by Our inclosed Declaration, a Copy of which we have likewise sent to the House of Peers; and you will easily believe that we would not voluntarily, and of Our Self have reposed so great a Trust in you, but upon an intire Confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us who have trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance (which we have assurance of) and repairing to you for more naturall and proper Remedies for the Evills we would be freed from, nor sorry that we have bound up Our Own Interest so intirely with that of Our Subjects, as that we refer it to the same Persons to take care of us, who are trusted to provide for them.

We look upon you as wise and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up those Banks and Fences which have been cast down, and who will most reasonably hope, that the same Prosperity will again spring from those Roots from which it hath heretofore and alwayes grown; Nor can we apprehend that you will propose any thing to us, or expect any thing from us, but that we are as ready to give, as you to receive.

If you desire the advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion, we have, by Our constant Profession and Practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, that neither the unkindness of those of the same Faith towards us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary Profession, (of both which we have had abundant Evidence) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from our zeal and affection for it; to which we will not readily consent. And we hope in due time Our Self to propose something to you for the Propagation of it, that will satisfy the World, that we have alwayes made it both Our Care and Our Study; and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

If you desire security for these, who in these Calamitous times either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each others Rights, we have left to you to provide for their Security and Indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think Just and Reasonable; And by a Just Computation of what men have done, and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied, which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace which for the present might seem established.

If there be a crying Sinne for which the Nation may be involv'd in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to Redeem and Vindicate the Nation from that Guilt and Infamy, as we can be.

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If you desire that Reverence and obedience may be paid to the fundamentall Laws of the Land, and that Justice may be equally and impartially administred to all men, it is that which we desire to be sworn to Our Self; and that all Persons in Power and Authority should be so too.

In a word, there is nothing which you can propose, that may make the Kingdom happy, which we will not contend with you to compass; and upon this Confidence and Assurance, we have thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see Our heart, which when God shall bring us nearer together (as we hope he will do shortly) will appear to you very agreeable to what we have professed; and we hope, that we have made that right Christian use of Our Affliction, and that the Observation and experience we have had in other Countries, hath been such, as that we, and we hope all Our Subjects, shall be the better for what we have seen and suffered.

We shall add no more, but our Prayers to Almighty God, that He will so bless your Counsels, and direct your endeavours, that his Glory and worship may be provided for, and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of the Nation, may be established upon those foundations which can best support it. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1660. C  
In the twelfth Year of Our Reign.

After the reading of this Letter and the Declaration, his Excellency the Lord Generall desired the Letter that was directed to him, to be Communicated to the Council and the Army, might also be read, which was agreed. In that Letter there was also the former Declaration inclosed, and the Address of the Letter was:

To our Trusty and Welbelov'd General Monck, to be by him Communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.

## CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the Generall, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and Council of State.

Truſty and Welbelov'd, We greet you well: It cannot be believ'd, but that we have been, are, and ever muſt be, as ſolicitous as we can, by all endeavours to improve the affections of Our good Subjects at home, and to procure the aſſiſtance of Our Friends and Allies abroad, for the recovery of that right, which by the Laws of God and Man is unquestionable, and of which we have been ſo long diſpoſſeſſed by ſuch force, and with thoſe Circumſtances, as we do not deſire to aggravate by any ſharp expreſſions, but rather wiſh, that the memory of what is paſſed, may be buried to the world. That we have more endeavour'd to prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our Subjects at home, for Our Reſtauration, than to procure Aſſiſtance from abroad, to invade either of Our Kingdoms, is as manifeſt to the world: And we cannot give a better Evidence, that we are ſtill of the ſame minde, than in this Conjunction, when common reaſon muſt ſatiſſie all men, that we cannot be without Aſſiſtance from abroad, we chooſe rather to ſend to you, who have it in your own power to prevent that ruine and deſolation which a Warre would bring upon the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happineſs, Security, and Glory it ſhall enjoy to your Vertue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have complied with their Obligations for which they were firſt raiſed, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the fundamentall Laws of the Land; and that you have vindicated that Truſt, which others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed.

How much we deſire and Reſolve to contribute to thoſe good ends, will appear to you by Our enclod ſed Declaration, which we deſire you to cauſe to be publiſh'd for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not deſire a further effuſion of precious Chriſtian Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only ſupport it; an Unity of Affections amongſt Our ſelves, an equall adminiſtration of Juſtice to men, reſtoring Parliaments to a full Capacity of providing for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the Land to their due veneration.

You have been your ſelves witneſſes of ſo many Revolutions, and have had ſo much experience, how far any Power and Authority that is only aſſum'd by Paſſion and Appetite, and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing for the happineſs and peace of the People;

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A or from receiving any obedience from them, without which no Government can provide for them; and that you may very reaſonably believe that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed with the attempt that have been made, ſince he hath uſually increaſed the Confuſion; by giving all the ſucceſs that hath been deſired, and brought that to paſſe without effect, which the deſigners have propos'd as the beſt means to ſettle and Compoſe the Nation: And therefore we cannot but hope and believe, that you will concur with us in the Remedy we have apply'd, which to humane underſtandings, is only proper for the ill we all groan under; and that you will make your ſelves the Bleſſed Inſtruments to bring this Bleſſing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People; it being the uſuall method in which Divine Providence delighteth it ſelf, to uſe and ſanctiſie thoſe very means which ill men deſign for the ſatisfaction of private and particular ends and ambition, and other wicked purpoſes, to whoſome and publique ends, and to eſta bliſh that good which is moſt contrary to the deſigners; which is the greateſt manifeſtation of Gods particular kindneſs to a Nation that can be given in this world. How far we reſolve to preſerve your Interests, and reward your Services, we refer to Our Declaration; And we hope God will inſpire you to perform your duty to us, and to your Native Countrey, whoſe happineſs cannot be ſeperated from each other.

C We have intruſted Our Welbelov'd Servant Sir John Greenville, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an account of your reception of it; and to deſire you, that it may be publiſh'd. And ſo we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Breda, this 14<sup>th</sup> of April, 1660.  
In the twelfth Year of our Reign.

After the reading of theſe Letters, his Excellency deſired their permiſſion to anſwer it, and to Communicate that and his Majesties Declaration to the Officers of the Army; which was readily conſented to.

D And then they took into their Conſideration, That his Majesty having been deprived of his Revenues, could not but be in want of Monies; and therefore Order'd, That the Summ of Fifty Thouſand Pounds ſhould be preſently raiſed and preſented to his Majesty from that Houſe, and Ten Thouſand Pounds to his Royall Highneſs the Duke of York, and Five Thouſand Pounds to the Duke of Glouceſter.

The Lo diſſent down a Motion to the Commons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of the Houſes appointed Committees to draw up their ſeverall Anſwers to his Majesties Letters, and Reſolv'd, that the Superſcription ſhould be,

## E To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

And the Commons Order'd, That all the Journalls ſhould be ſearch'd, and thoſe Acts and Orders razed out, which were inconfiſtent with the Government of King, Lords, and Commons; Theſe were the chiefſt Tranſactions in Parliament that day.

In the Evening his Excellency ſummoned all his Officers that were in and near the City, and Communicated to them his Majesties Letter and Declaration; upon the reading whereof, Colonel Lydcot firſt ſpoke; addreſſing himſelf to his Excellency then preſent; He ſaid, They were all bound to bleſs God for the happineſs of that day, which made them Witneſſes of his Majesties great goodneſs and Clemency to all his Subjects expreſſed in that Declaration, and for his particular kindneſs to them manifeſt in his moſt gracious Letter.

F He ſaid, It was moſt true, that they had been Witneſſes of many Revolutions (as it is therein expreſſed) and experienced to their ſorrow the inconveniencies of them; That at the beginning of the Wars, the ſafety of the Kings Perſon, Proteſtant Religion, Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, were Principles that many good men with them thought they might ſafely engage for; but by degrees after they came into Blood, ſome implacable Spirits improved their Succeſſes to make the diſſentions irreparable, and many men were forc'd to continue their Arms, more for their own ſecurity than the Juſtice of them; But that which was his comfort, and ought to be all theirs, was, That they had now by the Prudence of their ever to be honour'd Generall, the opportunity to comply with the Obligations for which they were firſt raiſed, and they were theſe whom his Majesty was pleas'd to own in their ſubmiſſion to his moſt juſt and Lawfull Authority, to be the Inſtruments to bring the bleſſing of Peace and Reconciliation upon the King and People.

This Speech was approv'd by all them that heard it; But Colonel Knight deſired they might give ſome written Teſtimony of their acknowledgements of his Majesties Authority over them, to be preſented to his Excellency the Lord Generall; That ſince his Majesties Letter was by him communicated to them, he might in his Anſwer to it, return their humble ſence of it.

The Parliament preſent his Majesty and his two Brothers, with the ſumme of 65000 l.

Coll. Lydcot's Speech upon the reading of his Majesties Letter and Declaration.

1660.

This motion produc'd a Reference to a Committee of Officers, to draw up an Address to his A Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration, to be prepared against six of the Clock the next morning, and to desire his Excellencies leave, that they might then meet to give their Consents, and subscribe their names to it; which his Excellency readily approved. And the next morning, the Addresses being prepared, was read to the Council of Officers, and Signed by them, and presented to his Excellency.

The Title was,

To his Excellency the Lord Generall Monck, Captain Generall of all the Armies and Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and one of the Generalls at Sea.

The humble Address of the Officers of your Excellencies Army, in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.

The Officers Address to his Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties Letter & Declaration.

“Although We cannot doubt of your Excellencies Confidence in our affections, and our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that Discipline which, by your good and prudent Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby we are instructed to an intire Obedience to your Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord shall place over Us, which we hope we have manifested in our last Actions under your Excellency, against all persons whatsoever, in any wayes disturbing the Peace and Settlement of the Nations; although some of them have been our Brethren formerly engaged in the same Cause with Us. As also in our late Remonstrance and Address to your Excellency, wherein, as it becomes Us in Duty, We have solemnly declared to acquiesce in what the Lord shall bring forth from the Consultations of this present Parliament. Yet in regard your Excellency hath been pleased to communicate to Us, a Letter and Declaration from the Kings Majesty, full of gracious Expressions, We cannot but acknowledge, that the matter of it gives a great measure of quiet to our minds, and more then ordinary expectations of the enjoyment of much tranquillity and happiness under His Majesties Government. The free and generall Indempnity offered by his Majesty, with a liberty to tender Consciences, satisfaction of Arrears, his readiness to consent to a Confirmation of Sales, and other Grants and Purchases of Estates to all Persons now in possession of the same, is that of which we cannot doubt of the reall performance, being left by His Majesty to the Parliaments determination, so we believe it is the most probable way to bring the Nations to their desired Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Majesty, and all the World, That VVe, and all those that have been Engaged in the Parliaments Cause, are His Majesties most Loyall Subjects, and that your Excellency, and the Armies under your Command, have Complied with the Obligations, for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and Prosperity of the Subject, and the Fundamentall Lawes of the Land.

It is read by the Commons, and approved.

Commissary Charges appointed by the Generall, to wait upon his Majesty with this Address.

In the morning, at the first sitting of the Commons House, the Generall acquainted them, that he had Communicated his Majesties Letter, and the Declaration in it enclosed, to the Officers of the Army; and that thereupon they had presented an Address to him, which he desired they would be pleased to read, which was ordered, and after the reading, it was well approved of.

His Excellency then told them, He intended to prepare a Letter, to be sent to his Majesty, and did with their leave, purpose to send that Address to him, That His Majesty might thereby perceive, the Armies were at his devotion; and that he desiring to send it by Commissary Charges, who was as well a Member of their House, as an Officer of the Army, he requested their permission for him to go.

The House then Ordered, he should have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir John Greenville, to buy him a Jewel, as a Testimony of the Respects of the House to him.

After this, Alderman Robinson inform'd them, That the said Sir John Greenville, with the Lord Mordant, had presented a Letter from His Majesty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they Comanded him to ask their leave to return an Answer to it: Which after the reading of it in the House, was granted; In that Letter also his Majesties Declaration was inclosed: The Letter itself was directed,

To

A

To our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the Common-Council of our City of London.

CHARLES R.

1660.

Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In these great Revolutions of late, happened in that Our Kingdom, to the wonder and Amazement of all the World, there is none that we have looked upon with more Comfort, than the so frequent and publique manifestations of their affections to us in the City of London, which hath exceedingly raised Our Spirits, and which no doubt hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and your good Example, to assert that Government, under which it hath so many hundred years enjoyed as great felicity as any Nation in Europe, and to discountenance the Imaginations of those who would subject Our Subjects to a Government they have not yet desired, and to satisfy the Pride and Ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the World takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English Nation, which we hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer bewitched by those suggestions; How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happiness of our Subjects, without effusion of blood; and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to us by a Warre, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the inclosed Declaration, which together with this our Letter, VVe have intrusted Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord Viscount Mordant, and Our Trusty and well-beloved Servant, Sir John Greenville Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you, to the end, that you, and all the rest of Our good Subjects of that Our City of London, (to whom we desire it should be published) may know how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom, should be raised upon any other Foundation than the affection and hearts of Our Subjects, and their own Consents. We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our Considerations, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the Fundamentall Lawes to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all Our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by Our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native Country, and to advance the Honour of it. And as we have that full affection for the Kingdom in generall, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary Kindness for Our Native City in that particular, which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all those Priviledges, which they have received from Our Predecessours, but by adding and granting any new Favour, which may advance the Trade, wealth, and Honour of that Our Native City, for which we will be so sollicitous, that we doubt not but that it will in due time receive some Benefit and Advantage in all those respects, even from Our own Observation and Experience abroad. And we are most confident, VVe shall never be disappointed in Our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections, and so VVe bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at Breda, the 22 Day of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the Cities joyful Reception of this Letter, and the Declaration in it, expressed by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council, who immediately upon the Reading of them, Ordered Ten Thousand Pounds to be presented to his Majesty, a Thousand pounds to the Duke of York, and a Thousand pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; And that Alderman Langham, Alderman Reynolds, Alderman Brown, Alderman Thompson, Alderman Frerick, Alderman Hale, Alderman Adams, Alderman Bateman, Alderman Robinson, Mr. Recorder Wild, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Bidolph, Mr. Ford, Mr. Bloodworth, Sir James Bunsen, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. William Bateman, should from that City attend his Majesty with a Presentation of their most Dutiful Acknowledgements, for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. His Excellency took care, that the Address presented to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the Kings Letter, and Declaration, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Dunkirk, requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Dissenters (if any were) But it appeared by the Returns made, that the Army was so well purged by the Remonstrance that went before, that all readily and dutifully comply'd with this.

V v v z

The

Diverse Aldermen, and other citizens sent from the City to his Majesty.

1660.

Six of the  
House of  
Lords, and 12  
of the Com-  
mons, sent to  
attend upon  
his Majesty.

The Lords House nominated the Earles of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, and the Lord Viscount Hereford, the Lord Brook, and the Lord Birkley, to attend his Majesty from that House; And the Commons appointed the Lord Fairfax, Lord Bruce, Lord Falkland, Lord Castle-ton, Lord Herbert of Worcester, Lord Mandeville, Sir Horatio Townshend, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir John Holland, Sir Henry Cholmley, and Denzell Hollis Esq; to attend his Majesty from that House: who were Ordered to make the quickest Preparation they could for their Journey, to desire his Majesty to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.

His Majesties Letter and Declaration to the Fleet, by the diligence of General Monague, had the same success there, as that in the Army, being Gracefully received by all the Commanders and Sea-men.

The Letter it self was in these Words:

## CHARLES R.

His Majesties  
Letter to the  
Officers of the  
Fleet.

**T**RUFFY and VVell-beloved, VVe greet you well: It is no small Comfort to Us, after so long and great Troubles and Miseries, which the whole Nation hath groaned under; and after so great Revolutions, which have still encreased those Miseries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the VValls of the Kingdoms, are put under the Command of two Persons so well disposed to, and concerned in the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Command, are more inclined to return to their Duty to us, and put a period to these Distempers and Distractions, which have so impoverish'd and dishonour'd the Nation, than to widen the Breach and to raise their Fortunes by Rapine and Violence; VVhich gives us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the VVounds, by the same Plaijter that made the Fleth Raw; that he will proceed in the same method, in pouring his Blessings upon us, which he was pleas'd to use when he began to assist us, and that the Manifestation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Sea-men towards us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to that Peace, which was first interrupted by the Mistake and Misunderstanding of their Predecessors, which would be such a Blessing upon us all, that VVe should not be less delighted with the manner than the matter of it: In this Hope and Confidence, VVe have sent the inclosed Declaration to You, by which you may discern, how much VVe are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the General and Publick Peace: In which, as no man can be more, or so much concern'd; so no man can be more solicitous for it. And VVe do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said Declaration to be published, to all the Officers and Sea-men of the Fleet; to the end, that they may plainly discern, how much VVe have put it into their Power, to provide for the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, who have been always understood by them, to be the best and most proper Counsellours for those good Ends: And You are likewise further to Declare to them, That We have the same Gracious Purpose towards them, which we have express'd towards the Army at Land; and will be as ready to provide for the Payment of all Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several Merits, as we have express'd to the other; and We will always take so particular a Care of them, and their Condition, as shall manifest Our Kindness towards them. And so depending upon Gods Blessing, for insuring these good Resolutions into your and their Hearts, which are best for us all, VVe bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 Day of April, 1660, in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

Superscribed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monck, and General Mountague, Generals at Sea: To be Communicated to the Fleet:

Charles on the Fifth Day of May began his Journey to his Majesty; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but to give the King all manner of Assurances of his Fidelity to him; and his Resolution to improve all his Opportunities to his Service, desiring him not to misse anything to his Majesty, either for himself, or him, or any other in his Company; That his Majesty might see, that both he, and those so nearly concern'd with him in his Restauration, sought more the Publick Good of their Country, than their own private Honour or Profit: which he did faithfully observe at that time, and ever after. And three days after the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a Proclamation to that purpose, his Majesty was Proclaim'd with great Solemnity, in the Cities of London and Westminster, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London being present; the manner was as followeth:

The Solemn manner of Proclaiming his Majesty in London and Westminster.

1660.

**A** The Lords came out of their House into the Painted-Chamber, where they continued till they were placed in Order; the Earl of Arundel first, then the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Oxford, &c. Thusthey walked out along with the Heralds before them, through the Court of Requests, and Westminster-Hall, to the Pallace, where they staid before the Hall Gate, whilst Mr. Bish one of the Heralds, and Mr. Ryly that officiated as King at Arms, with a loud Voice, Proclaimed the King in these words:

**A**lthough it can no way be doubted, but that His Majesties Right and Title to His Crown and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the Death of His most Royal Father of Glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation: Yet since Proclamations in such Cases have always been used, to the end, that all good Subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their Duty and Respect; And since the Armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many Years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such Opportunity, wherein we might express our Loyalty and Allegiance to His Majesty; VVe therefore the Lords and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, and other Free-men of this Kingdom now present, do, according to Our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously, acknowledge and Proclaim, That upon the Decease of Our late Sovereign Lord King Charles, the Imperiall Crown of the Realm of England, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights, belonging to the same, did by inherent Birth-Right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most Excellent Majesty CHARLES the Second, as being Lineally, Justly, and Lawfully next Heir of the Royal Blood of this Realm; And that by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty GOD, He is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And therunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige Our Selves, our Heirs and Posterities.

**D** The Proclamation being ended, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in this Order; First, the Head-Bayliff of Westminster, and his Servants, did ride along with White-Staffes to prepare the Way; Then followed a gallant Troop of the Officers of the Army, and other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them; Then the Life-Guard, commanded by Captain Philip Howard, very stately mounted, and richly Cloath'd; after them a Claif of Trumpets, and three Heralds; Then a Herald between the Serjeant to the Commons, and the Mace of the Council: Next, Ryly King at Arms, in a Rich Coat of the Kings Arms, betwixt Serjeant Norfolk, and Serjeant Middleton; after whom came the Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. Bish: These, thus Ushering the Way, the Earl of Manchester followed in his Coach and Six Horses, the Speaker of the House of Commons in his, then his Excellency General Monck in his; after which followed both Houses of Parliament in Coaches, and after them a Troop of Horse; in this manner they came to White-Hall, where they Proclaimed his Majesty a second time; and then proceeded to Temple-Bar, Where the Gates being shut, The King at Arms, with Trumpets before him, knuckled, and demanded Entrance: The Lord Mayor appointed some to ask, Who it was that knock'd? The King at Arms Replyd, That if they would open the Wicket, and let the Lord Mayor come thither, he would to him deliver his Message: The Lord Mayor came then on Horse-back richly habited, in a Crimson-Velvet Gown, to the Gate, and then the Trumpets sounded, and after Silence being made, Alderman Bateman, by Order of the Lord Mayor, demanded of the Herald, Who he was, and what was his Message? To which he answer'd, with his Hat on, We are the Heralds at Arms, appointed and commanded by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to demand Entrance into the Famous City of London, to Proclaim Charles the Second King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and we expect your speedy Answer to this Demand. To which, after a little Consultation amongst themselves, Alderman Bateman Answer'd, Their Message was accepted, and the Gates should be immediately opened; which was done accordingly.

The King at Arms entered first, Trumpets sounding before him, and was joyfully received by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and all the Officers of the City Militia gallantly accoutred, both sides of the Streets were lin'd by the Trained-Bands of London, from Temple-Bar to the Old-Exchange, who stood all with their Swords drawn; The City-Troop march'd next to the Life-Guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; after whom the Heralds, and the rest, as before: When they came to Chancery-Lane End, they proclaim'd his Majesty a third time: And from thence they march'd to Cheap-side, where he was proclaim'd a fourth time; and from thence to the Old-Exchange, where he was again Proclaim'd. The Shouts and Acclamations of the People, at this gallant and orderly Procession, were very great, and their Demonstrations of Joy, at the several Stations, when the Ceremony of Proclaiming was performing, not to be express'd; sometimes they lookt upwards, and then presently cast their Eyes towards the General, as if they intended at one time to pay a Tribute of Thankfulness to Heaven, and his Excellency, who had done an Action so Glorious and Transcendent, that this present Age cannot enough admire, and our Po-

1660.

Commissary  
Clarges his Ar-  
rival at Breda,  
where he is  
graciously re-  
ceived by his  
Majesty.

sterity will with difficulty believe; and then again they cry'd out, *God Save King Charles the Second*; as if they acknowledged that Dayes Joy, as a Recompence sufficient for all their Pressures and Grievances; so excellent a Tutor is the want of that, which long Fruition makes us imperfectly understand.

The Guns from the Tower were all shot off, and all the Streets that Evening were fill'd with Bone-fires, and the Air with the Sound of Ringing of Bells; and all seem'd too little, to celebrate the content and exultation of the People, at that Dayes Solemnity.

Commissary Clarges made such speed in his Journey to his Majesty, That on Tuesday the 8th of May, in the Morning, which was the Day after the happy making of this Proclamation, he arrived at Bergen-op-Zone in Holland, half a Dayes Journey from Breda; There the Governour gave him a very Honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and six Horses to Breda; and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord Gerrard met him with Two Coaches and Six Horses, and accompanied him to his Majesty, who received him with most Gracious Expressions of Satisfaction, as well that he was the first authorized Messenger, that came to him with the Newses of the indee Submission of his Kingdoms and Army to his Obedience: As for his Relation to that most Renowned General, from whose prudent Conduct and Courage, all that Happiness was derived to his Majesty, and his People.

He presented to his Majesty, a Letter from the General, in Answer to his Majesties, sent before to him; and in it was inclosed the Address of the Officers of the Army.

May it please your Majesty,

The General's  
Letter to his  
Majesty.

THE Parliament being Sitting at my receipt of your Majesties gracious Letter to me, I thought my self obliged in Duty to present it to the House of Commons, whose Sence of it, and of that other your Majestie was pleased to send to them by Sir John Greenwill, I doubt not but your Majestie will receive an account of by some of their own Members; I have also Communicated your Majesties Letter and Declaration to as many of the Chief Officers of the Army as were present in or about London, who resented your Majesties Clemency and Grace to them with very great Duty and Affection, as your Majestie may perceive in the inclosed Address, which within few hours after their Convention, they deliver'd to me.

By all which Circumstances, I hope I may assure your Majestie, That as the Army hath been very Instrumentall in their Endeavours to further the Settlement, Peace and Prosperity of your Majesties Kingdoms and Dominions; So nothing will be dearer to them and me, than to be found in our Generations pursuing those good Ends, which may render us serviceable and acceptable to our Country, to give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, and to God the things which are Gods.

May the 5th.

May it please your Majesty;

Your Majesties most humble and  
Obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monck.

This Letter was dictated by his Excellencie in the presence of many Officers of the Army; but he writ another short Letter with his own hand: Wherein he acquainted his Majesty, That he chose to send Mr. Clarges to him, because he was the only Person he trusted in the nearest Concernments and Consultations for his Restauration, as one to whom he desired his Majesty to give Credit to what he should say on that behalf.

Clarges Knighted  
by his Majesty,  
presents  
himself to the  
two Dukes, the  
Princes Royal,  
and others of  
the most Eminent  
of the  
Court.

After the reading of these Letters, and the Address inclosed in the former of them, His Majesty Knighted him, and by many kind expressions demonstrated his sence of his Merit and Service to him; and after he had been about an hour with his Majesty, he had his permission to attend his Royall Highness the Duke of York and the Duke of Gloucester, who received him with that affability which was inherent in them, and which became the most accomplished and most Generous Princes in the World. From them he waited on the Princess of Orange, who expressed great Content at his Relation of the News he brought; and at his parting from her, she gave order he should with his whole Retinue be entertained at her Charge whilest he staid in Breda, and had a Coach and Six Horses of her Highnesses, with Equipage suitable, to wait on him when he should give order for it. He went then to Visit the Lord Chancellor, and from him the Marquess of Ormond, as those deservedly (next the Royall Family) in greatest Credit with his Majesty; both of them receiving him with that respect as the import and relation of his Message and Person did deserve.

The

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The Two Houses of Parliament having perfected the Instructions for their Commissioners, and the Letter to his Majesty, they were delivered to them, and they began their Journey towards the Hague (at which place his Majesty intended to meet them) on the 11th of May, the time prefix'd in the Instructions for their Journey.

Instructions for Anthony Earl of Oxford, Charles Earl of Warwick, Lionell Earl of Middlesex, Lyncoller Viscount Hereford, George Lord Berkley, Robert Lord Brook, The Lord Herbert, the Lord Mandivell, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Castletowne, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Fairfax, Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir Henry Cholmley, and Denzill Hollis, Esquire.

The Instructions were thus, (Viz.)

You are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his Majesty shall be, and humbly to present the Letters wherewith you are respectively intrusted by both Houses of Parliament.

You are to acquaint his Majesty with what great Joy and Acclamation he was Proclaimed in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, upon the Eighth day of May Instant, and present the Proclamation itself to his Majesty, and to acquaint him with the Orders of both Houses to have the same Proclaimed throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and the Dominion of Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

And that both Houses have Ordered;

That all and every the Ministers throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland be enjoyned in their Publique Prayers to pray for his Most Excellent Majesty, and for the most Illustrious Prince James Duke of York, and the rest of the Royall Progeny. And also have Ordered, That the assumed Arms of the late pretended Common-wealth, where ever they are standing, be taken down, and that his Majesties Arms be set up instead thereof: And you are to Communicate to his Majesty the Resolution of both Houses relating to these Instructions.

You are to acquaint his Majesty with the earnest Desire of both Houses, that his Majesty will be pleased to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his Kingly Office; and that in order thereunto, both Houses have given Direction to General Mountague one of the Generalls at Sea, and other Officers of the Fleet, to observe such Commands as his Majesty shall please to give him or them for disposall of the Fleet in order to his Majesties Return; And you are to Communicate to his Majesty the Resolution of both Houses relating to this Instruction.

John Brown, Cl. Parl.

The House of Commons added one more Instruction to the Commissioners; which was, To beseech his Majesty, that the Parliament may know where he purposeth to take Shipping, and to Land at his coming over, that Preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majesties Houses he intendeth to make use of at his first coming to London; And whether he will come all the way by Land after he comes on Shore; or whether he will please to come by Water from Graves-End to London? And that his Majesty will declare in what manner he is pleased to be Received.

All these Commissioners in three dayes after their departure from London, arrived at the Hague; And on Wednesday the Sixteenth of May, our stile, they had their severall Audiences by his Majesty, who received them all with a sweet and serene Countenance, and a Heart full of Content and good Inclinations towards them; and all the City Commissioners were Knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Dispatch to Sir Thomas Clarges, and Commanded him to acquaint the Generall, He intended to take Shipping at the Bay of Scheveling on Monday after, and to Slay to Dover and Land there; from whence he would immediately go to Canterbury, and stay there some time to determine of the manner of his Entrance into London. The Fleet was some dayes before in pursuance of the Orders of both Houses in the said Bay.

On Thursday early in the Morning, Sir Thomas Clarges attempted by Boat from Scheveling, to get on Board the Admirall, but the Weather was so stormy he could not do it, till towards the Evening; And then General Mountague Ordered the Norwich Frigate for his Transportation: The Winds were so contrary, and the Weather so stormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in England till Monday Morning, at which time he Landed at Alborough in Suffolk, and immediately from thence sent an Expreß to the Generall, and the Speaker of the House of Commons,

with

The Parliament  
and City-Commis-  
sioners have  
their Audience  
from his Majesty  
at the  
Hague.

Sir Thomas  
Clarges returns  
with intimi-  
dation of his  
Majesties Re-  
solution.

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with intimation of his Majesties Resolutions: Whereupon his Excellency with a great and gallant Company of the Chiefest of the Nobility and Gentry of England, set forward from London the 22<sup>th</sup> of May; and for the more conveniency of Quartering so numerous a Company, he advis'd them to divide themselves into Troops according to the severall Counties, and the interest of the Noblemen present.

At Rochester Sir Thomas Clarges met the Generall, and presented unto him his Majesties Letter, with Royall and most endeav'd assurances of Esteem from the Best of Kings, to the Wor-thiest and most deserving of Subjects. The Letter was dated the 22<sup>th</sup> of May. Directed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved Generall Monck, To be Communicated to the Officers of the Army.

CHARLES R.

“Trusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. You will easily believe that your Letter of the Fifth of this Moneth, by Sir Thomas Clarges, was very Welcome to Us: And that as We must alwaies acknowledg the infinite Mercy of God Almighty in disposing the Hearts of the Army in such an intire obedience to you, for the promoting and carrying on Our Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; So We can never be without a Just Esteem of such a great and well Disciplin'd Army, upon which the Eyes of the World are so much fixed. We must desire you to return Our very hearty Thanks to Officers and Souldiers for their affection and obedience to Us; and to assure them from Us, That we shall alwaies have an intire Confidence in them, and ever acknowledg them to be the great Instruments of Restoring Us, and Peace, and Happiness, and Security to Us all: And therefore they may not only with all imaginable Confidence assure themselves, that We will punctually perform whatever We have promised to them in Our Declaration or Letter, but that We will take them into Our particular Care and Protection. And if the Licence and distemper of the time shall so far transport any men, as to presume upon memory of former Animosities, and of what is past, to use any reproaches towards them, We will look upon such persons as disturbers of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and shall cause them to be prosecuted accordingly. And towards this Settlement and Composure, and for the prevention of many inconveniencies which may fall out, We think nothing so necessary as Our presence with you, by which (in a very short time) every Member of the Army, who shall faithfully adhere to you in advancement of the Publique Peace, shall with the blessing of God, find himself secured and provided, for to his satisfaction. And longing for that Blessed time, We bid you heartily farewell.

His Excellencie being in his Journey, had not opportunity to communicate this Letter to any more of his Officers than those that were present with him.

But the Fame of his Majesties transcendent Vertues had prevented this written discovery of them, and made indelible impressions of duty and affection in the Army.

The King intended to have taken shipping on Monday, but the Crossness of the Winds forc'd him a little to defer it. His Royall Highness the Duke of York went on Monday and Tuesday to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High Admirall: And on Wednesday the 23. his Sacred Majestie, the Queen of Bohemia, the Prince of Orange, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Prince of Orange, went on board the Naseby, (which his Majestie now named: the Royall Charles) where after a Re-past, The Queen of Bohemia, the Prince of Orange, and the Prince of Orange her Sonne, took leave of his Majestie, and then the Fleet set sayle for England: His Royall Highness the Duke of York came in the London; and the Duke of Gloucester in the Swiftsure, now called the James.

During the time his Majestie had remain'd at the Hague, and all the way thither from Breda, the States of Holland entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and at his departure they presented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of Seven Thousand pounds Sterling; and as much Linen as was valued at a Thousand pounds.

On Friday about three of the Clock in the Morning, The Fleet was in sight of Dover, whereupon an Express was sent to the Generall (then newly come to Canterbury) to haste to Dover; which he presently did, and about Ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellencie before he came from Canterbury, advising with the Earl of Lindsey, and some of the other Noble-men that accompanied him, about the conveniency of his Majesties stay at Dover, was informed that he could have no accommodation there for a stay of his Train, and

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and those that came to wait on him, and therefore he resolv'd humbly to move him, at his Landing, to proceed on directly to Canterbury.

About One in the Afternoon, his Majesty Land'd at the Beech near Dover-Heath, with the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, and many Noble-men and Gentlemen. All that were present, put themselves into a Posture, to see the Meeting of the King and the General: The Admirers of Majesty, were Jealous on his Majesties Behalf, of too low Condescension; and the Lovers of Duty fearful on the other Side, of an Ostentation of Merit: But such a humble Prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by his Majesty, kissing and embracing him, that all Parties were satisfied, to admiration. And his Excellency from that time received to great an Impression of the marvellous Goodness of his Majesty, that he resolv'd what before he had perform'd, out of bounden Duty to his Liege-Lord, should be for ever continued with the same observance, out of Loyal Affections to his Gracious Sovereign.

His Majesty walked from the Water-side, towards the Town, with the General, a Canopy being carried over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellencies Motion, for his going to Canterbury, for the Reasons before expressed, he halted to his Coach; in his Passage to which he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. Reading their Minister, who presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with Gold Clasp: At one end of the Coach next the King, sat the Duke of York, and at the other the Duke of Gloucester, and the General; and the Duke of Buckingham sat in the Boot. About two miles from Dover, his Majesty took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his Right Hand, and the General on his Left: After whom the Duke of Buckingham, and several other Noblemen and Gentlemen follow'd in gallant Equipage.

At his Majesties Entrance into Canterbury, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. Lovelace the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also presented him with a Tankard of Massie Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained till Monday.

The next Day after his Arrival at Canterbury, his Majesty Dignified his Excellency with the Honour of the Garter; he was brought up to the King by the Earl of Winchelsea, and the Lord Mordaunt, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, in great Testimony of Respect to him, assisted at the Ceremony, and put on the Garter, and the George; Mr. Morrice was also Knighted, and for the Prudence and Fidelity he manifested, in Contributing to his Majesties Restauration, Declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majesty sent the General a Warrant to be Master of his Horse.

His Majesty likewise at Canterbury, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on Major-Generall Masey, Alderman Robinson, Mr. Daniel Harvey, Mr. Thomas Stenkley, Collonel Roffier, Captain Philip Howard, and Mr. Robert Pafson: Moreover, his Excellency the Earl of Southampton, and Mr. Secretary Morrice, were Sworn of the Privy-Council.

On Monday following, his Majesty came into Rochester, where, after he had a little refreshed himself, he went to Chatham, to see the Royal Sovereign, and returned that Night to Collonel Gibbons his House, where he lay that Night, and was by the Collonel presented with a most Dutiful and Loyal Address from him and his Regiment, which was then Quartered in Rochester.

From thence his Majesty march'd to Black-Heath, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with the sight of it; for indeed they seem'd all men of one age, and one mind, and were for their number, as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the World.

Collonel Knight there most humbly presented to his Majesty a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Armes joy, for the Honour of his Majesties presence amongst them; wherein after many dutiful expressions of exalted gladness for his Majesties Restauration, they besought, That his Majesty would have now his great Council about him, who had already given proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom both to his Majesty and his People. They also declared, That as they had not been altogether useless in the Restauration of his Sacred Majesty, to his Crown and Kingdoms, and his People to their just Rights thereby; so they should for the future cheerfully sacrifice their lives, or whatsoever could be more dear to them, in the service of his Majesty, against all opposers whatsoever, and by a ready Obedience to his Majesties Commands, express themselves better than in Words.

When his Majesty came to St. George his Fields, the Lord Major and Aldermen humbly on their knees Reverenc'd him; and the Lord Major presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him; and after a little Collation in a Tent provided by the Lord Major, his Majesty went towards White-Hall in this manner:

All the Streets were richly adorn'd with Tapistry, and from London-Bridge to White-Hall, and as far as Temple-Barre, were equally ranked in good order, the Trained-Band-Forces on the one side of the Streets, and the severall Companies in their Liveries on the other: From Temple-Barre to White-Hall, the Trained-Bands of Westminster, and the parts adjacent on one side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was join'd a gallant Company of the late Kings Officers, Commanded by Sir John Stowell.

The Procession was led by Major Generall Brown, who had a Troop of three-hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed twelve hundred in Velvet-Coats, with Foot-men and Liversies

His Majesty lands at Dover.

His Reception on there.

His Reception at Canterbury.

His Majesty confers the Order of the Garter, upon the General, and the Honour of Knighthood upon the Earl of Winchelsea, the Lord Mordaunt, and divers others.

He is entertained at Rochester by Col. Gibbons.

The Army being drawn up on Black-Heath, wellcom'd his Majesty with great joy and acclamation.

The manner of his Majesties Tryumphall Cavalcade through the City of London.

His Majesties Letter to the Generall.

The King and the Duke, take Shipping for England.

His Majesties Entertainment from the States of Holland.

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veries attending them in Purple. Then another Troop led by Alderman *Robinson*, in *Buff Coats*, A with Cloth of Silver sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after these, a Troop of about a hundred and fifty with Blew Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters, and seven Footmen in Sea-Green and Silver. Then a Troop of two hundred and twenty, with thirty Footmen in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly Cloathed. Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpeters; and another of twenty with five Trumpeters: And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all richly habited, and bravely Mounted. After these came two Trumpeters with his Majesties Arms; the Sheriffs men in red Cloaks richly Laced with Silver Lace, to the number of fourscore, with half Pikes in their hands: then followed six hundred of the several Companies of London on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Footmen in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and three Streamers, and many rich red Liveries with Silver Lace. After these twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpeters, and His Majesties Life-Guard of Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Gerard*; Then three Trumpets in rich Coats, and Satin Doublets, and the City-Marshal, with eight Footmen in French Green, trim'd with Crimson and White; the City Waits, and all the City Officers in order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of London in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats Laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver. The Herald and Maces in rich Coats. Then the Lord Mayor carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of *Buckingham* and the *Generals*, and then the *Kings Majesty* betwixt the Dukes of *Tork* and *Gloucester*: Then followed a Troop of Horse with white Colours, and after them the *Generals Life-Guard*, led by Sir *Philip Howard*. Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Colonel *Knight*: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his Majesty Conduced to his Royall Palace at *White-Hall*, on the nine and twentieth day of *May*, His Birth-day, and with Him, Peace and Happiness returned to His Kingdoms and People, which all good men desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy Government of Him and His Posterity.

When the Lord Mayor had taken leave of him, he went to the *Lords*, where he was entertained with a Grave but Eloquent Speech of the Earl of *Manchester*, and from thence to the Banqueting-House, where the whole House of Commons attending him, the Speaker in their Names D expressed the Joyfull Sense they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in Safety, and thereby an end was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.

The King told them, He was so disorder'd by his Journey, and with the noise still sounding in his Ears, (which nevertheless he confess'd was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby unfit to make such a Reply as he desired: But added, That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his Heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness; which he hoped by the Advice of his Parliament E to effect. And that next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owned the Restoration to his Crown, he would study the Welfare of his People; and not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a just Assessor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.

After the conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to *Westminster-Abbey* to offer up a Thanksgiving to God for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Weariness he had contracted through the Toil (however grateful) of that Dayes Action, he was diverted from his intention of going thither, yet would he not for any consideration be withheld from his Devotion, and his Oblations of Thanks to God, which at that time he made in his Presence-Chamber, because his Chappell was not yet prepared for his Reception.

The next day the Dukes of *Tork* and *Gloucester* took their Places in the House of Peers, as did a while after several other Peers, who were made by his Majesty beyond the Seas, and Summoned by Writ, (viz.) Henry *Jermin* Earl of *Saint Albans*, and Baron of *Saint Edmunds-Bury*; Henry *Willmot* Earl of *Rochester*, Baron *Willmot* of *Alderbury*; and Viscount *William* of *Shilton* in *Ireland*; John *Adams*, Viscount *Adams* of *Adams*; Sir *Walter* *Langdale*, Baron *Langdale* of *Holmes*; Charles *Croft*, Baron *Croft*; Sir *John* *Barkley*, Baron *Barkley*; Charles *Kirkcoppin*, Baron *Wharton* of *Wharton*.

In the first place after his Majesties Arrival, were appointed the chief Officers of State, and of his Majesties Household, his Highness the Duke of *Tork* was Invested with the Office of Lord High-Admirall of *England*, and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports. The Lord General *Monck* G (not long after created Duke of *Albmarle*) was continued Captain General of all the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to his Majesty. Sir *Edward* *Hale* (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) was constituted Lord High-Chancellor of *England*: The Earl of *Southampton* Lord High-Treasurer of *England*: Sir *Edward* *Nicholas*, and Sir *William* *Mortimer* Chief Secretaries of State: The Marquess of *Ormond* was appointed Lord Steward, and the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household: Sir *Frederick* *Carteret*, Lord

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A Lord *Cornwallis*, Treasurer of the Household, now deceased; and Sir *Charles* *Berkley* Kt. Comptroller, since Treasurer: Also Sir *George* *Carteret*, not to be forgotten among the Chief of those that constantly and faithfully adher'd to their Prince's Service, was made Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy: Besides severall others, who for their Eminent Loyalty and good Services, were advanc'd to Places of Highest Trust and Dignity in Court and Commonweath. Moreover, his Majesties Privy Councell consisted of these Persons following:

The Duke of *Tork*.  
Lord Chancellor.  
Marquess of *Ormond*.  
Marquess of *Dorchester*.  
Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord high Chamberlain of *England*.  
Earl of *Berkshire*.  
Earl of *Southampton*.  
Earl of *Normich*.  
Lord *Say* and *Seale*.  
Lord *Wentworth*.  
Lord *Seymour*.  
C Mr. *Denzell* *Holles*, afterward Lord *Holles*.  
Sir *Frederick* *Cornwallis*, Treasurer of his Majesties Household.  
Sir *Edward* *Nicholas*.  
Sir *Anthony* *Ashley-Cooper*, afterwards Lord *Ashly*.  
Colonel *Charles* *Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*.

The Duke of *Gloucester*.  
Lord General *Monck*.  
Marquess of *Hertford*, afterwards Duke of *Somerset*.  
Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.  
Earl of *Northumberland*.  
Earl of *St. Albans*.  
Earl of *Leicester*.  
Lord *Culpepper*.  
Lord *Roberts*.  
Mr. *Annisley*, afterwards Earl of *Anglesey*.  
Sir *Charles* *Barkley*, Comptroller of his Majesties Household.  
Sir *William* *Mortimer*.  
Generall *Mountraque*, afterwards Earl of *Sanawich*.  
Sir *George* *Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain to his Majesty.

The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council.

The Clerks of the Privy Councill were Sir *Richard* *Brown* Knight and Baronet, who having been 19 Years Resident in the Court of *France* for his Majesty and his Royall Father, manag'd that Employment with extraordinary Prudence, Address and Integrity, and in whose Chappell at *Paris* the Liturgie of the Church of *England* had been solemnly kept up during its Eclipse at home, Sir *Edward* *Walker* Garter King of Arms. John *Nicholas* Esq; Eldest Son to the Secretary of State; And Sir *George* *Lane*, Secretary to the Marquess of *Ormond*.

In the next place, (speciall Care was taken for the committing of all Military Offices of highest Trust, as well as the Civil already mention'd, into the hands of such Persons as were judg'd most faithful to the Kings Service; so that the Governments of all the most Important Castles, Fortresses, and Islands, and the first Commands of the severall Regiments of the Army, were by the Lord General confer'd upon such Lords and other Persons of Honour as the King was pleas'd to recommend unto him to that Effect, untill such time as the Army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewise, for the farther settling of the Militia of the Nation, there were of the Chief Nobility of the Land continued Lord-Lieutenants of the severall Counties, each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, such Gentlemen of the same Counties as had most eminently shewn their affections to his Majesty.

The House of Commons in the mean time, applied themselves to the perfecting of an Act of General Pardon, which was read Twice in the House the One and Thirtieth of this Moneth, thereby complying with that great Clemency and Indulgence of his Majesty to his People, expressed in his most Gracious Letter from *Breda*. They had in the first Proposition of this Act, designed to except from Pardon severall of the Judges of the late King, and others instrumental in the perpetration of that horrid Treason; of which they had in Custody Eight persons, (viz.) *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Clement*, and *Jones*, of the Judges; Cook who was the Professor, *Hacker* Captain of the Holberdeers, and Colonel *Axtell*; also *Hugh* *Peters* the Minister, a virulent incendiary in the Action, who for a while had been culling up and down in secret, was at length taken in *Southwark*. There were others that had been seduced into that Treason, (viz.) Coll. *Richard* *Ingoldsby*, *Francis* *Lassels*, and John *Hutchinson*; but so much was said in the House in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the rest. As for *Ingoldsby*, it was made to appear, that *Oliver* *Cromwell*, without his consent, set his hand and seal to the Warrant for Execution of the King: Besides that, by many Actions of his Loyalty since, and his Engagement in Sir *George* *Booth*'s business, and against *Lambert*, (as is before related) he had given eminent testimony of his abhorrence of so foul a Crime. *Lassels* had never been in the High Court of Justice, and but once at any meeting with them, and at that time he declared his dissent to their proceedings. And *Hutchinson* had been a very early Convert, and appeared much against that execrable Oath of Abjuration of the King's Person and Posterity, in that part of the *Parliament* which sat at the time of Generall *Monck*'s March into *London*.

This

His Majesties Reception by the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

He expresseth in brief his Gracious Intentions to them.

so Dukes and other Peers take their Seats in the House of Lords.

The chief Officers of State, and of the Kings Household.

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The King comes to the Parliament, and gives his Royal Assent to several Bills.

This *Act of General Pardon* had so many particulars in it of different nature, that it took up very much time; but nevertheless, the Parliament omitted not to perfect some necessary Lawes for the safety of the Government. On the second of June, the Parliament having the day before intimated to the King, that they had prepared Three Bills for him, his Majesty came to the House of Lords, and having sent to the House of Commons to attend him, there gave his Royal Assent to them; (viz.) To an *ACT for Confirmation of an Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons in his absence, for the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds a Month for Three Months.* An *ACT for Confirmation of the present Parliament.* And, An *ACT for the Continuance of Proceedings in Judicial Proceedings.* Which last, was for avoiding of Discontinuances in the Courts of Westminster, because the first four Returns of Easter-Term could not be conveniently kept, and to prevent the abatement of Writs that were not issued in the Kings Name before his Return to the exercise of Government.

His Majesty also prest them (as well by his particular Charge, as by the Lord Chancellor's Speech) to hasten their passing of the *Bill of Indemnity*, which (as well as all other Bills of Publick Concernment) he was ready to Sign; whereupon this Bill was from thenceforth the grand Business of both Houses untill it was finished: Nor could it be finished till after some considerable time, and many large and serious Consultations. In the mean time, the Two Houses themselves desired to lay hold upon this *Amnestie* in the Name of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of the Nation: which being easily granted by the King, the Ceremony was performed in the Banqueting-House, where they waited upon his Majesty to that end.

About this time came forth a *Proclamation*, whereby it was declared, That all such of the late Kings Judges as did not render themselves, should be Excepted out of the General Pardon: And thereupon Adrian Scroop, and Nineteen others of them conceal'd in several parts, presented themselves to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and were committed to Custody. The Lord Grey of Groby, and Four and twenty more were dead; and Thomas Scott, and Nineteen others escaped beyond the Seas, but were attainted by Act of Parliament, as shall be hereafter expressed; And Scot was, shortly after his Escape, taken at Brussels, and by the diligence of the Kings Agent there sent into England, and sent to the Tower.

On the 4th of June, the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to the King were rendered to all the Members of both Houses of Parliament, with the Kings Servants and Officers of his Household, by the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain: And by Order of Parliament of the 4th of the same Month, the Lord Generall was desired to take an effectual Care that the same Oaths should be administered to all the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies under his Command; And the Lord Chancellor to that end was also desired to Issue forth Commissions under the Great Seal of England, to such persons as the Lord Generall should nominate and appoint, for administering the said Oaths to the Officers and Souldiers accordingly. This Order was with all imaginable Care executed both by the Generall and the Chancellor: And to settle the Army so as it might be most serviceable to his Majesty, he removed several Colonels and other Officers, and placed divers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry in their places.

As the generality of the people had a little before, upon the conclusion of his Majesties Admission into his Dominions, and his preparation to come over, given great demonstrations of their affection and Loyalty to him, by their universal alacrity in proclaiming him throughout the Three Nations; So likewise, immediately after he was come, they were no less forward to manifest their Duty and Allegiance by Congratulatory Addresses from all parts of the Kingdom, (the like duty being perform'd by several of the Nobility and Gentry both of Scotland and Ireland,) also those Towns and Corporations that had bought out their several Fee-Farm Rents belonging formerly to the Crown, and by the late Commonwealth alienated from it, sent their Deputies to his Majesty, to make a voluntary Surrender of them back again unto him. Others presented him with Sums of Gold and other Gifts according to their abilities: But the City of London, as being the first, the richest and most Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themselves oblig'd in point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the rest in the glory of their performances toward their Sovereign; and therefore to the splendour of their former preparations at his first Reception and Triumphall Entrada, they added the Cost of a most Magnificent Entertainment at Guild-Hall, (which was for that very purpose richly beautified and adorn'd) to which the King, the two Princes his Brothers, the Lords of the Privy Council, the Two Houses of Parliament, and the Chief Officers of State being solemnly Invited, were, on Thursday the 5th of July, conducted thither in very great Pomp by the Lord Mayor and the Grantees of the City, where they were Treated in a royall manner with the choicest of delicacies, with excellent Musick, and what ever else could be thought on of delightfull for so illustrious an Assembly.

Nor was his Majesty wanting on the other side to give such publick Testimonies of his Vertue and Prudence, as might render him deservedly glorious in the Esteem of all sober and moderate persons, and that by severall wholesome Edicts, especially by that Seasonable *Proclamation* which he publish'd, one of the first things he did after his Arrivall, for the discourtenancing and punishing of Debauchery, Profaneness, and all manner of Vice: Dated the 31 of May, 1660.

The King fate very frequently in Council about the great Affairs of Government; and upon Information that many Irish Rebels had in unusual Numbers resorted from beyond the Seas to England and Ireland, and were so insolent as to dispossess many Souldiers, and Adventurers in

Ireland,

1660.

The Kings Proclamation concerning the Irish Rebels.

A Ireland, who had possession of their forfeited Estates: at the humble Request of the Parliament, the King published a *Proclamation*, Commanding all Irish Rebels (such only excepted as have by Articles had the Liberty of residing in his Majesties Dominions, and have not forfeited the same), that still stay in, or shall resort to, England or Ireland, to be apprehended and proceeded against as Rebels and Traytors: And that the Adventurers and Souldiers should not be disturbed in their Possessions, untill the King by Advice of Parliament shall take further Order, or they be Legally Evicted. And requiring all Officers both Civill and Military, to see the said *Proclamation* put in Execution.

But notwithstanding his Majesties great Care and Zeal to Settle and Compose all publique Differences, many ill-affected people in Pamphlets aspersed his Actions, maliciously endeavouring to insinuate, that he intended nothing less than the performance of his Promises from Breda; Which made him send a Message to the House of Commons by Sir William Morrice, to quicken their Debates about the *Act of General Pardon and Indemnity*, as that which would best quiet the Minds of his Subjects.

He told them, He had too ample a manifestation of their Affections and Duty towards him, (the good Effects of which was notoriou to the World) to make the least doubt of the continuance and improvement thereof; or in the least degree to dislike what they had done, or to Complain of what they had left undone: And that he knew well the weight of those Affairs which depended upon their Counsells, and the time that must unavoidably be spent, where there must be naturally difference of Opinions and Judgments amongst those whose desires of the Publique Peace and Safety were the same: And that neither he nor they must be over-much troubled, if they found their good Intention and unwearied pains, taken to reduce those good Intentions into reall Acts for the Quiet and Security of the Nation, misrepresented, and mis-interpreted, by those who are in truth assisted to see the publike Distractions, by Gods Blessing, so near an end; and by others upon whose Weakness, Fears and Jealousies, the activity and cunning of those ill men hath had too great an Influence.

That how wonderful and miraculous soever the great harmony of affections between him and his Subjects is, (it being so visible to the World, that there scarce appears the view of any Cloud to overshadow or disturb it) yet it is not to be thought that God Almighty had wrought the Miracle to that degree, that a Nation so miraculously divided for so many Years, would be so soon and irreversibly united in their Affections and Endeavours as were to be wished; but that the Evil Consciences of many continued so awake for mischief; they would not be willing to take rest themselves, or suffer others to take it: And that they all had too sad Experience of the unhappy Effects of Fears and Jealousies, how groundless and unreasonable soever, not to think it very necessary to apply all timely and proper Remedies to those Displeasures, and to prevent the Inconveniencies and Mischiefs which so naturally flow from thence: That he well foresaw, That the great violation which the Laws of the Land had for so many years sustained, had fill'd the hearts of the People with a terrible apprehension of insecurity to themselves, if all they had said and done should be liable to be examined and punished by those Laws which had been so violated: And that nothing could establish the Security of King and People, but a full Provision that the returning to the reverence and obedience of the Law (which is good for all) should not turn to the ruine of any who were willing and fit to receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, and to pay that Subjection to it, which were just and necessary; and therefore, he said, he made a free Offer of a General Pardon in such a manner as was expressed in his Declaration; and how ready and desirous he was to make good the same, appeared by his Proclamation Issued out upon and according to their desire: However, it was evident, that all he had offered or did offer, did not enough compose the Minds of his People; Nor in their Opinions could their Security be provided for, till the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion were pass'd.

He said, He found great industry used, (by those who did not wish that Peace to the Kingdom they ought to do) to persuade his good Subjects that he had no mind to make good his Promises, which he desired to perform for his own sake, as well as theirs. And that therefore he did very earnestly recommend it to them, that all expedition might be used in the passing That most necessary Act, whereby his good Subjects generally would be satisfied that their security was in their own hands, and depended upon their future Actions, and that they were free for all past, and so all the endeavours of ill men would be disappointed, who would persuade them not to do well now, because they had done amiss heretofore. And that he was the more engaged to this his Recommendation, because upon the resolution of their eminent Zeal and Affection for his Service, and hearty Concurrence with him

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him

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance taken by both Houses of Parliament, The Kings Servants and Officers of his Household &c.

His Majesties Arrivall Congratulated by the People from all parts of the Nation.

His Entertainment at Guild-Hall.

He sent forth a Proclamation against Debauchery and Profanities.

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him in all things desired from them, men were apt to persuade others (though not believing it themselves), that the passing of this Act was therefore not desired, because he did not enough press the dispatch of it; which he did desire from his heart, and was confident they would the sooner do it, upon his earnest recommendation.

This Message did so much quicken their Debates, that they dispatch'd the Bill in a very short time, and sent it up to the Lords, and the Peoples Minds were much Composed thereby, and the more, for that his Majesty by a Proclamation after it, did declare a kind of impatience for the delay thereof.

General Monk created Duke of Albemarle.

About the beginning of July, General Monk, was by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England made Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monk of Pothridge, Beauchampe, and Teyes, and Summoned by Writ to the House of Peers. The Titles of Albemarle and Beauchampe were confer'd on him, because he was descended from Margaret, one of the Daughters of the late Richard Beauchampe Earl of Albemarle and Warwick, who was married to the and Co-heirs of Richard Beauchampe Earl of Albemarle and Warwick, whose Sonne John had Famous Warriour John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, well known in France, whose Sonne John had onely one Daughter married to Edward Grey Viscount Lisle, whose Daughter and Heir Elizabeth Gray was married to Arthur Plantagenet, a natural Son of King Edward the Fourth, who was in her right Viscount Lisle; and Frances one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of the said Viscount Lisle, was married to Sir Thomas Monk great Grandfather to the present Duke of Albemarle.

General Mountague made Earl of Sandwich. The Marquess of Ormond made Duke of Ormond.

And a few dayes after, Mr. Edward Mountague, one of the Generalls at Sea, was made a Knight of the Order of the Garter, and by Letters Patent dignified with the Honours of Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Mountague of Hinchbrook, and Baron of St. Needs. And the Marquess of Ormond was made Earl of Brecknock, and Baron Butler of Lanthony; and these Two in the same Order they were created, had Writs to Summon them to the House of Peers. Which Marquess was afterwards created Duke of Ormond.

The Lords in Parliament were in Consultation to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any High Court of Justice, which was no more than such men deserved, who could so maliciously contribute to the Subversion of the good Laws and Government of their native Countrey; But the Kings Clemency extended to all who were not guilty of his Father's Murder; and observing those Debates to obstruct much the speedy perfecting that Bill he so earnestly desired to have finish'd, On the 27th of July he went to the said House, and in a handsome and most gracious Speech, expressed his Zeal for it in the following words:

My Lords,

The Kings Speech to the Parliament, to hasten the perfecting of the Act of Oblivion.

When I came first hither to you, which was within two or three dayes after I came to White-Hall, I did with as much earnestness as I could, both by my Self, and the Chancellor, recommend to you and the House of Commons, the speedy dispatch of the Act of Indemnity, as a necessary Foundation of that Security we all pray for; I did since, by a particular Message to the House of Commons, again press them to hasten that important Work; And did likewise by a Proclamation, publish to all the Kingdom, That I did with impatience expect that that ACT would be presented to me for my Assent, as the most reasonable and solid Foundation of that Peace, Happiness, and Security I hope and pray for to my Self and all my Dominions. I will not deny it to you, I thought the House of Commons too long about that Work, and therefore now it is come up to you, I would not have you Guilty of the same delay. I thank God, I have the same Intentions and Resolutions now I am here with you, which I had at Breck, and believe that I owe my being here, to Gods blessing upon the Intentions and Resolutions I then expressed to have. I will read to you what I then said:

And to the end that the fear of Punishment may not engage any, Conscious to themselves of what is passed, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by exposing the quiet and happiness of their Countrey, in the Restauration both of King, Peers, and People, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights; We do by these Presents declare, That we do grant a Free and Generall Pardon, which we are ready upon demand, to passe under Our Great Seal of England, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within Forty dayes after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publique Act declare their doing so; And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament.)

Those only excepted, let all Our Loving Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against us or Our Royall Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in

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A in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them to the least endamage of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of Our best Subjects: we Desiring and Ordaining, That henceforward all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties be utterly abolished among all Our Subjects, whom we Invite and Conjure to a perfect Union among themselves under Our Protection, for the Re-settlement of Our Just Rights, and Thiers, in a Free Parliament; By which, upon the Word of a King, we will be Advised.

My Lords, If you do not joyn with Me in extinguishing this Fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of safety and security; You keep Me from performing My Promise, which if I had not made, I am persuaded neither I, nor you had been now here: I pray let us not deceive those who brought, or permitted us to come together. I knew well there were some Men who could neither forgive themselves, nor be forgiven by us; and I thank you for your Justice towards those, the immediate Murthers of my Father: And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefit you and I have received from that offer; and encourage and oblige all other persons, by not excluding them from the benefit of this Act. This Mercy and Indulgence is the best way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more severe to themselves when they find we are not so to them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good Friends and Neighbours to you; and we have then all Our end, and you shall find this the safest Expedient to prevent future mischief. Therefore I do earnestly desire and Conjure you, to depart from all particular animosities and Revenge, or memory of past provocations; and that you will passe this Act without other Exceptions, than of those who were immediately guilty of that Murder of my Father.

My Lords, I have told you my Opinion, and I hope you will be of the same. If any persons appear of such dangerous and obstinate Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preserved whilst they have Liberty in it, some other course may be taken, that they shall not be able to do hurt; and I assure you, there is nothing can enable them to do so much harm, as the deserting the passing this Act.

I hope I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my Mercy: They have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my Honour, and of what I have promised to them: I do again conjure you, that you will use all expedition in the dispatch of this Bill.

This Speech did not only expedite the passing of this ACT in the House of Peers, but gave a general Satisfaction to the People, who were exceedingly quiered in their Minds with the Kings resolute Care on the behalf of all his Subjects; nor was his Mind so intent on this necessary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government; But observing, that the late Differences of his People had created many Animositities amongst them, which occasioned frequent Duells, he thought fit to prevent the Inconveniencies thereof by a Proclamation; whereby he manifested so great a dislike of Duells, as strictly to Command all his Subjects whatsoever, neither by themselves nor any other by Message, Word or Writing, or other wayes or means, to Challenge or cause to be Challenged any person or persons to fight in Duell, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor actually to Fight, or be Second to any there.

His Majesties Proclamation against Fighting or Duelling.

And he further Declared, That every person offending against his Commands herein, should not only incur the Displeasure, but be incapable of holding any Office in his Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court or prefer'd, besides the suffering such punishments as the Law should inflict on such offenders; And all persons that should accept or know of such Challenges, and not reveal the same to one of the Privy Council, or the next Justice of Peace, should be liable to the same Penalties. And further, he was so severe in this matter, as to forbid any Intercession to be made for Offenders against this Proclamation.

By this good Government, a generall tranquillity appear'd in all the King's Dominions; and to lessen the Publique Charge, the Parliament were providing money to disband the Armies, and pay off such of the Ships as were more than needfull for the Guard of the Seas: And in order hereunto, the Generall was so provident, as to give Order to the Muster-Master-Generall to admit of no new Souldiers in any Troops or Companies, and the Officers likewise had Charge to entertain none upon any vacancies.

The English Commissioners in Scotland having been employed as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commission continued in force for some time after the King's coming in, they were at length by Letters from the Duke of Albemarle acquainted with the King's Pleasure, That from the 22. of August they should cease to act any more in this their Judicatory power.

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1660.

The Committee of Estates Convened in Scotland.

Certain Scotch Ministers imprisoned by Order of the Committee of Estates.

The Marquess of Argyle and others sent to the Tower of London.

The Convention in Ireland dissolve themselves.

The Debate between the Lords and Commons concerning the Act of Indemnity.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg pardoned, upon the Mediation of the Duke of Albemarle.

An Instance of his Majesty's affection to his People.

power, in regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient form of Government; in order to which, Proclamation was made in the King's Name, for the speedy Convening of the Committee of the Three Estates of Scotland; a Parliament also being to be called there within a few Months; And in the interim, the Chief Ministers of State were Constituted; The Earl of Glencairn was made Lord Chancellor; the Lord Crawford-Lindsay Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Cassilis Justice-General, the Earl of Lauderdale Chief Secretary of State, and General Middleton the Kings Commissioner, with several others.

The Committee of Estates being assembled, made it their first care to keep all things in peace and quiet, and obedience to the present Government; for notwithstanding the late unanimous concurrence of the People at *Edinburgh* (as well as other places) in the publick Proclaiming of his Majesty, yet after a short while, there began to discover itself a spirit of discontent among certain Scotch Ministers, who were of the principal Sticklers of the Kirk-party, as appear'd by their meeting together at a place appointed, for the drawing up of a Remonstrance concerning certain things wherein they thought themselves aggrieved; which the Committee of Estates having notice of, sent forthwith to apprehend them, and clapt them up in prison; and for the prevention of the like disturbances for the future, set forth a Proclamation against all Unlawfull Meetings, and Seditious Papers.

And the same thing that befell these Ministers, hapned also to their Country-man the Marquess of Argyle, who notwithstanding that he came to Court with others of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, upon pretence of rendering his Service to his Majesty, yet he had not it seems carried himself so blamelessly, but that a sufficient cause was found for the laying of High Treason to his Charge, and committing him thereupon a prisoner to the Tower; and together with him were committed the Earl of Ardrim, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Arthur Haslerigg, besides several others that follow'd soon after.

In Ireland the Convention that had assembled there upon the Change of Government, as soon as they had taken order for the settling of things in that Nation, in Conformity to the Kings Authority, (Colonel Eyer, who endeavour'd to raise a Party in opposition to it, being reduc'd by Sir Charles Coote) and had appointed from among them certain Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty with their Gratuulations and Desires, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in expectation of the Kings Pleasure for the Calling of a full Parliament, and to make way for the Ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council for that Grand Employment.

The Act of Indemnity was sent from the Lords to the Commons with several alterations, to which the Commons were very unwilling to agree; for they had subjected Twenty that were not the Kings Judges, to be liable to such Pains and Penalties not extending to life, as should be inflicted by another Act to be pass'd in this Parliament: Whereas the Lords finding the King's Inclination to tend towards the Pardoning of all but such as were his Fathers Judges, or otherwise Actors in his Murder, they disagreed to that part of the Act, as to all those named by the Commons, except Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel John Lambert, who were esteem'd to be so maliciously active in opposition to his Majesties Government, as to be excepted from any Conditions of Pardon: The Commons for some time adhered to their first Resolution, but after several Conferences, they agreed with the Lords in all things, except some little alterations to their frame of the Act; Vane and Lambert were excepted, but Haslerigg remained liable to such Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as should be inflicted on him, not extending to life; and the rest of those put under the same Qualification by the Commons that were not of the King's Judges, were made only with others incapable of Offices, as shall be hereafter shewen, when we come to write of the parts of that ACT.

That which put Sir Arthur Haslerigg under so favourable a Qualification, was an Engagement made to him by the Duke of Albemarle; For Haslerigg coming to him, when he perceiv'd the Revolution hasten towards the Restauration of the King and his Government, he expostulated with him about it, in reference to the security of his own Condition: The Duke was unwilling to make him desperate, because he had at that time a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot in the Garrisons of *New-Castle*, *Tinmouth*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, under his Government; which (if he had oppos'd) could not have been reduced to obedience without the effusion of Blood, which his Excellency much endeavour'd to avoid in all the progress of his Actions; And therefore told him, If he would quietly give up his Command, and retire to his House, he would endeavour to secure him in his Life and Estate, and doubted not to effect it. This being made known at a Conference by the House of Commons, was justified with great modesty by the Duke in the House of Peers, and his Life was thereupon pardoned in the Act, and a small time after, his Estate also was, at the mediation of the Duke, granted to his Heir, a man averse to his Fathers disloyal Principles: (Sir Arthur himself, a while after his Imprisonment, dying of a Fever in the Tower.)

At this last Conference of the Lords and Commons, the Lord Chancellor took occasion to speak of the Kings Affection to his People, by a very remarkable Instance, saying, That he being employ'd in an Embassy to Spain, had it strictly given him in Charge by his Majesty to avow and declare, That the horrid Murder of his Royall Father was not the Act of the Parliament or People of England, but of a very wretched and little company of Miscreants in the Kingdom, Which was so pleasing to the House of Commons, that upon the report of it to them, they Order'd such of the Privy Council as were Members of that House, to present to his Majesty the humble and thankful Sense they had of his Justice

A Justice and Favour for that Just Defence he had been graciously pleas'd to make in behalf of the Parliament and People of England.

A few dayes after this, that is to say, the 29th of August, The King had Notice that there were Five Acts prepared for his Royall Assent, and he therefore repaired to the Lords House, and sent for the Commons to him, where he assented to them. The Acts were;

1. An Act for Confirmation of Judiciall Proceedings.
2. An Act for a speedy Provision of Money to pay off and disband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.
3. An Act for the restraining the taking of Excessive Urury.
4. An Act of General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.
5. An Act for a perpetuall Anniversary Thanksgiving on the Twenty Ninth day of May, (the day of his Majesties Nativity and Restauration.)

At the passing of which ACTS, he express'd himself in these words:

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I Have been here sometimes before with you, but never with more willingness, than I am at this time. And there be few men in the Kingdoms, who have longed more impatiently to have those Bills pass'd, than I have done, to passe them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of much Security and Happiness to Us all. I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indemnity, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill; Nay, I will tell you, That from that time to this day, I will not use great Severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd: But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience which dispos'd me to the Clemency I have express'd, which is most agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to my Nature, towards those who shall not now acquiesce, but continue to manifest their sedition and dislike of the Government, either to Action or Words.

"And I must conjure you all (my Lords and Gentlemen) to concur with Me in this Just and necessary severity; and that you will in your several Stations be so jealous of the Publick Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cause exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into seditious Actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing My Person, not to be well affected to You and the Publick Peace.

"Never King valued himself more upon the affections of his people than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self sure of your Affections, than by being Just and Kind to you all: And whilst I am so, I pray let the World see that I am possess'd of your Affections.

"For your Pole-Bill, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers; and with with all my heart that it may amount to as great a Summe as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done to which it is designed, I am sure I shall be the richer by it in the end: and upon My Word, if I had wherewithall, I would My Self help you, so much I desire the Business done.

"I pray very earnestly, as fast as Money comes in, discharge that great burthen of the Navy, and disband the Army as fast as you can; and till you can disband the rest, make a provision for their support. I do conjure you, as you love Me, let Me not hear the noyse of Free-Quarter, which will be imputed to My want of Care and Government, how Innocent soever I am; and therefore be sure you prevent it.

"I am so confident of your Affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to My Self; and yet I must tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not so much Money in my Purse as when I came to you; The truth is, I have lived principally ever since upon what I brought with Me; which was indeed your Money, for you sent it to Me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly expence of the Navy, eats up all you have given Me by

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The Kings Speech in Parliament at the passing of those Acts.

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"the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. Nor have I been able to give my Brothers A one Shilling since I came into England, nor to keep any Table in my House but what I eat my self. And that which troubles Me most, is, to see so many of you come to Me to White-Hall, and to think you must go somewhere else to seek your Dinner.

"I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles Me; do but take care of the Publicque, and for what is necessary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own time for My Own Particular, which I am sure you will provide for with as much affection and frankness as I can desire.

ACT for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.

The ACT for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, was as necessary at this Juncture, as the ACT of Generall Pardon, since without this, besides many other Inconveniencies, so great a Concussion would have been in most mens Estates, as would have made them subject to perpetuall Incertainties.

1. By this Law, All Proceedings in Law or Equity in all or any of the Courts at Westminster, or in Wales, or in the County Palatine or Duchy of Lancaster, or Berwick, or other Inferiour Courts, and all things done by the Judges and Officers in pursuance thereof, or of the Court of Admiralties, Bishops, Justices of Assize, Nisi Prius, Commissioners of Sewers, Bankrupts, or Charitable Uses, and all proceedings thereupon had in England since the First of May, 1642, were Confirmed, notwithstanding any defect of Legall Power, or difference in Style by Title.

2. All Fines Levied without paying the Kings Silver, or without entry of Money given for the Concord, or before one Judge only, were made good and effectual; And all Fines, Recoveries, Judiciall Proceedings in the Common-Pleas, since the death of the late Kings of Blains in Detention, were Confirmed.

3. Whereas since the First of May, 1642, and before the 20th of August, 1660, divers who adhered to both Houses of Parliament, had been Indicted for Treason, and others also who adhered to his Majestie or his Father, were impeached in like manner: All such Indictments and Proceedings thereupon, and Grants made of any Lands forfeited by reason thereof, and Title to the mean profits claimed in that respect were henceforth discharged, and restitution to be made to the respective persons and their Heirs.

4. All Recognizances, Bonds, and Securities made to the late Keepers, or Protector, not pardoned or discharged, were to be prosecuted in the name and to the use of his Majestie his Heirs and Successors.

To this fourth Branch, such Securities were excepted as had been given to the late Powers by any for their adherence to the King or his Father, or relating to the late Troubles, which was by this ACT made void; as likewise were all Obligations, Bonds, and Securities by Order of any Council of State, Committee of Safety, Major Generall, Decimators, or any other Military Power.

5. After the 8th of May, 1660, no Judges at Westminster, Sergeants at Law, Commissions of Sewers, or of Bankrupts, or of Charitable Uses, constituted by any of the late usurped Powers, were to be continued.

6. No nonclaim upon or after any Fine by this ACT confirmed, shall extend to barre any Person or their Heirs (other than the Parties to the said Fines, and their Heirs and Trustees) for such Rights as they had by colour of any ACT or pretended Ordinance of Parliament, since the First of May, 1642, and before the 25th of April, 1660, as of Crown-Lands, or of Church-Lands, or as the Lands of any person for adhering to the King, or his Father, or in relation to the late Troubles, so as such persons and their Heirs pursue their Claims by Actions or Entry within 5. years after the 29th of May, 1660.

7. The Name and Styles of the usurped Power and Authorities were declared to be Rebellious.

8. All Proceedings of High Treason for Levying War against Oliver Cromwell, or any other late usurped Power, were made void; as likewise all Assurances, Recognizances, and Judgments for Debt, or Damages heretofore had or suffered by any person whose Execution, Outlawry, or Attainder, was by this ACT discharged.

This ACT of Confirmation was nevertheless not to extend to confirm any illegall proceedings of the late High Courts of Justice, nor to confirm any Sales or Estates made by any pretended ACT of Parliament since the first of May, 1642, nor to debar any person grieved from having a Writ of Error, or Bill of Review, in such manner as formerly, Except such Errors and defects as were not by this ACT remedied.

The

A The ACT for Provision of Money to Pay off the Armes and Navy, was by Poll, and was a very great Tax, because many orders of Men were included in it, which were not mentioned in any former ACT of the like kind.

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The ACT for Police-Money.

1. Every Duke of England, Scotland, and Ireland, inhabiting and residing in this Kingdom, was to pay 100 l. Every Marquess 80 l. every Earl 60 l. a Viscount 50 l. a Baronet 40 l. The Eldest Son of a Duke of One and Twenty years of age, 60 l. of a Marquess, 50 l. of an Earl, 40 l. of a Viscount, 35 l. of a Baron 30 l. A Baronet of any of the Three Kingdoms or Nova Scotia, 30 l. a Knight of the Bath 30 l. a Knight Bachelor 20 l. a Sergeant at Law 20 l. an Esquire 10 l. and every Widow, according to her husbands degree, a third part what her husband was to pay.

2. Every Person or Vicar possessed of a Parsonage or Vicarage, or other Estate of 100 l. 40 s. Every Doctor of the Civils or Common-Law, 5 l. Every Advocate 5 l. a Judge or Commissioner in the Court of Admiralty 20 l. a Pretor 5 l. a Doctor of Physick 10 l.

3. The Lord Mayor of London, 40 l. Every Sheriff, Alderman, or who hath Fined for Alderman, 20 l. Every Deputy Alderman 10 l. The Town-Clerk of London 20 l. Every Common-Council-man 5 l. Every Master of the First Twelve Companies, 10 l.

4. Every Warden thereof, 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. Every Livery-man of those Companies, 5 l. Every one who had been Master of any of the Companies of Dyers, Brewers, Leather-sellers, Girdlers, Stationers, Woodmongers, Upholders, Apothecaries, Pewterers, Tallow-Chandlers, Armourers, or Sadlers, 6 l. Every Warden of any of those Companies, 5 l. Every Livery-man of them, 3 l. Every of the Teomanry 1 l. Every Master of the Company of Barber-Chyrurgions, White-Bakers, Wax-Chandlers, Cutlers, Butchers, Carpenters, Painters, Cordwayners, Coopers, Scriveners, Brown-Bakers, Turners, or Inn-holders, 3 l. Every one who had been Warden of any of those Companies, 2 l. Every Livery-man thereof, 1 l. Every person who had been Master of the Company of Founders, Cutlers, Matons, Bricklayers, Joiners, Plasterers, Weavers, Fruiterers, Marblers, Embroiderers, Poulterers, Cooks, or Plummers, 1 l. Every Warden of those Companies, 15 s. and every one of the Livery 10 s.

5. Every Person who hath been of the Livery of either Company of Bowyers, Fletchers, Blacksmiths, Bottle-makers, Woolpackers, Farriers, Paviers, Loteniers, Glasiers, Clerks, or Watermen, 5 s. Every Freeman of any Company within the City of London, 12 d. Every keeper of one or more Hackney-Coaches and two Horses, 10 s. Every Merchant Stranger if a Knight, 40 l. If below that degree, and Trading to Sea, 10 l. If Trading within the Land, 5 l. Every Alien using Trade within any City or Corporation, if a House-keeper, 10 s. Every English Merchant in or about London, not a Freeman, 10 l. Every Factor in the City, 2 l. Every person that hath been Alderman in any City within the Kingdom, under the degree of a Knight or Esquire, 5 l.

6. The Prothonotary of the Kings-Bench, 100 l. Clerk of the Crown of the same, 20 l. Custos Brevium of the same, 40 l. Marshall of the same, 50 s. Master of the Rolls, 60 l. Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, 40 l. Clerk of the Rules and in the Kings-Bench, 10 l. Master of the Subpoena Office, 40 l. Warden of the Fleet 30 l. Clerk of the Hamper, 50 l. Clerks of the Inrollment, each 10 l. Each of the Six Clerks in Chancery, 40 l. Every Curfitor of the same, 10 l. Usher of the same, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Pettybag, 5 l. Every Examiner 10 l. Chief Register of the same, 20 l. Every under-Register, 10 l. Every Clerk in the Office of the Six Clerks in Chancery, 8 l. Each of the Clerks of the Chappell of the Rolls, 3 l. Every Prothonotary of the Common-Pleas, 50 l. Custos Brevium of the same, 80 l. Every Philizar of the same, 10 l. Clerk of the Outlaries, 20 l. Clerk of the Statutes, 20 l. Clerk of the Treasury, 10 l. Exigenter of London, 40 l. Every other Exigenter, 5 l. The Kings Remembrancer of the Exchequer, 40 l. Every Teller of the same Court, 20 l. The Treasurers Remembrancer, 10 l. Every Attorney of the Office of the Kings Remembrancer, 10 l. Every Attorney of the Office of Pleas, 10 l. The Remembrancer of the First-Fruits, 20 l. Clerk of the Escheats, 20 l. Clerk of the Pleas, 30 l. The Auditor of the Receipts in the Exchequer, 40 l. Clerk of the Pel in the Receipt, 30 l. Usher of the Court of Exchequer, 20 l. Every Attorney of the Office of Pleas there, 10 l. Every Auditor of the same, 10 l. The Clerk of the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, 10 l. Every Auditor

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Auditor of the same, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Privy Seal, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Signet 10 l. Every Attorney in any of the Courts at Westminster, or within the Courts of Law or Equity, or in the Counties Palatine of Chester, Lancaster, Durham, and the Marches of Wales, 3 l. Every person in any Office or Place under the King (except his Household Servants in Ordinary) 10 l. The Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 50 l. Every one that could spend in Lands, Leases, Moneys or Stock, 100 l. per annum, 40 s. and so for a greater or lesser Estate; every single person above the age of 16 years, 12 d. Every person not rated nor receiving Alms, above 16 years of age, 6 d.

An Act for  
restraining  
excessive  
Usury.

The ACT for Restraining the taking of excessive Usury, makes it penall to the losse of treble the values of any Money, Ware or Merchandize, to any that should take above Six Pounds for the forbearance of One Hundred Pounds for a Year, in Money or Merchandize, and every Scrivener or Broker that shall take above Five shillings for the Loan or forbearance of a Hundred pounds for a Year, or above 12 d; for making or renewing a Bill or Bond, shall forfeit 20 l. one Moiety to the Kings, and the other to the Informer.

The Act of  
Indemnity.

The ACT of Generall Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion, Pardons all the Kings Subjects of England and Ireland, Wales, Guernsey, Jersey, and Berwick, of all Treasons, Misprisions of Treasons, Murthers, Felonies, Offences and Crimes whatsoever, from the First of January 1637, to the 24th of June, 1660. (not therein excepted) Committed by virtue or Colour of any Command or Authority from the King or his Father, or any of the late Powers, and from all Pains of Death, pains Corporall, and Pecuniary, and generally from all other things, Causes, Suits, and Executions, which may or can be by the King in any wife, or by any means Pardoned. And also all personal Actions, Suits and persecutions whatsoever by reason of the late Troubles. And the Act may be pleaded for any thing therein pardoned, without any Fee to the Officers for entering Judgment or cause concerning such Plea. And if any Officer or Clerk in any of the Kings Courts issue out any Writ or Process, or molest any in their Bodies or Estates, for any thing herein Pardoned, or if any Sheriff or Escheator, or other Officer whatsoever, levy, receive, take, or withhold any thing hereby pardoned, they shall pay to the party grieved treble Damages besides Costs, and pay to the King Twenty Pounds, and such Writs or Process shall be void.

1. Excepted out of this Act all Murthers not herein pardoned, Piracies, Buggers, Rapes and Ravishments of Women, and all offences made Felons by an Act, intituled, An Act to restrain Persons from Marriage, till their former Wives or Husbands be dead: And all Witchcrafts and Conjurations, as also all Accompts of Treasurers, Receivers, Farmers or Collectors (other than Sub-Collectors of Parishes or Towns for their Receipts before the 24th of June, 1659.) who had received any Customes, Prize-Goods, Assessments, or any other Publique Monies or Rents of the Crown-Lands, or Bishops and Dean and Chapter-Lands, which had been paid to them since January 1642. and of all Moneys grown due or contracted upon the Sale or disposition of such Lands, or the Lands of Popish Recusants, Convents, or other Sequestred Lands.

1. The Heirs and Executors of any Accomptants excepted and deceased, not to be liable, except for such Monies as are due upon Accomps already stated.

2. Monies received for Fees, and Salaries or wages, or disbursed for publique use, are not to be charged.

3. No Military Officer of the Armies, or Officer of the Navies, who before March, 1659. received Moneys for his Pay, or the Pay of others, or for Contingencies of the Souldiers or Garrisons, to be called to accompt therefore.

4. Likewise none were to be called to Accompt for any of the matters of this Exception, after the 24th of June, 1662.

2. All Briberies and Perjuries are Excepted out of this Act, and all Subornation of Perjury, or Witnesses and Forgery, and also all offences in detaining or imbezelling any Goods, Monies, Chattells, or Jewells of the late King, Queen, or Prince, or their Shipping and Ammunition of warr, and other such Goods or Chattells as have been sold or disposed to any Servants or Creditors of the late King for payment of their Debts or Wages; And all Accompts of the Revenues of Churches in Wales and Monmouthshire, and all Judgments of Discharge or Quietus est thereupon had.

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A This last Exception, as to the Churches in Wales, was inserted by the Parliament in this Act, upon Information, that some Pious People had, in the time of the late Usurpation, procured to themselves an Authority to Sequester all those Revenues, upon pretence to employ them more equally to illiterate Preachers, for the better propagation of the Gospel in those parts, but kept the greatest part to their own use, leaving most of the Churches unsupplied.

3. All publique Duties levied by any Sheriff or other Officer for the use of the late King, or the late Powers, or the King in being, not accounted for or discharged, are excepted.

4. As also all offences done by any Jesuit, Seminary or Popish Priest contrary to the Statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. It is provided,

1. That a Writ of Capias may be made against persons Outlawed, pardoned by this Act, to Compell the Defendant to answer to the Plaintiff, at whose Suit they were Outlawed, may have a Scire facias against the party before the Pardon shall be allowed.

2. This Pardon is not to extend to pardon Outlawries upon any Writ of Capias ad Satisfaciendum, till the party outlawed shall satisfie or agree with the party.

5. All Informations and proceedings depending about High-Wayes and Bridges since January, 1648. are excepted, and also all Recognizances, Bonds and Securities given or entered into since the 25th of March, 1640. by any Receiver, Bayliff, Collector or other Accountant in the Exchequer.

6. Any person within three years that objected against another, any words of reproach, tending to revive the memory of the late differences, was to pay Ten pounds, if a Gentleman; and Forty shillings, if one of a more inferiour degree.

7. The Act gives no benefit to any who had any hand in Plotting the Rebellion of Ireland, nor to any that have stoln any Goods or Monies since the 4th of March, 1649.

8. Nor extends to discharge any from making restitution of those Rents, Monies, Horses, Cattle, or other Goods, which since the 25th of July, 1659. have been by any person wrongfully received or taken away (which by a pretended Act, intituled, An Act of Recall of two Acts of Parliament for Sequestration are to be repealed.

9. All Publique Monies paid in to any publique use, are pardoned, and Parties concerned so far as their acquittances extend unto, are to be discharged for the same. Nevertheless, those are not discharged that received any Money for the Tax of Decimation, or upon the Account of any Militia since 1648. not paid over and discharged by any that had a Legall or pretended authority to discharge the Receivers thereof.

10. The King's meniall Servants, or any that had directions from him, who whilst they pretended to act in his Service were treacherous thereunto, were exempted from the benefit of this Act, if they were Outlawed and Convinced within Two Years from the 25th of April, 1660.

11. Excise for Goods whereof Entry had been made in the Custome-House since the 25th of March 1658. not pardoned, nor Moneys due to the Farmers of Excise since the 25th of March, 1650.

12. The Act gives no benefit to Owen Rowe, Augustine Garland, Edmund Harvey, Henry Smith, Henry Martin, Sir Hardress Waller, Robert Titchborne, George Fleetwood, James Temple, Thomas Wait, Symon Mein, William Haveningham, Isaac Pennington, Peter Temple, Robert Lilborn, Gilbert Millington, Vincent Potter, Thomas Wogan, John Downs, Adrian Scroop, John Lisle, William Say, Valentine Walton, Thomas Harrison, Edward Whalley, John Barkstead, Edmund Ludlow, Sir Michael Livesey, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Challoner, John Carew, John Jones, Miles Corbet, Gregory Clement, Thomas Scott, William Crawley, Nicholas Love, John Dixwell, Daniel Blagrove, John Cook, Andrew Broughton, Edward Dendy, William Hewlett, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Daniel Axtell, or any of them, nor to those Two or either of them disguised upon the Scaffold the 30th of January, 1648. erected before White-Hall. All which Persons, for being Infrumentall in the Murder of the late King, are wholly excluded.

But in regard the Nineteen first mentioned rendered themselves, (according to a Declaration of the 6th of June, 1660.) and thereby pretended to some Favour, it is Enacted, That if the said Owen Rowe, and the rest so first mentioned, are Attainted, their Execution should be suspended, until the King and Parliament should order the same. (Only Adrian Scroop, though he was one of those that rendered themselves according to the forementioned Declaration, yet in regard at the time of presenting

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senting himself to the Speaker of the House of Commons in pursuance thereunto, in a Discourse with A Sir Richard Brown, then Lord Mayor Elect of London, and a Member of that House, he uttered some words tending to a Justification of the Murder of the King, wherewith Brown acquainted the Parliament; he was therefore put under the same Qualification as those that had not so rendered themselves, because of his Impunity.)

13. Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, (though dead) were excepted, and the Lands and Goods, Rights and Trusts of them, and of One and Twenty others deceased, (viz.) Isaac Ewer, Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maliverer, William Purcfoy, John Blackitton, Sir William Constable, Richard Dean, Francis Allen, Peregrine Pelham, John Moor, John Aldred, Humphrey Edwards, Sir Gregory Norton, John Ven, Thomas Andrews, Anthony Stapelley, Thomas Horton, John Fry, Thomas Hammond, Philip Skippon, and Sir John Bouchier, were made subject to such Penalties and Forfeitures as by another Act to be passed should be ordained.

14. Moreover, William Lord Mounson, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrington, and Robert Wallop, were reserved to such Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as by the said Act to be passed should be inflicted on them, not extending to life. These were of the number of the Kings Judges, but in regard they did not Sign the Warrant for Summoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the Execution of his Majestie, their Lives C were spared.

Phelps, who was a Clerk in that Court, was put into the same Condition, as also Sir Arthur Haslerigg, who though he was not one of the Actors in that Tragedy, was as malicious an Enemy to the King, as any of the rest.

15. Hutchinson and Lassells, two others of the Judges, were made incapable to execute any Place of Trust, and Lassells to pay to the King one Years value of his Estate. Which Favours were extended to them for Reasons before expressed.

16. Oliver St. John who had been Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas to Oliver Cromwell, and Seventeen others named in the Act, active Instruments in the late Usurpations, were to be excluded from any benefit by this Act, if they accepted or should execute any Office Ecclesiasticall, Civill, or Military, in England, Wales, or Berwick, from the First of September, in the Year 1660.

And all that had given Sentence of Death in any of the late Illegal High-Courts of Justice, or Signed any Warrant for Execution of any person there condemned (except Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, and Colonel Matthew Thomlinson), were disabled from being Members in any Parliament after the said First day of September, or bear any Office in England or Wales.

17. All Trustees in a pretended Act made in the Year 1649. concerning Tythes appropriate, Fee-Farm Rents, and First Fruits, &c. and their Heirs, were to be accountable for such of the same as had not been employed according to the said Act; Nevertheless, no Minister or School-Master, or other person for whose benefit the said Act was made, were to be accountable.

18. The Act Pardons not Bonds taken in his late Majestie's Name before 1642. for securing of any proper debt of any Servant, or Receiver of the King's Revenues, if they had not been paid to, or by order of, some lawful or pretended authority. Nor no person, his Heirs, Executors, &c. who had not paid their proportion of a Summe of 150000 l. (agreed to be paid as a Composition from the Farmers of several Customs illegally taken) or ought to have been contributory thereunto; but that the Estates of the dead as well as of the Living of such persons who ought to have been contributory, in whose possession soever (Purchasers bona fide upon valuable considerations only excepted), shall be chargeable with their Proportions, as if the Act had never been made.

Likewise all Arrears of Exchequer of Beer, Ale, or other Inland or Native Commodities since the 24th of June, 1659. are unpardoned, and all Monies due from any Officers or Souldiers for Free Quarter, since the 20th of July in the same Year, or Monies borrowed by Officers for preventing of Free-Quarter.

19. No Conveyance or Bargain or Sale, Estate, Interest, or Trust or Limitation of Use C or Uses of any manner of Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments not being Crown Lands, or Church-Lands, nor Lands sold or disposed for pretended Delinquencies by pretence of any Act or Ordinance since the first of January 1641. nor any Statute, Judgment, or Recognition had, made, acknowledged, or suffered to any person or persons, Bodies Politique or Corporate, before the 29th of September, 1659. by any of the persons in this Act by name expressed, or their Heirs, or by any claiming by, from, or under, them (other than the

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A the Wives, Children, or heirs of such persons) or any of them for Monies bona fide to them or any of them paid or lent, nor any Conveyance or Estate made before the 25th of April, 1660. by any persons to any such person excepted by name as aforesaid, in Trust or for the benefit of any Persons, Bodies Politique or Corporate (not excepted by name as aforesaid), shall be defeated, impeached or made void.

20. Lastly, No persons were to be indemnified who had entred into any Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, called Fabrick Lands, or possessed themselves of any Rents or Revenues given for the repair of any Cathedral or other church, or who sacrilegiously enriched themselves by the converting of the Plate, utensils, and Materials of or belonging to such Churches, to their private use, for, or in respect of the said Crimes only.

The Act for a Perpetual Anniversary does Enact, That in all succeeding Ages, the 29th of May be Celebrated in every Church and Chappell in England, and the Dominions thereof, by rendering Thanks to God for the King's Peaceable Restauration to the Actual Possession and Exercise of his Legall Authority over his Subjects. And all Ministers are to read the Act at Morning Prayer the Lords Day next before that Day, to give notice for the Observation thereof.

The ACT for Observation of a perpetual Anniversary for his Majesties Restauration.

C The King after the Passing these Acts, gave the Parliament notice, That on the 13th of September he would have them to Adjourn to the Sixth of November following; whereupon they were very diligent to compleat some Bills under Consideration. That which was of most Importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, was a Bill for the speedy Disbanding the Army and Garrisons, which they were very earnest in. The King intended to have made it a Session by Prorogation; but upon application made to him, to shew the inconvenience thereof at that time, because of many Bills and other matters of great Concernment depending, which would thereby be vacated, he consented to an Adjournment.

A time prefix by his Majesty for the Adjournment of the present Parliament.

The Parliament having taken notice of the King's Wants intimated in his last Speech at the Passing of the forementioned Acts, and provided for his Supply; In the next place, they likewise took Care that the Army should be supplied with Pay till they were Disbanded; Which was another of the Particulars of that Speech.

And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King on the 13th of September, which was the day appointed, came to the House of Lords, and there gave his Royall Assent to Fourteen Private, and Eight Publique Acts of Parliament.

Twenty Two Acts more; 14 Private, and 8 Publique, Sign'd by his Majesty.

#### The Private were,

1. An Act for the restoring the Marques of Hertford to the Dukedom of Somerset.
2. An Act for the necessary Maintenance of the Work of Draining the great Levee E of the Fenns.
3. An Act to restore the Earl of Inchequin all his Honours and Lands in Ireland.
4. An Act for to restore to William Marques of Newcastle, all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of May 1642. or at any time since.
5. An Act for settling the Priory of Watton and other Lands in Yorkshire belonging to the Earl of Winchelsea, in the hands of Trustees, to pay his Debts.
6. An Act for the restoring of Sir George Lane to the Mannors of Rachine and Lifluff and other Lands in Ireland.
7. An Act to restore Charles Lord Gerrard Baron of Brandon, to all his Estate F whereof he was in possession the 20th of May 1642. or at any time since.
8. An Act for the restoring to the Lord Culpepper Baron of Thorfway, all the Estate whereof his Father was possessed on the 20th of May 1642. or at any time after, which have not been since sold or aliened by his said Father by Acts and Assurances to which himself was party and consenting.
9. An Act to enable Auguftine and William Skinner to sell Lands for payment of Debts.
10. An Act for the Incorporating the Master and Wardens of Haberdashers, London, to be Governours of the Free-School and Alms-Houses in Newport in Shropshire, G of the Foundation of William Adams, and for settling Lands on them for the Maintenance thereof, and other Charitable Uses.
11. An Act for enabling Sir George Booth Baronet, to make Leases and Sales of part of his Estate.
12. An Act for Regulating of the Trade of Bay-making in the Dutch Bay-Hall in Colchester.

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13. The other Two private Bills were one of them to Naturalize *Dorothea Helena* Countess of Derby, *Emilia* Countess of Osfory; *Margaret Lady Culpepper*; And a Son and a Daughter of *Katherine Stanhopp* Countess of Chesterfield, by *John Kirkhoven* Lord of Henslet in Holland.

14. And the other for Naturalizing *Peter de la Pierre* alias *Peters*, and *John de la Pierre* alias *Peters*.

Of these *Acts*, we think it unnecessary to name more than the Titles, as being not of Publique Concernment; and every of the Titles are not here exactly inserted, it being sufficient for Publique Use, to describe so much of them as may inform Posterity of their tendency, and that such *Acts* were then passed; whereby those that are concerned, may be directed to a more curious search.

The Publique *ACTS* were,

1. An *Act* for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons. The Title of this *Act* does so much express the Use of it, that We shall omit to mention more of it here; and the rather, because it was in a few Months fully Executed.

2. An *Act* for the supplying and explaining certain defects in an *Act* for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.

We have already given you an abbreviation of that *Act*, whereof this last is Explanatory (which was the *Poll-Bill* lately described) and to which this being only relating in reference to the supply of some of its defects, We shall not need to enlarge thereon.

3. An *Act* for raising Seven score Thousand Pounds for the compleat Disbanding of the Army.

The Parliament finding the *Poll-Bill* to rise much short of expectation, from the failure of a due and Exact execution of it; They passed this *Act*, which ordained the Money to be raised in Two Months from the First of November 1660. (*viz.*) 70000 l. per Annum.

4. An *Act* for the speedy raising of 70000 l. for the present supply of his Majesty. This Money was to be paid in one Month from the 29th. of September following.

5. An *Act* to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majesties Customs and Subsidies. This *Act* was but to continue in force till the end of the first Session of the next Parliament.

6. An *Act* for the Confirming and restoring of Ministers.

This *Act* stopp'd the Clamours of many Ecclesiastical persons that had defective Titles to their Cures; and the goodness of the King was very much celebrated by his Consent to it. Wherefore it will not be amiss to give a brief touch of the Heads thereof.

It Enacts, That every Ecclesiastical person or Minister Ordained by any Ecclesiastical persons before December the 25th last past, being 24. years of age, having not renounced his Ordination, who hath been since January the first, 1642. placed in, and in Actual possession of any Ecclesiastical Benefice with Cure of Souls, in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed, which hath been void by death, or any other avoidance, since that time, and before the 25th of December last past, and was then in possession, and received the Profits being in the Kings gift, or of his Father, or of any Archbishop, Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebend, Arch-Deacon, Body Politique or Corporate, or other person, other than such hereby restored, is declared lawful Incumbent.

Every voluntary Resignation of a Benefice to the Patron or any pretended Power since the said first day of January, to be good, as if made to the Competent Ordinary.

No Presentation is to be construed to be an usurpation in Law, to the prejudice of any that shall have right to Present.

Every Ecclesiastical person formerly Sequestered or Ejected after lawful Presentation and perception of the profits, that hath not subscribed any Petition to bring the late King to Tryall, or by any *Act* endeavoured or justified the Murder of the said King, or declared his Judgment against Infant-Baptism, by Preaching, Writing, Printing, or constant refusal to Baptize, shall be restored to the possession thereof, at or before the 25th day of December next ensuing; and every Ecclesiastical person to be removed, may enjoy the Profits to that day.

There be many other Clauses and Provisions in this Bill, too long to be here inserted; and so much the less important, in regard by some subsequent Lawes, the greatest part of the whole was in a manner repeal'd.

The Substance of the *Act* for Encouraging of Navigation.

7. An *Act* for Encouraging Shipping and Navigation; wherein it is Enacted, That from the First of December 1660. no Commodities shall be Imported or Exported out of any Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, belonging unto, or which may belong to, his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, in Asia, Africa, or America, in any other Vessel but such as belong unto the People of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or are of them

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A them built, or do belong to them as the right Owners, and whereof the Master and three fourths of the Mariners are English, under penalty of the loss of all the Goods Imported or Exported in other Vessels, as also of the Vessels with all its Guns, Furniture, Tackles, Ammunition, and Apparell, one third to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and the other two thirds to the Governor of such Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, in case the Ship or Goods be there seized, and the other third part unto him that shall seize, inform, or sue for the same in any Court of Records, by Bill, Information, Plaint or Action, wherein no Essoin, Protection, or Wager of Law shall be allowed. And all Captains, and Commanders at Sea, by Commission from the King or his Successors, are required to bring in all Ships and Vessels so offending, and deliver them into the Court of Admiralty to be proceeded against; and in case of Condemnation, One moiety is to be divided to the Use of the Admirall and Commander, and their Companies, according to the Rules in Case of Prizes, and the other to the King and his Successors. With many other Clauses and Provisions tending much to the advancement of the English Manufacture.

8. The Eighth Publique *Act* was, An *Act* for enabling Soldiers of the Army to exercise Trades: A very grateful Law to many of the Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, and a good preparatory to their Disbanding; for many of them had been Apprentices, and without such such Provisions might have been left without any way of subsistence, when Arms were out of their hands.

C The King made a short Speech to both Houses of Parliament at the passing of these Bills, full of Sweetness, according to the affable temper of his Nature.

"He thanked them for their generall Care of the Publique, and other Particular respects to him, in that for his Satisfaction they had made Provision to pay off the Army which they were Disbanding; thereby to prevent Free Quarter; Adding, That though he kindly accepted their Present of Money, he would not employ any of it for the supply of his own occasions, till he should be assured the Publique had no need of it. He likewise took notice of the Bill concerning the Duke of Somerset, who, he said, had merited as much of the King as his Father, and himself, as a Subject could do; and that he was none of those who think that Subjects by performing their Duties in any extraordinary manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner; Nevertheless, he said, it seemed to be of an extraordinary nature, and indeed we do not remember any President in Story of the like: But the King was pleas'd to add, That he hop'd no man would envy this Duke, because he had done what a good Master should do to such a Servant.

The Kings Speech to the House at the passing of the said Bills.

After which, his Majesty refer'd to the Chancellor to speak of many other things which he had to Recommend to them: For in this time of their Recess, the Army was to be Disbanding, whereof many Discourses had been spread abroad by disaffected persons. Some said the King would keep them up; And others, That they would not suffer themselves to be disbanded. And though he had pass'd an *ACT* to Confirm Ministers, yet farther order was to be taken in reference to Church-Government; and particularly in respect to render Conscience as likewise about Purchases and Sales of Publique Lands, which had without any issue much taken up the time of both Houses; and therefore since the Parliament Adjourn'd before any thing in these Affairs was effected, it was expedient to satisfy the People with the Kings Intentions therein: Of which, and many other Matters of great Concernment to the Good and Quiet of the Kingdom, the Chancellor in a most Excellent Speech express'd himself as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE King tells you, He hath Commanded me to say many Particulars to You; and the truth is, he hath charg'd me with so many, that I have great reason to fear, that I shall stand in much need of his Mercy, for omitting many things he hath given me in Command, at least, for delivering them in more disorder and confusion, than matters of such Moment and Importance ought to be to such an Assembly, for which the King himself hath even a kind of Reverence, as well as an extraordinary Kindness.

I am to mention some things he hath done already, and many things he intends to do during this Recess, that you may see how well content soever he is, that you should have Ease, and Pleasure, and Refreshment, he hath designed work enough for himself.

The King hath thanked you for the Provision you have made, that there may be no Free-Quarter during the time the Army shall be Disbanding; and hath told you what he will do with that Money you have given him, if there should want wherewith to disband

My Lord Chancellour's Speech to the Two Houses.

it: And now I hope you will all believe that his Majesty will consent to the Disbanding. **A** He will do so. And yet he doth not take it unkindly at their hands, who have thought that his Majesty would not disband this Army. It was a sober and rational Jealousie; No other Prince in Europe would be willing to Disband such an Army: An Army to which Victory is entailed, and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of Conquest where-so-ever he should lead it. And if GOD had not restored his Majesty to that rare felicity, he would be without apprehension of danger at home or from abroad, and without an ambition of taking from his Neighbours what they are possessed of. Himself would never disband this Army: An Army whose Order and Discipline, whose Sobriety and Manners, whose Courage and Sufferings, hath made it Famous and Terrible over the whole World: An Army of which the King and his Two Royal Brothers may say, as the Noble Grecian said of Aeneas,

*Stetimus tela aspera contra,  
Contulimusq; manus, experto credite, quantus*

*In Clypeum assurgat, quo turbine corqueat hastam.*

They have all Three, in severall Countries found themselves engaged in the midst of these Troops, in the heat and rage of Battle: and if any Common Soldier (as no doubt many may) will demand the old Romans Privilege for having encountered Princes single, upon my Conscience he will find both Favour and Preferment. They have all Three observed the Discipline, and felt and admired and loved the Courage of this Army, when they were in the midst of it. And I have seen them in a season when there was little else of Comfort in their lives, refresh themselves with Joy that the English had done the great work, the English had got the day, and then please themselves with the Imagination what wonders they should perform in the Head of such an Army.

And therefore when his Majesty is so entirely possessed of the Affection and Obedience of this Army, and when it hath merited so much from him, can it be believed or imagined, that he can without some regret part with them? No; My Lords and Gentlemen, he will never part with them; and the only way never to part with them, is to Disband them: Should it be otherwise, they must be exposed to the daily Importunity of his great Neighbours and Allies, and how could he refuse to lend them his Troops, of which he hath no need himself? His Majesty knows they are too good Englishmen, to wish that a standing Army should be kept up in the Bowells of their own Country, that they who did but in Bello Pacis gerere Negotium, and who, whilst an Army liv'd like good Husbandmen in the Country, and good Citizens in the City, will now become really such, and take delight in the benefit of that Peace they have so honestly and so wonderfully brought to pass. The King will part with them as the most indulgent Parents part with their Children for their Education, and for their Preferment; he will prefer them to Disbanding, and prefer them by Disbanding; and will always retain such a Kindness for them, and such a memory of the Service they have done him, that both Officers and Souldiers, after they are disbanded, shall always find such Countenance, Favour, and Reward from his Majesty, that he doubts not, but if he should have occasion to use their Service, they will again resort to him with the same alacrity, as if they had never been Disbanded: And if there be any so silly amongst them (as there can be but very few, if any) who will forfeit the Favour and Protection they may have from him, by any withstanding his Majesties Commands, and the full and declared Sense of the Kingdome, his Majesty is confident they will be as odious to their Companions, as they can be to any other honest men.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I am in the next place by the Kings Command, to put you in mind of the Act of Indemnity, not of any Grants or Concessions, or Releases he made to you in that Act; I have nothing of that in Charge: No Prince hath so excellent a memory to forget the Favours he doth; But of what he hath done against you in that Act, how you may be undone by that Act, if you are not very careful to perform the Obligations he hath laid upon you in it. The Clause I am to put you in mind of is this; And to the intent and purpose that all names and terms of distinction may likewise be put into utter Oblivion; Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons within the space of Three Years next ensuing, shall presume maliciously to call, or allude, or object, against any other person or persons, any name or names, or other words of reproach, any way leading to revive the memory of the late differences, or the occasion thereof, that then every such person so as aforesaid offending, shall forfeit, &c. It is no matter for the Penalty, it

is too cheap a one, the King wishes it had been greater, and therefore hath by his just Prerogative (and 'tis well for us he hath such a Prerogative) added another Penalty more insupportable, even his high displeasure against all who shall siveer from this Clause in the Act: Give me leave to tell you, That as any name or names, or other words of reproach, are expressly against the Letter, and punishable accordingly; so evil and envious Looks, murmuring and discontented hearts, are as directly against the Equity of this Statute, a direct breach of the Act of Indemnity, and ought to be punished too, and I believe they may be so. You know Kings are in some sense called Gods, and so they may in some degree be able to look into mens hearts; and God hath given us a King, who can look as far into mens hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great skill in Physiognomy too; you would wonder what Calculations he hath made from thence: and no doubt if he be provoked by evil Looks to make a further inquiry into mens hearts, and finds those corrupted with the Passions of Envy and Uncharitableness, he will never choose those hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given us a Noble and Princely Example, by opening and stretching his Arms to all who are worthy to be his Subjects, worthy to be thought Englishmen, by extending his Heart with a Pious and grateful Joy to find all his Subjects at once in his Arms, and himself in theirs; and shall we fold our Arms towards one another, and contract our hearts with Envy and Malice to each other, by any sharp memory of what hath been unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? What is this but to Rebel against the Person of the King, against the excellent Example and Virtue of the King, against the known Law of the Land, this blessed Act of Oblivion?

My Lords and Gentlemen, The King is a Suitor to you, makes his Suit very heartily, That you will join with him in restoring the whole Nation to its Primitive temper, and Integrity, to its old good Manners, its old good Humour, and its old good Nature; Good Nature, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be translated into no other Language, hardly practis'd by any other People; And that you will by your Example, by the Candor of your Conversation, by your Precepts, and by your Practice, and by all your Interest, teach your Neighbours and your Friends, how to pay a full obedience to this Clause of the Statute, how to learn this Excellent Art of Forgetfulness.

Let them remember, and let us all remember, how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly, the insolence and fierceness, the brutishness of their Enemies appeared to them; and we may piously and reasonably believe, that Gods Indignation against them, for their want of Bowells, for their not being Englishmen, (for they had the hearts of Pagans and Infidels) sent a whirlwind in a moment to blow them out of the world; that is, out of a Capacity to do more mischief in the world; Except we practise their Vices, and do that our selves, which we pretend to detest them for.

Let us not be too much alarmed, as if what hath been done amiss, proceeded from the Humour, and the Temper, and the Nature of our Nation. The Astrologers have made us a fair Excuse, and truly I hope a true one. All the Motions of these last Twenty Years have been unnatural; and have proceeded from the Evil influence of a Malignant Star; And let us not too much despise the Influence of the Stars. And the same Astrologers assure us, That the Malignity of the Star is expired, the good Genius of this Kingdom is become Superiour, and hath mastered that Malignity; and our own good old Stars govern us again; and their influence is so strong, that with our help they will repair in a year what hath been decaying in Twenty: And they only shall have no excuse from the Star, who continue this Malignity, and own all the ill that is past to be their own, by continuing it, and improving it for time to come.

If any body here, or any where else, be too much exalted with what he hath done, or what he hath suffered, and from thence thinks himself warranted to reproach others, let him remember the Story of Nicephorus; it is an excellent Story, and very applicable to such distempers; He was a Pious and Religious man, and for his Piety and Religion was Condemned to the Fire; when he was led to Execution, and when an old Friend who had done him injury enough, fell at his feet and asked his pardon, the Poor man was so elated with the Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconciled unto him; upon which he was disappointed of his end; and for his Uncharitableness; the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, and he apostatized from the Faith.

Let all those who are too proud of having been, as they think, less faulty than other men, and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those who have offended them, take heed of the Apostacy of Nicephorus, and that those fumes of Envy and Uncharitableness, and Mur-

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muring, do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that they fall into those very Crimes, A they value themselves for having hitherto declined.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, whilst we conspire together to execute faithfully this part of the Bill, to put all old Names and Terms of distinction into utter Oblivion, let us not find new Names and Terms to keep up the same, or a worse distinction: If the old reproaches of Cavalier, and Round-head, and Malignant, be committed to the grave, let us not find more significant and better words, to signify worse things: let not Piety and Godliness grow into terms of reproach, and distinguish between the Court, and the City, and the Country; and let not Piety and Godliness be measured by a morosity in manners.

An affectation of Gesture, a new mode and tone of speaking, at least, let not our Constitutions and Complexions make us be thought of a contrary party, and because we have not an affected austerity in our looks, that we have no piety in our hearts; very merry men have been very godly men; and if a good Conscience be a continual Feast, there is no reason but men may be merry at it.

You Mr. Speaker have this day made a Noble Present to the King; do you think, that if you and your worthy Companions, had brought it up with folded Arms, down-cast looks, with sighs and other instances of desparation, it would not have been a very Melancholick Present? Have not your Frank and Dutiful expressions, that cheerfulness and vivacity in your looks, render'd it much more acceptable, much more valuable?

No Prince in Christendom loves a cheerful giver so well as God Almighty does, and he of all gifts a Cheerful heart, and therefore I pray let not a cloudy or discontented face be the only or the best sign of Piety and Devotion in the heart.

I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of this Discourse, which I should have mentioned when I came to speak of the Ministers Bill; I say, I hope, will endeavour to remove those new marks of distinction and Reproaches, and keep their Auditors from being imposed upon by such Characters and descriptions. The King hath passed this Act very willingly, and done much to the end of this Act before, yet hath willingly admitted you to be Sharers and Partners with him in the Obligation: I may say confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his Confirmation to any man in possession who hath asked it; and they have all had the effect of it, except such who, upon examination and inquiry, appeared not worthy of it, and such who, though they are Pardoned, cannot yet think themselves worthy to be preferred. His Majesty well knows, that by this Act he hath gratified and obliged many worthy and Pious men who have contributed much to his Restauration, and who shall always receive fresh evidences of his Majesties Favour and Kindness; but he is not sure that he may likewise have gratified some who did neither contribute to his Coming in, nor are yet glad that he is in; how comes it else to pass, that he receives such frequent Information of Seditious Sermons in the City and in the Country, in which all Industry is used to alienate the affections of the People, and to infuse Jealousies into them of the King and his Government, they talk of introducing Popery, of Evil Counsellours, and such other old Calumnies as are pardoned by this Act of Indemnity.

His Majesty told you, when he was last here, That Rigour and Severity he will hereafter use, how contrary soever it is to his Nature in these cases, and conjured you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to Concurr with him in this Just and Necessary Severity; which I am sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance; and that you will believe that too much ill cannot befall those who do the best they can to corrupt his Majesty's Nature, and to extinguish his Mercy.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I told you I was to acquaint you with some things his Majesty intends to do during this Recess, that you may see he will give no intermission to his own Thoughts for the Publique good, though for a time he dispences with your assistance.

He doth consider the infinite importance the improvement of Trade must be to this Kingdom, and therefore his Majesty intends to establish a Council for Trade, consisting of some Principal Merchants of the several Companies, to which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality and Experience; And for their greater Honour and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his own Privy Council.

In the next place, his Majesty hopes, that by a well settled Peace, and God's great Blessing upon Him and You, this Nation will in a short time flourish to that degree that the Land of Canaan did, when Elau found it necessary to part from his Brother. For their Riches were more than that they might dwell together, and the Land wherein they were could not bear them, because of their Cattel. We have been our selves very near this Pinnacle of Happiness; and the hope and contemplation that we may be so again, disposes the

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A King to be very solicitous for the Improvement and Prosperity of his Plantations abroad, where there is such large room for the Industry and Reception of such who shall desire to go thither. And therefore his Majesty intends likewise to Erect and Establish a Council for those Plantations, in which persons well qualified, shall be wholly intent upon the good and advancement of those Plantations.

There are two other Particulars which I am Commanded to mention, which were both mentioned and recommended to You by his Majesty in his Declaration from Breda: The One, for the Confirmation of Sales, or other recompence for Purchasers: The Other, for the Composing those differences and distempers in Religion which have too much disturbed the Peace of the Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in which his Majesty knows you have spent much time, and concerning which he should have heard from you before this time, if you had not met with great difficulties in the disquisition of either.

For the First, his Majesty hath not been without much thought upon the Argument, and hath done much towards the accommodation of many particular persons; and you shall not be at your Journeys end, before his Majesty will put that business concerning Sales into such a way of dispatch, that he doubts not, you will find a good progress made in it before your coming together again; and I believe the persons concerned will be very much to blame if they receive not good satisfaction: and some of you, who stay in Town, shall be advised C and consulted with, in that Settlement.

The other of Religion, is a sad Argument indeed, it is a consideration that must make every Religious heart to bleed, to see Religion, which should be the strongest Obligation and Cement of Affection and Brotherly Kindness and Compassion, made now, by the perverse wranglings of passionate and forward men, the ground of all Animosity, hatred, malice and Revenge. And this unruly and unmanly passion (which no Question the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors) sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports those who are in the right, as well as those who are in the wrong, and leaves the latter more excusable than the former, when men who find their Manners and Dispositions very conformable in all the necessary obligations of humane Nature, avoid one anothers Conversation, and grow first unsociable, and then uncharitable to each other, because one cannot think as the other doth; And from this separation we entitle God to the Patronage of, and concernment in, our fancies and distinctions, and purely for his sake hate one another heartily.

It was not so of old, when one of the most Ancient Fathers of the Church tells us, That Love and Charity was so signal and eminent in the Primitive Christians, that it even drew admiration and envy from their adversaries. Vide (iniquit) ut invicem se diligunt! Their Adversaries, in that in which they most agreed in their very prosecution of them, had their passions and animosities amongst themselves; they were only Christians that Loved, and Cherished, and Comforted, and were ready to die for one another. Quid nunc illi Dicerent Christiani, si nostra viderent tempora? says the Incomparable Grotius; How would they look upon our sharp and virulent Contentions in the Debates of Christian Religion, and the bloody Wars that have proceeded from those Contentions, whilst every one pretended to all the marks which are to attend upon the true Church, except only that which is inseparable from it, Charity to one another.

My Lords and Gentlemen, this Disquisition hath cost the King many a Sigh, many a sad hour, when he hath considered the almost irreparable reproach the Protestant Religion hath undergone from the Divisions and Distractions which have been so notorious within this Kingdom; what pains he hath taken to compose them, after several Discourses with Learned and Pious men of different persuasions, you will shortly see by a Declaration he will publish upon that occasion; by which you will see his great indulgence, to those who can have any Protection from Conscience to differ with their Brethren. And I hope God will so bless the Candor of his Majesty in the Condescensions he makes, that the Church as well as the State will return to that Unity and Unanimity, which will make both King and People as happy as they can hope to be in this world.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I shall conclude with the King's hearty Thanks to you, G not only for what you have done towards him, which hath been very signal; but for what you have done towards each other; for the Excellent Correspondence you have maintain'd; for the very seasonable difference and condescension you have had for each other, which will restore Parliaments to the veneration they ought to have. And since his Majesty knows that you all desire to please him, you have given him ample evidence that you do so. He hath appointed me to give you a sure receipt to attain that good end; it is a Receipt of his own prescribing, and therefore it is not like to fail.

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Be but pleas'd your selves, and perswade others to be so; contrive all the ways imaginable for your own Happiness, and you will make Him the best pleas'd and the most happy Prince in the World.

After this Speech the King retired, and both Houses of Parliament Adjourned themselves to the Sixth of November.

In the ACT for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons, That Affair was committed to Twelve Commissioners, (Six whereof were Lords, and Six Commons) or to any Three of them, whereof one of the Commissioners named by the Lords, and one named by the Commons, were to be Two: And that they might not go far about for the Money, The Treasurers at War, and Treasurer named in the Act for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding the Army, were to Issue Moneys upon their Warrant.

All the Regiments and Garrisons were Disbanded by Lott, except Four Companies in Hull, four in Berwick, and four in Carlisle, which were reserved to be last reduced: And the Regiments belonging to the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Lord General, were not to be Disbanded till after all the other Regiments and Garrisons, except the Three before mentioned. There were Disbanded in England and Wales, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, consisting of a Thousand Souldiers in each Regiment, besides Officers, and Thirteen Regiments of Horse, having Six hundred Souldiers in each Regiment besides Officers, together with the General's Life-Guard of Horse, consisting of Two Hundred, and about Fifty Garrisons which had not in them less than 5000 Souldiers, besides Officers. And in Scotland Three Regiments and Two Companies of Foot, and Two Regiments, except one Troop of Horse, and about Thirteen Garrisons; but most of these Garrisons were not under particular Establishment, as those in England, but were mann'd by Companies out of the respective Regiments. The King, out of his own Bounty, gave a Weeks Pay over and above their full Arrears to all the Troops and Companies disbanded; Which was very Thankfully accepted by them.

Moreover, he was so well Satisfied with the Services of many of his Subjects in Ireland, who Joyned with the Duke of Albemarle for his Restauration, that he Conferred Rewards and Honour upon many of them according to the report of their merit; amongst these, Sir Charles Coote was made Earl of Monrath; Roger Lord Braghill advanced to the Dignity of Earl of Orrery; Colonel Richard Coote, a Brother to the Earl of Monrath, was created Baron of Coldowney; and Sir John King Baron of Kingston; and shortly after, Sir John Cluworth was made Viscount Masfarrine.

Besides the many Addressees that were made to the King by his own Subjects generally from all parts of his Dominions, there also came over Forrain Agents and Embassadors from severall of the greatest Princes and States of Europe, to Complement his Majestie in the Name of their Masters, touching his happy Restauration to his Royall Dignity and Government: From the Marquies of Brandenburg came the Baron of Pelwitz, Master of the Horse to his Highness. From Frederick Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Cozen-German to his Majesty of England, came Christopher Clifs of Keimbergh, Captain of his Guards. From the King of Denmark came the Lord Frederick Van Alfeld, Deputy-Governour of the Dukedoms of Sleswick and Holstein. But never did any Embassador arrive in England in a more Splendid and gallant Equipage than the Prince of Ligne, who being sent Embassador to our King from the King of Spain, seems to have come only upon a Gratulatory and Complemental Address, in regard there needed no Negotiation about any Peace between England and Spain, so far as upon the coming in of his present Majestie, there follow'd by consequence a reviving of that Peaceful and Friendly Correspondence which had formerly been between these Two Crowns in the time of the late King. And to this purpose his Majestie set forth a Proclamation, Requiring that (whereas the King of Spain had Commanded throughout his Dominions a Cessation from all Hostility towards this Crown, and had propos'd, that the Publication thereof might be on both sides agreed on by a fix day) all Acts of Hostility should likewise cease on our parts, toward the Subjects of that Crown; which Cessation was to be reckoned as taking beginning from the day of his Majestie's Arrivall in England, being the 25th of May, and that all Goods and Merchandizes which had been taken from that time, should be restored.

As the occasion of the Prince de Ligne's coming over was onely Gratulatory and Complemental, so his stay here was but short; and after his Departure, there remain'd here as the King of Spain's Lieger or Embassador in Ordinary, the Baron of Batteville. In the same manner, on the part of the French was the Count of Soissons, succeeded by Monsieur d'Elstrade, who had not been long here ere an Occasion hapned, which manifested, that the late concluded Peace between these two Kings had not any whit lessen'd the Jealousie of Honour between them and their old prepossessions in point of Precedence: Many troublesome Contentts there have formerly been between the Embassadors of these Two Crowns in the Courts of Forrain Princes and States, when they have chanc'd to be Resident together at the same place; but none more remarkable than that upon Tower-Hill, at the Landing of an Embassador from Sweden on the 30th of September: Which since it was so prepar'd and premeditated a Business on both sides, that his Majestie foreseeing it would come to a Quarrell, and out of his accusom'd Civility willing to carry himself with an equal and impartial Indifference toward them both, and so far to gratifie their Intentions, as to

The KING complemented by the Embassadors and Agents of Forrain Princes,

Peace renew'd with Spain.

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A permit them to put their Retinue into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective Pretences: Yet in the mean time taking order for strict Guards to be kept upon the place, for the preventing, as much as might be, of all disturbances; and severely prohibiting any of his own Subjects to intermeddle in the difference, or to take part with either side; was pleas'd to Command, That the formerly mention'd Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent Enquiry made concerning the Carriage and Success of that whole Affair, render him a particular Accompt thereof, by drawing up a full Narrative of every Circumstance of that Rencontre: Which being a matter of so rare a kind, and great Importance, We have here thought meet to insert from that Gentleman's more sedulous and ample Collection, as it was by him presented to his Majestie in this following relation:

B Upon Monday last, being the 30th of September, about Ten in the Morning, the Spanish Embassadors Coach (in which were his Chaplain, with some of his Gentlemen, attended by about Forty more of his own Servants in Liveries) was sent down to the Tower-Wharf, and there plac'd itself near about the Point, where the Ranks of Ordnance determine towards the Gate leading into the Bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch, and (Twelve a Clock past) the Swedish Coach of Honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About Two hours after this (in company with his Majestie's Coach-Royall) appear'd that of the French Ambassadors, wherein were Le Marquies de Strade, Son to the French Ambassadors, with several more of his Gentlemen, and, as might be computed, near an Hundred and fifty in Train, whereof above Forty were Horsemen well appointed with Pistols, and (some of them) with Carabines, Musketoons or Fuzies: In this Posture and Equipage stood they expecting upon the Wharf, and as near as might be, approaching to his Majestie's Coach, which was opposite to the Staires. About Three in the Afternoon, the Swedish Ambassadors being Landed, and receiv'd into his Majestie's Coach, (which mov'd leisurely before the rest, and was follow'd by that of the Swedes) The French Ambassadors Coach endeavour'd to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their Party with their Swords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the Guard of their own Coach, which were also sputting in for Precedency next the King's. His Majestie's Coach now pass'd, the Spaniards (who held as yet their Rapiers undrawn in their hands) stepping nimbly on either side of the hind-most Wheels of their Master's Coach, drew their Weapons, and shouted, which caus'd the French Coach-horses to make a Pause: But, when they observ'd the advantage, which by this, the Spanish Ambassadors Coach had gain'd, being now in file after the Swedes, they came up very near to the Spaniards, and at once, pouring in their shot upon them, together with their Foot (then got before their Coach) fell to it with their Swords; both which the Spaniards receiv'd, without removing one jot from their Stations.

During this Demelle, (in which the French receiv'd some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dextrous Fellow, and (as most affirm) with a particular Instrument, as well as address, flooping under the bellies of the French Ambassadors Coach-Horses, cut the ham-strings of two of them, and wounded a third; which immediately falling, the Coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the Coach-man forced out of his Box, and the Postillion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an English Gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his Thigh. This disorder (wherein severall were wounded, and some slain) caus'd those in the French to alight, and so enraged their Party, that it occasion'd a second brisk Assault both of Horse and Foot; which being receiv'd with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated, and wheel'd off to St. Katharines.

It was in this Skirmish that some Brick-batts were thrown from the edge of the Wharf, which (by a mistake) are said to have been provided by the Spanish Ambassadors Order the day before: But that they were not cast by any of the English, is attested by the general consent of all the Spectators.

In this interim then (which was near half an hour) the Spanish Coach went forward after his Majestie's, with about Twenty of its Retinue following, who still kept their Countenances towards the French, as long as they abode on the Wharf and that narrow Passage of the Bulwark, (where the Contest was very fierce) without disorder: So as the first which appear'd on Tower-Hill (where now they were entering) was his Majestie's Coach, follow'd by the Swedes Ambassadors; and next, by that of Spain, with about Twenty Four or Thirty of his Liveries, still disputing it with a less number of French, who came after them in the Rear.

And here, (besides what were slain with Bullets on the Wharf, and near the Bulwark, whereof one was a Valet de Chambre of the Spanish Ambassadors, and Six more, amongst which a poor English Plaiherer, and near Forty wounded) fell one of the French, who was kill'd just before his Highness's Life-Guard; no one person of the numerous Spectators intermeddling, or, so much as making the least noise, or tumult, People, or Souldiers, whereof there were Three Companies of Foot, which stood opposite on the Hill to the Guards of Horse, 'twixt whom the Antagonists lightly Skirmish'd, some fresh Parties of French coming out of severall places, and protected by the English, amongst whom they found shelter, till the Spanish Ambassadors Coach having gain'd, and paid the Chain which leads into Crochu-Friers, they desisted, and gave them over.

What

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What ever disadvantage the French came off with in this Rencounter, wherein, except one man that fought among the Spaniards with a Half Pike, not any of the English were seen to Act any thing that might contribute to the success of one side more than another, till a few of the multitude which stood on that side of the Wharf, being enrag'd by the Wounds which they receiv'd from the shot that came in amongst them, and whereof, 'tis said, some of them afterwards died, were forc'd to defend themselves with what they found at hand: For so Careful was Sir Charles Barclay, Captain of his Royal Highness's Life-Guard, to put in execution what he had in strict Charge from his Majestie, that not a man of the Spectators was suffe'd with impunity so much as with a Switch in his hand. The French King, from this occasion, gain'd an advantage to the Prerogative he stood upon, greater than if this Contest had not hapned; For whereas this business of Precedence had been hitherto in Controversie between him and Spain, inasmuch that to prevent all Inconveniencies, an Accord had been lately made here between the Spanish Embassadour and the Count of Soissons, That they should assist at no Publick Ceremonies but upon all such casual Encounters, pats on their way as they fortun'd to meet: The King of France countermanding this Agreement, and sending positive Charge to de Strade, not to abate any thing of those Pretensions formerly stood upon; and hearing what ensued upon his Embassadour's executing of his Injunctions, was so Incend'd thereat, that the Quarrel had proceeded to an absolute Breach of the late concluded Peace between the Two Kingdoms, had not the King of Spain Condescended to agree, That thence-forward Precedence should be yielded to the French upon all such like occasions, without any dispute.

On the 23 of this Month, the Prince's Royall of Great Britain having recommended the Interests of her Son the Prince of Aurange to the care of the Lords States of the Netherlands, (who now at length had agreed among themselves to admit this Young Prince to the same Dignity and Trust which his Ancestours formerly held in that Commonwealth, of which they had so highly merited) came over into England, invited by his Majestie, and willing once again to see her Native Country from which she had so many years been absent: But her Joy to see the King her Brother peaceably Inthron'd, was very much ally'd by her Sorrow for the loss of her Third Brother, Henry of Oulands Duke of Gloucester, who in the 21. year of his age (to the great Grief of the King his Brother, and all those that knowing and admiring the Princely Vertues of his Youth, had promis'd Wonders to the World from the hopes of his Elder age) departed this Life on the 13th of September, being the same day the Parliament adjourn'd, which was near the space of Four Months after his Arrivall in England: so that he survived little longer than just to attend upon his Brother to his Throne. He was a Prince Excellently accomplish'd, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wise above his Years, a Dutiful and Affectionate Brother, a Wife Counsellour, a Good Master, and a True Friend. And as if Fate had so provided, that being himself of the most Noble, he should also in death be accompany'd by the most Noble, there died much about the same time, two of the same Order with himself, and next him in Quality, Esme Duke of Lenox and Richmond, and William Marquis of Hertford, who was also not long before his death restored by his now Majestie to the Ancient Dignity of his Ancestours, being created Duke of Somerset; and also to the Honour he had merited in the time of his late Majestie, of being Lord Chancellour of the University of Oxford: In which last Dignity he is succeeded by Sir Edward Hyde Lord High Chancellour of England.

Commissioners having been appointed by the Parliament to Pay off and Disband the Army and Navy, a speedy and effectual Course having been by them taken, as hath been already mention'd, for the Paying off and Disbanding the several Regiments and Ships as fast as Money came in by the Act of Poll-Money and the other Acts of Assessments made to that End by the Parliament before their Adjournment: In lieu of these Disbanded Forces, all the several Counties of the Nation under the Conduct of certain Noblemen, who were Constituted the King's Lieutenants over them according to the Ancient Custom, were Armed with their own Militia or Train'd Bands; Not so much in any apprehension of inquiet from the Souldiers, for they had so good Officers placed over them by the Lord Generall, that there was no fear of disorder from them; but lest any seditious persons might think themselves capable of making disturbance, if no Armed Force should be ready to prevent their Mischiefs.

And by this means, the Country was both settled into such a Posture of Military Defence, as to be able at a short warning to appear in Arms, and also freed from the continual Charge of maintaining a standing Army, whereof there would be no appearance, except in case of Emergent Danger.

As matters of Civill, so likewise those of Ecclesiastical Concernment were had in serious regard by his Majestie, who judging the Form of Church-Government which had been Establish'd in England from the time of the Reformation, till the late Troubles, to be the most Ancient and Decent way of Worship and Discipline, and most tending to Uniformity in Religion, made it one of his first businesses to restore the late extruded Episcopacy to the Dignity and Authority they formerly exercised in the Church of England; To which end, he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such Persons as were approv'd to be of the most eminent for Learning and Piety, for the supplying of those Bishops See's, which were become vacant since the first time of the Abrogation of their power.

In the Month of October, Owen Roe, Augustine Garland, and 27. more of the Regicides, Murderers of the late King, excepted out of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, were Arraigned at the Old Bailey upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, directed to Thomas Allen Knight and

The Prince's  
Royall comes  
over into  
England.

The Death of  
the Duke of  
Gloucester.

Of the Dukes  
of Lenox and  
Somerset.

Commissioners  
appointed to  
Disband the  
Army and  
Navy.

The Militia  
settled in the  
several Coun-  
ties.

Episcopacy  
reviv'd in  
England.

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A and Baronet, Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Hyde Lord Chancellour of England, The Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Albemarle, The Lord High Steward, the Earl of Lindsey, Earl of Manchester, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Berkshire, Earl of Sandwich, Lord Roberts, the Lord Finch, Denzell Holles Esquire, Sir Frederick Cornwallis Knight and Baronet, Sir Charles Barkley, Knight; Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Secretary Morrice, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Arthur Annesley Esquire, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice Foster, Mr. Justice Mallet, Mr. Justice Hyde, Mr. Justice Atkins, Mr. Justice Twissden, Mr. Justice Tirrell, Mr. Baron Turner, Sir Harbottle Grimstone Knight and Baronet, Sir William Will Knight and Baronet, Recorder of London, Mr. Serjeant Brown, Mr. Serjeant Hale, John Howell Esquire.

B The Prosecutors on behalf of his Majestie, were Sir Jeffery Palmer his Majestie's Attorney General, Sir Henage Finch his Majestie's Solicitor General, Sir Edward Turner, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of York, and Wadham Windham Esquire, Edward Shelton Esquire attended the Clerk of the Crown.

The Prisoners being called, they all pleaded Not Guilty, except Sir Hardeys Waller, and Mr. George Fleetwood, who pleaded Guilty; But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proofs so clear, that the Jurors scarce ever went from the Barr to deliberate, but found them all Guilty; and Ten of them were Executed, viz. Harrison, Carey, Scott, Clement, Jones, Scoop, Cook, and Peters, at Charing-Cross; and Hacker and Axtell at Tyburn: William Hale (who was also found Guilty, being accused to be one of those that in a Frock and Vizard assisted in the horrid Execution of the King, and therefore excepted from Pardon, though not by name) in regard that the Evidence seem'd not so clear to the Court, upon their report to the King, he had his Reprieve; and all the rest were respited, till the King and Parliament should order their Execution according to the direction in the Act of Indemnity in that behalf.

The King thought it high time to settle the Peace of Scotland, as well as that of his other Dominions; and in order thereunto he summon'd a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the 12th day of December: And by his Proclamation in that Kingdom, signified to all, That he relyed so much on the Loyalty, Prudence, and Care of his Parliament, as absolutely to commit to them the Trying and Judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he would receive Addreses and Informations only from his Parliament or Committee of Estate: To whom in the mean time he recommended the ordering and preparing of that affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interest'd, might freely and should only make their applications, assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown asserted, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, and Act of Indemnity, as might witness, that he desired nothing more than that his People should be settled with abundance of Happiness, Peace, and Plenty, under his Government.

For the Government of Ireland, he made Sir Maurice Eustace Knight, Lord Chancellour of Ireland, Roger Earl of Orrery Lord President of Munster, and Charles Earl of Mouraith, Lord President of Connaught to be Justices, who Govern'd Affairs there with great Candor and Moderation.

E The Sitting again of the Parliament of England, drew very near, in the Interim whereof, the King, to manifest his vigilance for the good of his Subjects, according to his Promise at their Adjournment the latter end of October, published his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, fill'd with many gracious Concessions to allay the distempers in Religion of that time; which because it was but temporary, till the Parliament should Offer something further to him in reference to those matters, We forbear to mention the particulars thereof. He likewise a few days after emitted a Commission under the Great Seal of England, to several Persons of great Honour and Integrity, to Treat with all Purchasers of Crown and Church-Lands, that none of his People might want any satisfaction which in reason could be allowed them.

The Two Houses of Parliament met the Sixth of November, and applied themselves to the making of several Laws for the augmentation of the King's Revenue, and other Matters of great Consideration, in which they were the more diligent and speedy, for that they received Intimation from the King, That he intended to Dissolve them on the 29th of December: In the mean time, They Ordered, That the several Bodies of Oliver Cromwell, John Bradshaw, Henry Ireton, and Thomas Pride, should be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on an Hurdle to Tyburn, to be buried under the Gallows: And on Christmas-Eve, the King went to the House of Lords, and there gave his Royall Assent to Two Acts of Parliament; viz. To an Act for a Grant of certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the increase of his Majestie's Revenue; and, an Act for the taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures in Capite and by Knights Service, and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majestie in Lieu thereof.

G The Act for a Grant of certain Impositions, &c. is by several Rates as Excise, upon Beer, Ale, Sider, Perry, Metheglin, Strong-Water or Aqua-Vita, Coffee, Chocolate, Sherbet, and Tea; (viz.) for Beer, Ale, and such of these as are not Foreign Liquors, they are to be paid by the Brewer or other person that shall sell the same; And all Foreign Liquors, by the Merchant, or Importer in ready Money upon Entry, made before the Landing thereof; And these Impositions are to continue by this Law during the King's Life: But by another Statute made the same Session, For taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures in Capite, and by Knights Service,

The King Sum-  
mons a Par-  
liament in  
Scotland.

New Officers  
Continued in  
Ireland.

The King sets  
forth a Decla-  
ration con-  
cerning Eccle-  
siastical affairs.

The Parlia-  
ment meets  
again.  
The Bodies of  
Cromwell, Brad-  
shaw, Ireton, and  
Pride,  
Order'd to be  
buried under  
the Gallows.  
The King  
passes the Acts  
for settling of  
Excise, and  
taking away  
the Court of  
wards.

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vice, and *Purveyance*, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof: The said Impositions and Rates are in recompence thereof to be paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for ever.

The Reasons alledged in this Statute, for taking away the *Courts of Wards*, in the Preamble thereof, were, Because Tenures by Knights Service, either of the King or others, or by Knights service in *Capite*, or by *Socage in Capite* of the King, and the Consequents upon the same had been much more burthensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, than beneficial to the King: And since the intermission of the said Court from the 24th. of February, 1645. many persons had by Will and otherwise made disposal of their Lands held by Knights Service, whereupon divers Questions might arise, unless some seasonable Remedy should be taken to prevent the same, by taking away from the said 24th day of February, 1645. the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, *Primer Seisins*, and all *Onser le mains*, Values, and Forfeitures of Marriages, by reason of any Tenure of the King, or of any other by Knight Service, and all mean Rates and Gifts, Grants or Charges &c.

The Death of the Princess of Anjou.

The Parliament Dissolv'd, and 32 Acts more pass'd by the King.

While the King was passing these Two Acts, his Sister the Princess Mary, Princess of Anjou, died at White-Hall, A Lady of admirable Virtues and all Princely Endowments; and Five days after (*viz.*) on the 29th day of December in the Evening (which was the day of the Dissolution of the Parliament) was buried in King Henry the Seventh's Chappell at Westminster.

Upon which day in the Morning, the King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royall Assent to Twenty Private, and Twelve Publique, Acts of Parliament. The Private, were these following.

1. An Act for the Restoring of Henry Lord Arundell of Worder, to the possession his Estate.
2. An Act for Restitution of Thomas Earl of Arundell, Surrey, and Norfolk, to the Title of Duke of Norfolk.
3. An Act to restore to Wentworth Earl of Roscomon in Ireland, all the Honours, Castles, Lordships, Lands and Tenements, whereof James Earl of Roscomon his great Grandfather, or James Earl of Roscomon his Father, were possessed.
4. An Act for the restoring of Sir George Hamilton to his Lands and Estate in Ireland.
5. An Act for Maintinance of the Vicar, for the time being, of the Vicaridge of Roylton.
6. An Act for Enabling Sir William Wray to sell Lands for payment of his Debts, and raising of Portions for his younger Children.
7. An Act for Naturalizing of Gerrard Vanbenthuzen, Daniell Demetrius, and others.
8. An Act for the enabling of John Newton the Younger, and William Oakley, to make Sale of Lands for payment of Debts, and raising of Portions.
9. An Act for impowring the Master of the Rolls to make Leases for Years, in Order to new building the old Buildings belonging to the Rolls.
10. An Act for the Naturalization of John Boreel Esq; eldest Son of Sir William Boreel Knight and Baronet.
11. An Act for the Naturalization of Abraham Wachter.
12. An Act for the restoring Sir Thomas Crimes Baronet, to his Estate.
13. An Act for Enabling George Fawnt of Foston, in the County of Leicester, Esquire, to Sell and Convey part of his Lands, for payment of several Debts and Legacies Charged upon his Estate by Sir William Fawnt Knight, deceased; and for the raising of Portions for his Younger Children, and making his wives Joynture.
14. An Act for Naturalizing Francis Hide and others.
15. An Act to enable Joseph Micklethwait an Infant, and his Trustees, to Sell his Lands for payment of his Father's Debts.
16. An Act for raising Portions and making Provision for Maintenance of the younger Children of Sir Edward Gostwick.
17. An Act for confirming the Sale of the Mannor of Hitcham, Sold to Charles Doc by Sir John Clark, Knight and Baronet, and for settling and disposing other the Lands of the said Sir John Clark, and Dame Philadelphia his Wife.
18. An Act for the settling of some of the Mannors and Lands of the Earl of Cleveland in Trustees, to be sold for the satisfying of the Debts of the said Earl, and of Thomas Lord Wentworth his Son.
19. An Act for the disappropriating of the Rectory appropriate of Prenton, and uniting and consolidating of the said Rectory, and of the Vicaridge of the Church of Prenton, and

A and for the assuring of the Advowson and Right of Patronage of the same unto the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Emanuel College in Cambridg.

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20. An Act for making the Precinct of Covent-Garden Parochiall.

The Publique ACTS were,

1. An Act for the Attainder of several Persons guilty of the horrid Murder of his late Sacred Majesty King Charles the First.
2. An Act for the Levying of certain Monies due upon the Collection for the Protestants of Piedmont.
3. An Act for Confirmation of Grants and Leases from Colleges and Hospitals.
4. An Act for the Levying of the Arrears of the Twelve Months Assessments, Commencing the 24th of June 1659. and the Six Months Assessment Commencing the 25th of December, 1659.
5. An Act for granting to the Kings Majesty 420000 l. by Assessment of 70000 l. by the Month, for Six Months, for Disbanding of the Army, and Paying off the Navy.
6. An Act for the raising of 70000 l. for the further supply of his Majesty.
7. An Act for Confirmation of Marriages.
8. An Act for Raising and Establishing a Post-Office.
9. An Act for the further supplying and explaining certain defects in an Act for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Land and Sea.
10. An Act for the better ordering of the selling of Wine by Retail, and for preventing abuses in the mingling, corrupting and vitiating of wines; and for settling and limiting the Prizes of the same.
11. An Act for Prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing of Tobacco in England and Ireland.
12. An Act for Prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers Earth, or any kind of Scouring Earth.

By the Act of Attainder, which was made to Attaint the Judges and other Aitors in the Murder of the late King, Oliver Cromwell deceased, Henry Ireton deceased, John Bradshaw deceased, and Thomas Pride deceased, are Adjudged to be Convicted and Attainted of High Treason, to all intents and purposes, as if they and every of them respectively had been attainted in their Life-time.

The Substance of the Act of Attainder.

2. And all the persons fled for that Treason, That is to say, John Lisle, William Say, Valentine Wauton, Edward Whalley, John Barkstead, Edmond Ludlow, Sir Michael Livesey, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Challoner, William Cawley, Miles Corbet, Nicholas Loye, John Dixwell, Daniel Blagrove, Andrew Broughton, Edward Dendy, and every of them stand, and be Adjudged, Convicted, and Attainted of High Treason.
3. All the Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Possessions, Rights, Conditions, Interests, Offices, Fees, Annuities, and all other Hereditaments, Leases for years, Chattels Real, and all other things of that nature whatsoever they be, of them the said Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, Thomas Pride, and of other persons particularly named in the said Act, amounting in all to the number of Two and Fifty persons; which they or any of them, or any other person or persons to their or any of their Uses, or in Trust for them or any of them, the 25th day of March, 1646. or at any time since, shall stand and be forfeited to the King, his Heirs and Successors, and shall be vested and adjudged to be in the actual and real possession of the King, without any Office or Inquisition thereof hereafter to be taken or found.
4. No Conveyance, Assurance, Grant, Bargain, Sale, Charge, Lease, Assignment, Surrender by Copy, Estate, Interest, Trust, Limitation of Uses, or out of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, (not being the Lands of the late King, Queen, Prince, or any of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, nor any Statute, Judgment or Recognizance had, made, acknowledged or suffered to any person or persons which before the 24th day of September 1659. by any of the Offenders in the Act mentioned, or their Heirs, or any other persons claiming by, from, or under, them, other than the Wife or Wives, Child or Children, Heir or Heirs, of such person or persons to any of them) for Money bona fide to them or any of them paid or Lent, nor any Conveyance, Grant, or Estate, made before the

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25th day of April 1660. by any person or persons aforesaid, in trust and for the benefit of any other person or persons not being of the Offenders aforesaid, shall be impeached, defeated, made void or frustrated hereby, or by the Convictions or Attainders aforesaid, but shall be enjoyed by the Purchasers, Grantees, Lessees, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns respectively, as if this Act had not been made; So as the said Conveyances, Grants, Assurances, which are and ought to be held and enjoyed as aforesaid before the First of January 1662. be enter'd and enrolled of Record in the Exchequer, and not otherwise.

5. All and singular the Mannors, Lands and Hereditaments, which heretofore were the Lands &c. of Henry late Marquess of Worcester, Edward now Marquess of Worcester, and Henry Lord Herbert, Son to the said Edward Marquess of Worcester, whereof the said Oliver Cromwell, or any other person in trust for him, or to his use, or any other the persons attainted by this Act or otherwise, or any other person in trust for them or any of them, had at any time before or since the decease of the said Oliver Cromwell, are vested and seised in, and shall be held and enjoyed by the said Marquess of Worcester, and Henry Lord Herbert, in such manner, and for such Estates or such Powers and Privileges, as they formerly had in the same, Saving the Estates, Rights, Titles and Interests of Strangers, not derived by and from any of the said Offenders since the 25th day of March, 1646.

1. It is Provided nevertheless, That those who have received any of the Rents or Mean Profits of, in, or out of, any the Lands, Chattels Real, or Possessions of any of the Offenders in this Act mentioned, before the 11th of February 1659. and have paid or accounted for the same before that day unto the said offender or offenders, or their Assigns, or any other person claiming from or under them, shall be for ever acquitted and discharged of and from the same, against the King, his Heirs and Successors.

2. And also, That Richard Ingoldsby may keep, sell or dispose of all the Goods and Chattels formerly belonging to Sir Hardress Waller in Ireland, until 2000 l. (for which the said Ingoldsby in the Year 1658. stood jointly bounden with the said Sir Hardress Waller unto James Brooks of the City of York Alderman, and was then counter-secured by a Judgement upon his Lands, and since by a Deed of Bargain and Sale of the said Goods and Chattels in Ireland,) be fully paid, together with the Interest thereof; the said Ingoldsby paying the Over-plus to the King.

The King's Favour to this Gentleman, grounded upon so notable a foundation of Merit, as is before related, did oblige the Parliament in this and many other occasions, to shew their respect to him.

The Act for raising and establishing a Post-Office, brought a Revenue of One and Twenty Thousand Pounds a Year to the Crown; which was an Improvement first made in the time of Cromwell's Usurpation.

The Act for the better Ordering of the Selling of Wines by Retail, was to Prohibit any from selling of Wines, but such as should be Licenc'd by the King's Agents; and from retailing mingled, corrupted or abused Wines: as also for Limiting and bringing down the Prices thereof.

The Act for the prohibiting the planting, setting or sowing of Tobacco in England and Ireland, Did under strict penalties forbid the setting or planting any Tobacco in seed, plant, or otherwise, in England, Wales, the Island of Jersey and Guernsey, and the Town of Bernick, except it be in any Physick-Garden of either of the Universities, or other private Garden for Physick or Surgery, so as the quantity so planted, exceed not one half of a Pole in any Place or Garden.

The Act for prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, Woolfells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of Scouring Earth, was made to preserve the Manufacture of Woollen Cloth in England, which was one of the Staple-Commodities of this Kingdom, and that which brought most Trade and Advantage of any to it, till of late years that the Hollanders, French, and others of our Neighbours, by Exportation of our Materials, had almost gain'd all the Trade thereof from Us: And although these Materials, as Wooll, Woolfells, and Fullers-Earth, had been by former Laws prohibited to be Exported to any Foreign Parts, on pain of Forfeiture or other pecuniary Mults. Those Laws could not prevent the offences, for they were frequently, by stealth, or connivance, Exported. Wherefore this Statute was thought fit to be made, for the re-inforcing of those former Laws, and preventing the like abuses for the future.

After the King had given the Royall Assent to the before mentioned Acts, he made a Speech to both Houses, full of gracious and pleasing Expressions: And amongst others, he said, This Parliament should be called to all Posterity, The Healing and the Blessed Parliament. And that it should be a Rule to his Actions and Counsellors to consider, What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or this Council? Adding, That he would Religiously himself observe the Act of Indemnity, and would exact the Observation of it from all others.

And

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And after he had ended, The Lord Chancellor (according to the Custome, for none ever in his Place had greater Eloquence) excellently set forth the Happiness of the King and his People, which only strove which should express more affection to each others to the Joy of all his good Subjects, and the Terror of Evil Doers. And with this Speech he concluded the Parliament; for then it was Dissolved. And We may truly say, Never did King and Parliament in this Kingdom better agree; never was there any Parliament Assembled with greater Expectation, and ended with greater Satisfaction to all the People; Of which we may not improperly insert in this place a Speech, out of that Excellent Ode, upon the King's Restoration and Return, made by the most Celebrated of our English Poets now living, a little before its Dissolution; in the 18th Page whereof, is sung this Passage, I desire to be remembered.

And ill should we deserve this Happy Day,  
If we do not upbraid our former Ignominy;  
You Great Patriots of the Two  
Most truly other Houses now;  
Who have redeem'd from Harred and from Shame,  
A Parliament's once Venerable Name;  
And now the Title of a House restore  
To that which was but Slaughter-House before.  
If my advice, Ye Worthies, might be take  
Within those Reverend Places,  
Which now your Flying Presence graces,  
Your worthy Statues always should remain,  
To keep alive your great Memory,  
And to your Successors an Example be  
Of Truth, Religion, Reason, Loyalty;  
For though we firmly Protest Peace  
May shortly make the Publick Labours cease,  
The grateful Nation, will with joy consent,  
That in this Senate, you should be seated  
(Though yet the Name sounds with some dread)  
To be the Long, the Endless Parliament.

Of all the manifold Sects, and Separations, that sprang up from the licence of the late War, and the Anarchy that reign'd from that time, till the time of his Majesty's Restoration, there were scarce any that dreaded not the Name of Monarchy, as apprehending the Consequence thereof to be a tendency to Uniformity in Church and State; And therefore no marvel if they who heretofore were profess'd Enemies to the King and his Right of Government, were, after his Coming in, agitated with a restless spirit of Impatience and Dissatisfaction, which forbore not several times to manifest it self in such Attempts, as had not a timely stop been put unto them, by the Prudent Foresight and vigilant Care of his Majesty and his Council; might very much have endanger'd the Embroyling of the Nation in a new Civil War. The first Alarm that was given, was by the Fifth Monarchy-men, (they at least were the only hardy men that openly appear'd) a generation of people; however so call'd, the most Invererate Enemies, to the Ancient settled Monarchy of the Nation, of all the whole Hydra; Of these about 50 or 60 mad persons, resolving to venture Neck or nothing, broke forth into open Hostility and Rebellion, under the Conduct of one Thomas Venner, a Cooper, that had lived for some time in New-England, and was of the principle of the Fifth Monarchy, and a Preacher to a Conventicle of those of that Opinion, who usually met in Coleman-street. That which first gave him and his partakers a pretence to their Treason, was the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, (which all good Subjects are oblig'd by the Law to take) exclaiming not only against them in particular, but against all Oaths in general; And when some amongst them, more Ingenious than the rest, advised their Companions not to dispute what was Commanded by their Superiours, since subjection was naturally due to those Powers from whence they expected protection; They were answered by the Seditious, That they had no protection in the exercise of their Religion, but were for the practice thereof expos'd to all manner of Contempts and Miseries. As if a Just Restraint from Extravagancies in Divine Worship, were to be esteem'd Oppression.

The madness of these Men extended so far, as to believe they and the rest of their Judgment were called by GOD to Reform the World, and make all the Earthly Powers (which they call'd Babylon) subservient to the Kingdom of King Jesus; and in order thereunto, never to sheath their Swords; till the carnal Powers of the World became a hissing and a Curse: And by a misguided Zeal; they were so confident in their undertaking, that they were taught and believ'd one should subdue a Thousand, making account when they had led Captive Captivity in England, to go into France, Spain, Germany, and other parts of the World, there to prosecute their holy design.

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The place where they consulted and continued their Conspiracy, was the Meeting-place for their Devotion, and thither they had at several times conveyed Arms. On Sunday the Sixth of January, which was the day before their Execution, (his Majesty at that time being gone to accompany his Royall Mother the Queen-Dowager of Great Brittain, and his Sister the Princess Henrietta Maria, part of their Journey toward France,) they were very late at their Assembly, which made one *Martin*, the Landlord of the House, but not of their Party, somewhat inquisitive after their doings; and as he was going into the Chamber to them, he met *Penny*, who seeing him troubled, told him; *He perceiv'd he thought they stay too long; and that in half an hour's space after they had fought God in their Prayers, they would disperse.* *Martin's* Jealousie of their Actions, made him Consult with a Friend about their unusual manner of Assembling; and he was advis'd to listen at their Door, or peep through some Chink to hear or see what they were about; Which he did, and found them Arming themselves with Backs, Breast, and Head-Pieces; and thereupon he immediately gave Notice thereof to some of the next Officers. But within half an hour of this, they came down, and being met by the Mistress of the House great with Child, who in amazement would have shut the Door upon them, they offer'd to shoot her with a Musquet; upon which in great terror she left them. The Rebels first march'd to *St. Thomas Apostle's*, to call some of their party, and from thence to *Bishop's Gate*, and after to *White-Cross-street*. *Sir Richard Brown*, the Lord Mayor, having notice of their being abroad, got together some Files of the Trained Bands, but not sufficient, as was supposed, to make any impression upon them; they being imagin'd more numerous than they were; by which means they had opportunity to escape to *St. John's Wood*, and from thence to *Cantrells*, *Benning High-Gate* and *Hampstead*.

By this time the Alarm being come to *White-Hall*, and the Generall's Regiment drawn the Duke of York, and he up, with the Earl of Oxford and some others, and some of the Guards, march'd into London, where they were inform'd all the Rebels were dispersed, except a party of them that were seen to go towards *Cath-Way*, whither *Sir Thomas Sandy* was sent with some of the Guards, and a Company of Foot. But by the darkness of the Night they got away, and on Wednesday Morning came again into London, and divided themselves into two Parties, one whereof about 5, and 6, in the Morning appear'd about *Leaden-Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Little Eastcheap*, where they fought obstinately enough, but were dispersed by the Train'd Bands. *Vener* and another Party came to my Lord Mayor's House, thinking to have taken him Prisoner; but missing him, they march'd into *Woodstreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet* and about Twenty Horse; *Corbet* and some of his party Charged through the Rebels, and broke them, where by the Train'd Band Foot that seconded them, had little more to do, than to pursue them. They fought with Courage to admiration; and if they had not been hinder'd by the care of the Lord Mayor from increasing their numbers, a Thousand men to resist 10, might have caus'd such a disturbance in the City, as might have had an influence much further. *Vener* himself was very much wounded before he was taken, and about Five or Six kill'd that refus'd Quarter; of which some of them were so obscure, that their Names were not known. And about eight or ten days after, *Vener* with about Sixteen or Seventeen of the most notorious, were arraigned at *Justice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily*, found guilty, and executed in several parts of London.

Thus ended this desperate Enterprize of a formidable Army of Threecore men, who were insensated to that height of Enthusiastick Valour, that they thought themselves strong enough to encounter the whole Armed force of one of the Greatest and most Populous Cities of the World; The Prince's Guards, the Generall's Troops, the City Train'd Bands, were all swallow'd up in Conceit, by these men of Mickle Might, and little Wit: and I have heard say, they were so insatuated with their golden Dreams, and so Cocksure of success, that they had promis'd to themselves the Partage of the whole Empire of the World among them; Thirsty being design'd for the subduing of the Eastern Parts, and Thirty of the Western: But we have seen what disaster they met with by the Way.

With the Suppression of this Insurrection, and the bringing the Authors thereof to exemplary punishment, together with the decease of *Sir Arthur Haslerigg* in the Tower, who is thought to have died with very Anguish of Mind, to see all his great Designs in an Instant brought to nothing, and himself at the Mercy of a Power he had so long Triumph'd in. We shall conclude this Year, as with the Solemn Coronation of his Majesty; our present History not thinking it enough to have seen him, restor'd to his Throne and rightful Inheritance, without seeing him also Invested with those Ensigns, and Formalities of Regal Dignity, by which all his Predecessors were confirm'd and establish'd Kings of England.

The Poms and Proceedings whereof, in regard they may very well be conceiv'd to have exceeded the Magnificences of all former Coronations, as being perform'd for a PRINCE so miraculously restor'd to his People. We judge not impertinent to be here Inferred; following herein the Observations and Collection (according to the Original unamulいた Copy set forth by himself, and with his own Name prefix'd to the Title) of *Elias Ashmole Esq; Windsor Herald at Arms*; a most Judicious and Curious Inquirer into all Antiquities of this Nature, and exactly vers'd in the publick Ceremonies of State, especially in the Rites and Customs of the most Noble and Illustrious Order of the Garter: The Names and Order of the Companions whereof, as they were settled in their Stalls the 16th of April, 1661. were as followeth:

F. The

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| <p>A</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Sovereign.</li> <li>2. Duke of York.</li> <li>3. Prince Elector of Brandenburg.</li> <li>4. Prince Rupert.</li> <li>5. Earl of Salisbury.</li> <li>6. Earl of Northumberland.</li> <li>7. Duke of Ormond.</li> <li>8. Earl of Southampton.</li> <li>9. Earl of Bristol.</li> <li>10. Count Marstin.</li> <li>11. Earl of Sandwich.</li> <li>12. Duke of Richmond.</li> <li>13. Earl of Manchester.</li> </ol> <p>B</p> | <p>Voyd.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The Elector Palatine.</li> <li>3. Prince of Aurange.</li> <li>4. Prince Edward.</li> <li>5. Earl of Berkshire.</li> <li>6. Duke of Efpernon.</li> <li>7. Duke of Buckingham.</li> <li>8. Marquess of Newcastle.</li> <li>9. Prince of Tarante.</li> <li>10. Duke of Albemarle.</li> <li>11. Earl of Oxford.</li> <li>12. Earl of Lindsey.</li> <li>13. Earl of Strafford.</li> </ol> |
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Likewise, in order to their attendance upon this Grand Solemnity, there were Created 68 Knights of the Bath, Six Earls, and as many Barons. The Names of the Knights of the Bath (they being a Society of Knights never made but at a Coronation) were,

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| <p>C</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lord Clinton.</li> <li>2. Lord Brackley.</li> <li>3. Philip Herbert, Second Son to the Earl of Pembroke.</li> <li>4. William Egerton, Second Son to the Earl of Bridgewater.</li> <li>5. Vere Fane, Second Son to the Earl of Westmerland.</li> <li>6. Charles Berkley, Eldest Son to the Lord Berkley.</li> <li>7. Henry Bellasis, Eldest Son to the Lord Bellasis.</li> <li>8. Henry Hide, Eldest Son to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor.</li> <li>9. Rowland Bellasis, Brother to the Viscount Faulconbridge.</li> <li>10. Henry Capell, Son of the late Lord Capell.</li> <li>11. John Vaughan Esq; Second Son to the Lord Vaughan Earl of Carbury.</li> <li>12. Charles Stanley, Grandchild to the Earl of Derby.</li> <li>13. Francis Fane, 2 Grand-Children to the Earl</li> <li>14. Henry Fane, 5 of Westmerland.</li> <li>15. Sir Williams Portman, Baronet.</li> <li>16. Sir Richard Temple, Baronet.</li> <li>17. Sir William Dacy, Baronet.</li> <li>18. Sir Thomas Trevor, Baronet.</li> <li>19. Sir Jo. Scudamore, Baronet.</li> <li>20. Sir William Gardiner, Baronet.</li> <li>21. Charles Cornwallis, Son to Sir Frederick Cornwallis.</li> <li>22. John Nicholas, Son to Sir Edward Nicholas Principal Secretary of State.</li> <li>23. Jo. Monson.</li> <li>24. Bontcher Wray.</li> <li>25. Jo. Coventry.</li> <li>26. Edward Hungerford.</li> <li>27. Jo. Knevet.</li> <li>28. Philip Butler.</li> <li>29. Adrian Scroop.</li> </ol> <p>G</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>30. Richard Knightley.</li> <li>31. Henry Heron.</li> <li>32. Jo. Lemkener.</li> <li>33. George Brown.</li> <li>34. William Terringham.</li> <li>35. Francis Godolphin.</li> <li>36. Edward Boynton.</li> <li>37. Grevill Verney.</li> <li>38. Edward Harley.</li> <li>39. Ed. Walpole.</li> <li>40. Francis Popham.</li> <li>41. Ed. Wile.</li> <li>42. Cristopher Calthrop.</li> <li>43. Richard Edgcombe.</li> <li>44. William Bromley.</li> <li>45. Thomas Bridges.</li> <li>46. Thomas Fanshaw.</li> <li>47. John Denham.</li> <li>48. Nicholas Bacon.</li> <li>49. James Altham.</li> <li>50. Thomas Wende.</li> <li>51. Jo. Bramston.</li> <li>52. George Freeman.</li> <li>53. Nicholas Slanning.</li> <li>54. Richard Ingoldsby.</li> <li>55. Jo. Bates.</li> <li>56. Edward Heath.</li> <li>57. Williams Morley.</li> <li>58. Jo. Bennet.</li> <li>59. Hugh Smith.</li> <li>60. Simon Leech.</li> <li>61. Henry Chester.</li> <li>62. Robert Atkins.</li> <li>63. Robert Gaye.</li> <li>64. Richard Pawle.</li> <li>65. Hugh Dacy, Another Son of the fore-<br/>said Sir Robert Dacy.</li> <li>66. Steven Hales.</li> <li>67. Ralph Bath.</li> <li>68. Whitmore.</li> </ol> |
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The Commissioners appointed for the calling together of these Knights, were the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Northumberland, Suffolk, Lindsey, and Manchester.

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\* Son of that Sir Robert Dacy, who, in the dangerous times of difficulty and trial, chose rather to contract the Envy of his Brethren, than to recede from those Principles of Allegiance which inspir'd him to adjudge God and Caesar their Due.

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The Twelve Persons Advanc'd in Dignity, were Edward Lord Hyde of Henden, Lord High A Chancellor of England, created Earl of Clarendon. Arthur Lord Capell, created Earl of Essex. Thomas Lord Brudenell, Earl of Cardigan. Arthur Viscount Valentia, Earl of Anglesey. Sir John Greenville, Gentleman of his Majestie's Bed-Chamber, and Groom of the Stool, Earl of Bath. Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle. Denzell Holles Esquire, Lord Hollis of Ifeld. Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Lord Cornwallis of Eye in Suffolk. Sir George Booth, Lord de la Mere. Sir Horatio Townsend, Baron of Lyn Regis. Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Baron of Winton St. Giles. John Cren, Lord Crew of Stole.

On Monday the 22<sup>d</sup> of April, his Majestie, according to the Ancient Custome, made his Caval-Cade from the Tower to Westminster, in such a glorious and splendid manner, that it seem'd to out-vie whatever had been seen before of Gallantry and Riches, the gorgeoufness of Apparell, the sparkling of Gems, the lustre of Gold, in a continued Train so dazling the Spectator's sight, as if both the Indies had been Summon'd over to attend at this Day's Triumph: In preparation to which, Four very Stately and Magnificent Triumphant Arches had been Erected by the City, (according as their Charter obligeth them upon such an occasion) for his Majestie to passe through to his Coronation.

The First in Leaden-Hall-Street, near Lime-street End, made after the Dorick Order, representing his Majestie's happy Arrivall in England.

The Second, being a Navall Representation, was near the Exchange in Cornhill.

The Third, consisting of the Corinthian and composite Order, and representing the Temple of Concord, was plac'd in Cheap-side, near Woodstreet End.

The Fourth, consisting of the Dorick and Ionick Orders, and representing the Garden of Plenty, stood in Fleetstreet, near White-Frirs.

All Four of them being describ'd at large in a Treatise particularly set forth to that purpose by Mr. John Ogilby.

The Proceeding of his Majestie from the Tower to Westminster, was in this following Order:

The Duke of York's Horse-Guard. Messengers of the Chamber. Esquires to the Knights of the Bath. Knight Harbinger. Sergeant Porter. Sewers of the Chamber. Quarter-Waiters. The Six Clerks of the Chancery.

Clerks of the Signet, Parliament, Of the Signet, Crown, Privy Seal, Council.

Chaplains having Dignities, Ten in Number. The King's Advocate, and Remembrancer. The King's Learned Council at Law. Masters of the Chancery. King's puisne Serjeants. King's Attorney, and Solicitor. King's Eldest Serjeants. Secretaries of the French and Latin Tongues. Gentlemen Ushers Dayly Waiters. Sewers, Carvers, and Cup-Bearers in Ordinary. Esquires of the Body. Masters of standing

Offices, being no Councillours, viz. Of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armory, Wardrobe, Ordnance. Masters of the Requests. Chamberlains of the Exchequer. Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges of the Law, according to their Dignities. Lord Chief Baron: And Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. Master of the Rolls. Chief Justice.

Trumpets. Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber. Knights of the Bath. Knight-Marshal. Treasurer of the Chamber, Master of the Jewel-house. Barons younger Sons. Viscounts younger Sons. Knights of the Privy Council. Barons Eldest Sons. Earls younger Sons. Viscounts Eldest Sons.

The Trumpets and Serjeant Trumpets. Two Pursuivants at Arms. Barons. Marquesses younger Sons. Earls Eldest Sons. Viscounts. Dukes younger Sons. Marquesses Eldest Sons.

Two Heralds. Earls. Earl Marshal: And Lord Chamberlain of the Household. Dukes Eldest Sons. Two Heralds.

Marquesses. Dukes. Clarendon, and Norroy. Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor. Lord High Steward. Two Persons Representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. Gent. Ushers. Garter. L. Mayor.

The Duke of York alone. The Lord High Constable of England. The Lord Great Chamberlain of England. The Sword born by the Duke of Richmond.

THE KING.

Esquires, and Footmen next his Majesty. Gentlemen, and Pensioners without them. The Matter of the Horse leading a spare Horse. The Vice-Chamberlain to the King. Captain

A Captain of the Pensioners. Captain of the Guard. The Guard. The King's Horse-Guard. The General's Horse-Guard.

1661.

The Proceedings on the day of his MAJESTIE'S Coronation were as followeth:

Upon the 23<sup>d</sup> of April, being St. George's Day, about half an hour after seven in the Morning, the King entred into His Rich Barge, took Water from the Privy-Stairs at White-Hall, and landed at the Parliament-Stairs: From whence He proceeded up to the Room behind the Lords-House, called the Prince's Lodgings, where, after He had repoled Himself for a while, He was arrayed in His Royal Robes of Crimson Velvet, furr'd with Ermine: By which time the Nobility, being assembled, rold themselves in the Lords-House, and Painted-Chamber.

The Judges also, with those of the Long-Robe, the Knights of the Bath, and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, met in the Court of Requests.

After some space, the Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants, began to set the Proceeding in Order, each of them taking his share assigned in Chapter, (held at the Heralds-Office the Evening before) and thence directed all the before-mentioned Degrees (except the Nobility) down into Westminster-Hall, where the rest of the Proceeding attended, and from whence the March began.

About half an hour after Nine, the Nobility (having been first called over in the Painted-Chamber) proceeded each according to his Rank, and Dignity, in their Robes, and Coronets, before the King, through the Court of Requests, into Westminster-Hall, ascended up to the State, which was raised at the West-end, and placed themselves upon each side thereof.

His Majesty being set in his Chair, under a rich Cloth of State: First, Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Master of the Jewel-House, presented the Sword of State, as also the Sword called Curiana; and two other Swords, to the Lord High-Constable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the last) laid them upon the Table before the King.

Then the said Master of the Jewel-House delivered likewise the Spurs to the Lord High Constable; and he again the same to the Lord High Chamberlain, who also placed them upon the Table.

Immediately after the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, (by whom the Regalia had been brought in Procession from the Abbey-Church unto Westminster-Hall) being vested in rich Copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof, in manner following:

The Serjeant of the Vestry, in a Scarlet Mantle. The Children of the King's Chappel, being twelve in number, in Scarlet Mantles. The Quire of Westminster in Surplices. The Gentleman of the King's Chappel, being thirty three in number, in Scarlet Mantles. The Pursuivants, Heralds, and Provincial Kings. The Dean, carrying St. Edward's Crown. Doctour Helya, the Scepter with the Cross. Doctour Heywood, the Scepter with the Dove. Doctour Nicholas, the Orb with the Cross. Doctour Killegrev, King Edward's Staff. Doctour Jones, the Chalice, and Patena. Doctour Dowry, the Spoon. Doctour Busby, the Ampulla.

All standing towards the lower end of the Hall, ready to proceed, they made their first Reverence together; then coming to the middle of the said Hall, they there made a second; and thence going a litle further, both the Quires fell off, and stood on either side, through which Lane, the Pursuivants, Heralds, and Kings passing, fell likewise off on either side, the Seniors still placing themselves uppermost towards the Throne: after whom, the Dean and Prebends proceeded, and arrived at the foot of the Stone-Steps, ascending to the Throne, where they made another Reverence.

This being done, the Dean and Prebends, with Garter, Principal King of Arms before them, (he having waited their coming thither) ascended the Steps, and approaching near to the Table before the King, made their last Reverence.

The Dean first presented the Crown, which was by the Lord High Constable, and Lord Great Chamberlain, set upon the Table; who afterwards took from each of the Prebends that part of the Regalia, which they carried, and laid them also by the Crown: which done, they retired.

Then, the Lord Great Chamberlain presenting the Regalia severally to the King, His Majesty thereupon disposed of them unto the Noble-men hereafter named, to be carried by them in the Proceeding to the Abbey-Church, viz.

St. Edward's Staff to the Earl of Sandwich. The Spurs to the Earl of Penbroke, and Montgomery. The Scepter with the Cross to the Earl of Bedford. The Painted Sword (born on the left hand of Curiana) to the Earl of Derby. The Pointed Sword (born on the right hand thereof) to the Earl of Shrewsbury. The Sword called Curiana to the Earl of Oxford. The Sword of State to the Earl of Manchester. The Scepter with the Dove to the Duke of Albemarle.

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The Orb with the Crofs to the Duke of Buckingham.  
St. Edward's Crown to the Duke of Ormond.  
The Patena to the Bishop of Exeter; And lastly,  
The Chalice to the Bishop of London.

And because the Spoon and Ampulla were not to be born in the Proceeding, and therefore ought not to have been brought thither, but placed upon the High-Altar, in the Abbey-Church, there to lye in readiness; they were not presented to the King, but commanded to be sent back thither, and laid thereon.

All things being thus prepared, and it being about Ten a Clock, the Proceeding began from out the said Hall into the Palace-Tard, through the Gate-House, and the end of King's-street, thence along the Great Sanctuary, and so to the West-end of the Abbey-Church, where upon Blew Cloth, which was spread upon the Ground, from the Throne in Westminster-Hall, to the great Steps in the Abbey-Church, by Sir George Carteret Knight, Vice-Chamberlain, appointed by the King to be his Almoner for this Day.

The Proceeding to the Coronation was in this following Order.

**T**HE Drums four. The Trumpets sixteen, in four Classes.  
The Six Clerks of the Chancery. Ten of the King's Chaplains, having Dignity.  
The Aldermen of London. The King's Learned Councill at Law.  
The King's Attorney. The King's eldest Sergeant at Law.  
The Esquires of the Body. The Masters of Request.  
The Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber. The Knights of the Bath.  
The Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches, two and two, in order, according to their Seniority of the Coif.  
The Lord Chief Baron. The Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.  
The Master of the Rolls. The Lord Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench.  
The Serjeant-Porter. The Serjeant of the Vistry. The Children of the King's Chappell. The Gentlemen of the King's Chappell. The Prebends of Westminster.  
The Master of the Jewel-House, who now had Precedency of the Judges, in regard he brought the Sword, and Spurs into Westminster-Hall, and the Ring to the Church.  
The Knights of the Privy-Council. Pursuivants at Arms.  
The Barons in their Robes, two and two, carrying their Caps of Crimson Velvet, turned up with Miniver, in their Hands.  
The Bishops, two and two, according to their Dignities, and Consecrations.  
Rouge-Croix, Blew-mantle, Pursuivants.  
The Viscounts, two and two, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their Hands.  
Somerset, Chester, Herald.  
The Earls, two and two, in their Robes, holding their Coronets in their Hands.  
Richmond, Windsor, Herald.  
The Marquels of Dorchester, The Marquels of Worcester, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their Hands.  
Lancaster, York, Herald.  
Notroy, Clarencieux, Provincial Kings,  
The Lord High-Treasurer. The Lord High-Chancellor.  
St. Edward's Staff, born by the Earl of Sandwich. The Spurs, born by the Earl of Bedford.  
The third Sword drawn, and born by the Earl of Oxford.  
The Lord Mayor of London. The Earl of Lincoln, Lord Great Chamberlain of England.  
The Earl of Suffolk. The Sword of State in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of Mar.  
The Earl of Northampton. The Sword of State in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of Mar.  
The Earl of Northampton. The Sword of State in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of Mar.  
The Earl of Northampton. The Sword of State in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of Mar.

His Highness the Duke of York.

The Scepter, with the Dove, born by the Duke of Alenmarck.  
St. Edward's Crown, born by the Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward for this present occasion.  
The Orb, born by the Duke of Buckingham.  
The Patena, born by the Bishop of Exeter in his Cope.  
The Regale, or Chalice, born by the Bishop of London in his Cope.

1661.

The KING

supported by the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Duresme.

His Train born by the Lords

Mauderil, Cavendish, Offory, and Percy; and assisted by the Lord Mansfield, Master of the Robes.

The Lord Lauderdale,

one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, to be near the King.

Mr. Ashburnham,

Mr. Scamour,

both Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

Captain of the Guard.

Captain of the Pensioners.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

When the Proceeding had entred the Abbey-Church, all passed through the Quire, and thence went up the Stairs toward the great Stage, and, as they arrived at the top thereof, were disposed by the Heralds into two Galleries, built on either side the upper end of the Quire.

That, on the North side, received the Aldermen of London, the Judges, and Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, the Quire of Westminster, the Gentlemen and Children of the King's Chappell, (excepting twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist, who went into a Gallery, raised on the South-side of the Upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them;) and, in the Gallery, on the South-side, were seated the Knights of the Bath, and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

The King, being entred the West-Door of the Abbey-Church, was received with an Anthem, begun by the Quire of Westminster; who, with the Dean, and Prebends, had before fallen off from the Proceeding, a little on the left hand of the middle file, and stayed there to attend His coming, where also a Fold-stool, and Cushions were laid ready for His Majesty to kneel at.

The Anthem sung was the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth Verses of the 122<sup>d</sup> Psalm:

*I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the House of the Lord, &c.*

The King, arriving at the Fold-stool, kneeled down, and used some private Ejaculations; which being finished, He thence proceeded into, and through the Quire, up to the great Theatre (erected close to the four high Pillars, standing between the Quire and the Altar) upon which the Throne of Estate was placed, (being a Square raised on five Degrees) at the Entrance whereof were set a Chair, Foot-stool, and Cushion, covered with Cloth of Gold, whereon He reposed Himself.

Immediately after the Bishop of London (who was appointed to Officiate, in part, that Day, for the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whose age and weakness rendered him incapable of performing his whole Duty at the Coronation) having the Lord High-Constable, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High-Chancellor, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household before him, went first to the South, next to the West, and lastly, to the North-side of the Theatre; and at every of the said three sides, acquainted the People, That he presented to them King CHARLES, the rightful Inheritor of the Crown of this Realm; and asked them, If they were willing to do their Homage, Service, and Bounden Duty to Him.

As this was doing, the King rose up, and stood by the aforesaid Chair, turning His Face full to that side of the Stage, where the said Bishop stood, when he spake to the People; who signified their willingness, by loud Shouts, and Acclamations.

The same Question was likewise put by the said Bishop to all the Nobility present.

Immediately after, this following Anthem was sung by the Gentlemen of the King's Chappell:

*Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.*

In which time, a large Carpet was spread by a Groom and Page of the removing Wardrobe, from the Altar, down below the half Faces thereof, and over that a Silk Carpet, and Cushion, laid by the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. Kinnsley: whereupon the Bishop of London went down from the Stage towards the Altar, and, having made his Reverence, placed Himself at the North-side thereof.

Then the King descended from His Throne, and proceeded towards the Altar, being supported by the Bishops of Duresme, and Bath and Wells, with the Four Swords, the grand Officers, the Noblemen, and Bishops, that carried the Regalia before Him, the Dean of Westminster also attending. Being arrived at the Steps of the Altar, He kneeled down upon the Cushion, there laid ready for Him;

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him, having first offered the *Pall*, (which was of Cloth of Gold, and born by the Earl of *Sandwich*) as also a *Wedge of Gold* of a pound weight, (presented unto His Hands by the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treasurer of His *Household*) both which were received from the King by the Bishop of *London*, who laid them reverently upon the *Altar*. Immediately after, His Majesty retired to a *Chair of State*, set on the *South-side* of the *Altar*, a little below the *Traverse* of *Crimson Taffety*. After this, the Bishops, and Noble-men, that carried the *Regalia*, drew near to the *Altar*, and presented every particular to the said Bishop of *London*, who placed them also upon the *Altar*; and having so done, they retired to their Seats. Whereupon the King kneeled at a *Fald-stool* (set on the right sides of his *Chair of State*) whilst the Bishop of *London* said this Prayer.

O God, which dost visit those, that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, send down thy Grace upon this thy Servant CHARLES, that by Him we may feel thy Presence among us, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

This Prayer ended, the Bishop of *Worcester* went up into the *Pulpit*, placed on the *North-side* of the *Altar*, opposite to the King, and began his SERMON, the Text being taken out of the 28th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, and the second Verse.

From the beginning of the aforesaid Offering to this time the KING was bare, but now He put on His Cap, made of *Crimson Velvet*, turn'd up with *Ermings*: with which He face covered all the *Sermon-time*.

On the King's right hand stood the Bishop of *Durresme*, and beyond him the Noble-men, that carried the *Swords*, who held them naked, and erect. The Duke of *York* sat a little behind Him on His left hand; next to whom stood the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, together with the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord High Chancellor, and Lord High Treasurer, sat on a Form behind the Duke of *York*; and behind them, in a Gallery, sat the *Duchess of York*.

In the same Gallery also were placed.

Baron *Bateville*, Ordinary Ambassador from *Spain*.

Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, Extraordinary Ambassador from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Monsieur *Weyman*, the Elector's Chancellor, who was joyned in Commission with him.

The Count *Coningsmark*, Envoy from *Sweden*.

Monsieur *Frisendorf*, Resident of *Sweden*.

Monsieur *Patcon*, Resident of *Denmark*.

Monsieur *Plessis Belliere*, Envoy from Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans*.

Signieur *Gjavarina*, Resident of *Venice*. Signieur *Bernardi*, Resident of *Genoa*.

Monsieur *La-Motte*, and Monsieur *Frays*, Envoys from the Prince Elector.

Monsieur *Gormert*, Deputy extraordinary from *Hamburg*.

An Envoy from the Cardinal of *Hesse*.

The Marquess de *Montbrun*, with several other Gentlemen-strangers.

But, Don *Francisco de Mello*, the Ambassador of *Portugal*, was placed in the Lord Chamberlain's Box.

On the *North-side* of the *Altar* sat the Bishop of *London*, directly opposite to the King in the Arch-Bishops Chair, covered with *Purple Velvet*: the rest of the Bishops were placed on Forms behind him.

And higher, towards *St. Edward's Chappel*, stood *Garter*, Principal King of Arms, with the Officers of the standing and moving *Ward-robes*, viz. Mr. *Rumbal*, and Mr. *Townsend*, and Mr. *Kinnerley*, in *Scarlet Gowns*; having a *Crown* embroidered with *Gold* on their left Sleeves; the *Groom* and *Page* of the *Ward-robe* having *Scarlet Gowns* also, but not the *Badg* of the *Crown*; the *Serjeant* of the *Vestry* with his gilt *Verge*; and other *Vergers*: with them also stood Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Seymour*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Progers*, and Mr. *Chiffinch*, with some other of the King's Servants, who attended to do Service.

Opposite to them, on the *South-side* of the *Altar*, stood the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Westminster*. *St. Edward's* ancient *Chair*, (covered all over with Cloth of *Gold*) was placed upon the *North-side* of the *Altar*, a little lower then that belonging to the Arch-Bishop, but something nearer the middle of the *Isle*, and between the King's *Chair of State* and the *Pulpit*.

Near the *Pulpit* stood the *Master of the Jewel-House*, and the Lord Mayor of *London*. The Nobility, not formerly named, (who were seated upon Forms round about the in-side of the *Stage*) when *Sermon* began, drew near to that side thereof, which faced the *High Altar*, and stood there.

On the Corners of the *Stage*, near the *High Altar*, adjoining to the two uppermost Pillars, were Places raised in for the *Provincial Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Pursuivants*.

The *Serjeants at Arms*, being sixteen in number, stood with their *Maces* on their Shoulders, within the *Rails*, on either side the Entrance of the *Stage* from the *Quire*.

Over the *Door*, and at the *West-end* of the *Quire*, stood the *Drums*, and *Trumpets*.

*Sermon* being ended, the King uncovered His Head, and immediately the Bishop of *London* arose from his Seat, and drew near to the King's *Chair of State*, and asked Him His willingness to take the usual Oath to confirm the *Laws* to the *People*, and namely the *Franchises* granted to the *Clergy* by *St. Edward* the *Confessor*, to maintain the *Gospel* established in the *Kingdom*, to keep *Peace*, execute *Justice*, and grant the *Commons* the rightful *Customs*: unto every of which Questions His Majesty made particular Answers, That He would.

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A Then the Bishop of *Rockester* read the Bishop's *Petition* to the King; the *Prayer* whereof was, That He would preserve unto them, and the *Churches* committed to their Charge, all *Canonical Privileges*, due *Law*, and *Justice*, and protect, and defend Them, and the *Churches*, under their Government: Which his Majesty most graciously by a large Answer (which repeated the words of the *Petition*) granted, and promised to perform.

Afterwards the King, assisted by the Bishops of *Durresme*, and *Bath and Wells*, was led from his *Chair* up to the *Altar* (the *Sword of State* being born before Him, and the Lord Great Chamberlain attending) where He took an Oath to perform, and keep what He had promised.

Which Oath taken, the King was led in like manner back to His *Chair of State*, and immediately the Bishop of *London* begun the *Hymn*, Come Holy Ghost, eternal God, &c. the *Quires* singing the rest of it.

And a little before the ending thereof, the *Fald-stool* was set again at the King's right Hand; whereat (as soon as the *Hymn* was finished) He kneeled, the Bishop of *London* standing before him, and saying the following Prayer.

We beseech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, and everlasting God, for This thy Servant Charles, &c.

The Prayer ended, the Bishop of *London* went to the *North-side* of the *Altar*, the King still kneeling, and forthwith the Bishops of *Peterborough*, and *Gloucester*, went, and kneeled on the upper huilt-pice of the *Altar*, where they began the *Letany*, the *Quires* singing the *Responses*; the *Dean of Westminster* kneeling all the while at the King's left Hand.

After the *Letany* followed three Prayers, said by the Bishop of *London* at the *North-side* of the *Altar*; and, a little before the last of them was ended, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* came out at the *North-door* of *St. Edward's Chappel*, vested in a rich, ancient Cope.

At the ending of the third Prayer, the said Archbishop standing before the *Altar*, began the *Versicle*,

Lift up your Hearts.

Resp.

We lift them up to the Lord.

Arch-Bishop.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.

Resp.

It is meet and right so to do.

Arch-Bishop.

It is very meet, and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, &c.

This Preface being finish'd, the King arose from before the *Fald-stool*, and went to the *Altar*, supported by the aforesaid Bishops of *Durresme*, and *Bath and Wells*: where He was disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of His *Royal Robes*, which were immediately carried thence into the *Traverse* erected in *St. Edward's Chappel*.

Whilst this was in doing, the *Chair*, that was before placed at the entrance of the *Stage*, was removed, and set on the *North-side* of the *Altar*, betwixt it, and *St. Edward's Chair*, whereunto the King came, sat down, and was anointed by the said Arch-Bishop, (while the *Dean of Westminster* held the *Ampulla*, and poured the *Oyl* out into the *Spoon*) first in the *Palms* of both His Hands, in manner of a *Cross*; the Arch-Bishop, as he anointed him, pronouncing these words,

Let these Hands be anointed with Holy Oyl, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be King; that Thou mayst be blessed, and established KING in this Kingdom, and this People, whom the Lord Thy God hath given thee to rule over: which he vouchsafe to grant, who, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, Three in Person, and One in Unitie, be blessed, and praised, now, and for evermore. Amen.

After which, the *Quire* sung this Anthem,

Sadoc the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the People rejoiced, and said, God saw the KING.

At the end of which Anthem, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer,

Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable Countenance upon This Glorious KING, &c.

And then proceeded with his anointing on the King's Breast, between His Shoulders, on both His Shoulders, the two bowings of His Arms, and on the Crown of His Head, in manner aforesaid.

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Which being done, the Anointing was dried up with fine Linen, and the Loops of His Shirt closed up by the Dean of Westminster, and then the Arch-Bishop said these two Prayers, A  
*God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, who is anointed of his Father with the oyl of Gladness above his fellows, &c. God, which art the Glory of the Righteous, and the Mercy of Sinners, &c.*

During the time of Unction, a rich Pall of Cloth of Gold (brought from the great Ward-robe by Mr. Kumball) was held over the King's Head by the Dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, the Earls of Berks and Sandwich, as Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

After these Prayers, the Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the Coffe to the Arch-Bishop, who put it on the King's Head, and immediately after, the Dean of Westminster put the Coif, with the Colobium Sindonis, or Surplice upon the King: whereupon the Arch-Bishop said this short Prayer, B

*O God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do reign, and Lawgivers do make good Laws, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour, to bless this Kingly Ornament, and grant, that thy Servant Charles, our King, who shall wear it, may shine in thy sight with the Ornament of a good Life, and holy Actions; and, after this life ended, He may for ever enjoy that Life, and Glory, which hath no end, through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

This said, the Dean of Westminster, having likewise fetched the Tissue-Hose and Sandals from the Altar, he arrayed the King therewith; as also with the Super-tunica, or close Pall of Cloth of Gold, and girded the same about Him.

But the Taffetyed Shirt was not made use of at all.

After all this, the said Dean took the Spurs from off the Altar, and delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touched the King's Heels therewith, and forthwith sent them back to the Altar.

Then the Arch-Bishop received the Sword of State in the Scabbard from the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and laid it upon the Altar, saying this Prayer,

*Hear our Prayers, we beseech thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by thy right hand of Majesty, to bless, and sanctifie this Sword, wherewith thy Servant Charles desireth to be girt, that it may be a Defence, and Protection of Churches, Widows, and Orphans, and all the Servants of God, against the savage cruelty of Pagans, and Infidels; and that it may be a Fear and Terrour to all those that lie in wait to do mischief, through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

This Prayer finished, the Arch-Bishop and Bishops assisting, delivered the Sword back to the King, saying, *Accipe gladium per manus Episcoporum.*

Whereupon, the Lord Great Chamberlain girt it about the King, and the Arch-Bishop said,

*Receive this Kingly Sword, which is hallowed for the defence of the Holy Church, and delivered unto Thee by the hands of the Bishops, though unworthy, yet consecrated by the authority of the holy Apostles, &c.*

After this, the Dean of Westminster took the \* Armit, made of Cloth of Tissue, (brought thither by Mr. Kumball, on the behalf of the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the great Ward-robe) and put it about the King's Neck, and tyed it to the bowings of His Arms, the Arch-Bishop standing before the King, with the Bishop of London, on his right Hand, and saying,

*Receive the Armit of sincerity, and wisdom, as a Token of God's embracing, whereby all Thy works may be defended against Thine Enemies, both bodily, and Ghostly, through Christ our Lord.*

Next the Mantle, or open Pall, made of Cloth of Gold, and lined with red Taffety, was put upon Him by the said Dean; the Arch-Bishop likewise using the words of Signification, viz.

*Receive this Pall, which is formed with four Corners, to let Thee understand, that the four Corners of the World are subject to the Power of God; and that no Man can happily reign upon the Earth, who hath not received his authority from Heaven.*

In the next place, the Arch-Bishop took Saint Edward's Crown, and blessed it, saying,

*God, the Crown of the Faithful, &c. bless, and sanctifie this Crown, that as the same is adorned with divers precious Stones, so This thy Servant, that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold Graces of all precious Vertues, through the King eternal, thy Son our Lord. Amen.*

In the mean time, St. Edward's Chair was removed into the middle of the Isle, and set right over against the Altar, whither the King went, and sat down in it, and then the Arch-Bishop brought St. Edward's Crown from the Altar, and put it upon His Head.

Whereupon, all the People, with loud and repeated shouts, cried, *God save the KING;* and, by a Signal then given, the great Ordinance from the Tower were also shot off.

At

A At the ceasing of these Acclamations, the Arch-Bishop went on, saying,

*God crown Thee with a Crown of Glory, and Righteousness, with the honour and work of Fortitude, that Thou by Thy Ministrie, having a Right Faith and manifold fruit of good Works, mayst obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of him, whose Kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.*

Adding therunto this Prayer,

*O God of Eternity, &c. Bless This thy Servant, who \* boweth His Head unto thy Majesty, &c.*

B After the Prayer, the Arch-Bishop read the Comfortare,

*Be strong, and of a good Courage, and observe the Commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, &c.*

And the mean while, the Quires sung this Anthem,

*And the King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord. Exceeding glad shall He be of thy Salvation, &c.*

C Upon this, the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Viscounts put on their Coronets; the Barons their Caps; and divers of them came and stood about the KING, who still sat in St. Edward's Chair.

Mr. Garter and the Provincial Kings put on their Crowns, also.

Then the Master of the Jewel-House delivered to the Arch-Bishop the Ring, who consecrated it, after this manner, saying,

*Bless, O Lord, and sanctifie this Ring, that Thy Servant, wearing it, may be sealed with the Ring of Faith, and by the Power of the Highest be preserved from sin, and let all the Blessings, which are found in Holy Scripture, plentifully descend upon Him; that whatsover He shall sanctifie, may be holy; and whatsoever He bless, may be blessed. Amen.*

After which, he put it upon the fourth Finger of the King's right Hand, and said,

*Receive this Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it the Seal of Catholick Faith; that as this Day Thou art adorned the Head and Prince of this Kingdom, and People, so Thou mayst persevere as the Author, and Establisher of Christianity, and the Christian Faith; that, being rich in Faith, and happy in Works, Thou mayst reign with him, that is King of Kings; to whom be Honour, and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.*

E And then began this Prayer,

*O God, to whom belongeth all Power, and Dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles the Fruit of His Dignity, wherein grant He may long continue, and fear thee always, and always labour to please thee, through Christ our Lord. Amen.*

When this Prayer was finished, the livery Gloves were delivered to the KING by the Lord Great Chamberlain: who, going to the Altar, ungirt his Sword, and offered it at the Altar in the Scabbard: which being rededified by the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, was drawn out of the Scabbard, and carried naked by him all the following part of the Solemnity.

F Then the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter with the Cross, from off the Altar, and delivered it into the King's right Hand, saying,

*Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Kingly Power, the Rod of Kingdoms, the Rod of Vertue, that Thou govern Thy Self aright, and defend the Holy Church, and Christian People committed by God unto Thy Charge, punish the Wicked, and protect the Just, and lead them in the ways of Righteousness, and that from this Temporal Kingdom Thou mayst be advanced to an Eternal Kingdom, by his Goodness, whose Kingdom is everlasting. Amen.*

G While this was pronounced by the Arch-Bishop, Mr. Henry Howard delivered to the King a rich Glove, which he put on his right hand, and then received the Scepter. And after that, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer,

*O Lord, the Fountain of all good things, &c. Grant, we beseech thee, to This thy Servant Charles, that He may order aright the Dignity, which He hath obtained, &c.*

During which time, the said Mr. Howard performed the service of supporting the King's right Arm,

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\* At which words the King bowed His Head.

\* Armillæ sunt in modum stole, & ab utraque scapula usque ad Compages Brachiorum cruce dependentes, in ipsis Compagibus laqueis sericis connexæ.

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Arm, according it was adjudged to him by the Court of Claims, by virtue of holding the *Manner of Workop* in the County of Nottingham. Next of all, the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter with the Dove, and gave it into the King's Hand also, saying,

Receive the Rod of Vertue, and Equity, learn to make much of the Godly, and to terrise the wicked; shew the way to those that go astray, offer Thy Hand to those that fall, repress the proud, lift up the lowly, that our Lord Jesus Christ may open to Thee the Door, who saith of himself, I am the Door, by me if any man enter, he shall be safe. And let him be Thy Help, who is the Key of David, and the Scepter of the House of Israel, who openeth, and no man shutteth, who shutteth, and no man openeth; who bringeth the Captive out of Prison where he sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death, That in all things Thou mayst follow him, of whom the Prophet David saith, The Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God hath anointed thee with the Oyl of gladness above thy fellows, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After which, the KING knelt, holding both the Scepter in His Hands, while the Arch-Bishop thus blessed Him,

The Lord blefs Thee, and keep Thee; and as he hath made Thee King over his People, so he will prosper Thee in this World, and in the World to come. Amen.

Then the KING arose, and set Himself again in St. Edward's Chair, while the Arch-Bishop and Bishops, present, one after another, knelt before Him, and were kissed by Him. In the mean time, the King's Chair of State, wherein He was anointed, was set above the upper Steps at the entrance upon the Theatre, whither the KING came, as He had performed the Ceremony of kissing the Bishops, having now four Swords borne naked before Him, the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and Great Officers attending: at His arrival there, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer, the King kneeling,

Grant, O Lord, that the Clergie, and People, gathered together by thine Ordinance for this service of the KING, may by the most gracious assistance of thy goodness, and thy continual care of thy Servant our KING, be continually governed, and prospered in all happiness.

Then the KING arose, and reposed Himself in the said Chair, while both the Quire sung Te Deum.

When Te Deum was ended, the King ascended His Throne placed in the middle of the Theatre, the Swords, and Great Officers standing on either side; as also the Bishops, some in Copes, others in Rochets, the Arch-Bishop then saying,

Stand, and hold fast from henceforth that Place, wherof hitherto You have been Heir by the Succession of your Fore-fathers, &c.

After this, the Bishops, and Nobility did their Homage to the King in manner following. And first the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury knelt down before the King's Knees, and said,

I, William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, shall be Faithful, and True, and Faith, and Truth bear unto You, Our Sovereign Lord, and Your Heirs, Kings of England, and shall do, and truly acknowledge the Service of the Land, which I claim to hold of You, in the right of the Church: So help me God.

Which said, he kissed the King's left Cheek.

The like did all the other Bishops, that were present.

Then came up the Duke of York, with Garter, Principal King of Arms, before Him, and his Train born by two Gentlemen, who, being arrived at the Throne, knelt down before the King, G put off his Coronet, and did his Homage: at which the Drums beat, Trumpets sounded, and all the People shouted.

The like did the Dukes of Buckingham, and Albemarle, for themselves, and the rest of the Dukes.

So also did the Marquesses of Worcester, and Dorchester.

Next, the Earl of Oxford did homage after the same manner for himself, and all the rest of the Earls, who attended upon him to signify their contents.

After him, Viscount Hereford did the like for himself, and the rest of the Viscounts; and then the Drums beat, and Trumpets sounded again, and the People shouted.

A Lastly, Baron Audley in like manner did homage for himself, and all the Barons, who also accompanied him to the Throne, in testification of their Consents; which being finished, Drums, Trumpets, and Shouts followed.

Note, That the Words of Homage were said by every one of the Nobility, that knelt down, viz.

I, N. N. do become Your Liege-man of Life, and Limb, and of Earthly Majesty; and Faith, and Truth I shall bear unto You, to live, and die, against all manner of Folks: So God me help.

B Afterwards the Duke of York, and all the Nobility singly ascended the Throne, and touched the King's Crown, promising by that Ceremony to be ever ready to support it with all their power.

During the performing of this Solemn Ceremony, the Lord High Chancellour went to the South, West, and North-sides of the Stage, and proclaimed to the People the King's General Pardon, being attended by Mr. Garter to the South-side, and by a Gentleman-Usher, and two Heralds to the other two Sides.

And at these three Sides, at the same time, did the Lord Cornwallis, Treasurer of His Majesty's Household, Ring abroad the Medals, both of Gold, and Silver, prepared for the Coronation, as a Princely Donation, or Largess, among the People.

The King being thus enthronized, the Gentlemen of his Chappel began this following Anthem,

C Behold, O Lord, our Defender, and look upon the Face of thine Anointed.

The Violins, and other Instrumental Musick, (who were robed in Scarlet Mantles, and placed in a Gallery erected over against them, on the North-side of the Altar) answering alternately: at the ending of which Anthem, the Trumpets sounded, and Drums beat again. In which time the Bishop of London went up to the High-Altar, and began the Communion; and immediately the King took off His Crown, and delivered it to the Lord High Chamberlain to hold; the Scepter with the Cross to Mr. Henry Howard, and that with the Dove to the Duke of Albemarle.

The Epistle (taken out of the First Epistle of St. Peter, the second Chapter, and beginning at the eleventh Verse) was read by the Bishop of Chichester.

D The Gospel (being part of the twenty second Chapter of St. Matthew, beginning at the fifteenth Verse) by the Bishop of Ely.

After which, the Nicene Creed was began by the Bishop of London, and sung by the Gentlemen of the Chappel, with Verse, and Chorus, (that, and the rest of the special Musick, for the Solemnity, being set by Caprain Cook, Master of the Children of his Majesty's said Chappel) The Violins, and other Instrumental Musick, placed in the Gallery over against them, alternately playing.

All which time the King stood by His Throne.

But towards the end of the Creed He took again his Crown from the Lord Great Chamberlain, and put it on his Head; as also the Scepter with the Cross from Mr. Howard, and that with the Dove from the Duke of Albemarle, and prepared for His Descent from his Throne towards the Altar, to receive the Communion.

E And, as soon as the singing of the Creed was fully ended, the King descended with the Crown on his Head, and Scepters in both Hands, (the Bishops of Durham, and Bath and Wells, supporting him) with the four Swords naked before, and all the great Officers attending.

In the time of this Proceeding, the Quire sung.

Let my Prayer come up into thy presence as the Incense, and the lifting up of my hand be as an Evening-Sacrifice.

Here the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury retired from the Ceremonies into St. Edward's Chappel, and thence went home, leaving the remainder of his Duty to be performed by the Bishop of London.

F At the King's approach to the Altar, the Bishop of Ely delivered unto Him Bread, and Wine, which He there offered, and then returned to the Fold-stool, on the South-side of the Altar, near His Chair of State, before which He knelt down, and laid His Crown upon the Cushion before Him, towards his right Hand; and the Scepter with the Dove, on his left; and gave again to Mr. Howard the Scepter with the Cross, who held it, kneeling on the King's right Hand: the Grand Officers, and the Noble men, with the four Swords naked, and erect, standing about Him.

Then the Bishop of London said this Prayer,

Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctifie them unto This holy Use, &c.

G At the end of which, the Lord Cornwallis, Treasurer of the Household, presented the King with another Wedge of Gold, which goeth under the name of the Mark of Gold. This the King offered into the Basin, kneeling still at His Fold-stool, while the Bishop of London said the following Prayer,

Almighty God, give Thee the dew of Heaven, and the farness of the Earth, and abundance of Corn, and Wine, &c.

Amen

And

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And next pronounced this Blessing,

*Bless, O Lord, the virtuous carriage of This KING, and accept the work of His Hands: replenish the Realm with the Blessings of Heaven, of the Dew, of the Water, and of the Dews.*

Then the Bishop proceeded to the Consecration of the Sacrament: which being finished, he first of all received; next, the Dean of Westminster; then, the Bishop of Bath and Wells; and lastly, the Bishop of Durham.

These four Prelates having communicated, Preparation was made for the King's Receiving, who kneeled all this while before His Fold-stool.

The Towel was brought thither by Mr. Rumbal, on the behalf of the Master of the Ward-robe, and presented to the Bishops of Hereford, and Carlisle, who held it before the King, while He received.

The Bishop of London gave the King the Bread, and the Dean of Westminster the Cup.

As soon as the King had received, this Anthem was begun by the upper Choir,

*O harken unto the voice of my Calling, my Kings, and my God, &c.*

In the mean while, the King returned to His Throne upon the Theatre, with the Crown on His Head, and bearing the Scepters in his Hands.

When He came thither, He put off His Crown, and delivered it to the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Scepter with the Cross to Mr. Howard, and that other with the Dove to the Duke of Albemarle.

And then the Bishop of London went on with the Communion, which being finished, the King (attended as before) descended from his Throne crowned, with both the Scepters in His Hand.

The rest of the Regalia (which lay all this while on the Altar, being delivered to the Noblemen, that brought them in the Proceeding to the Church) were carried before Him, and thence the King proceeded into St. Edward's Chappel, the Organs playing all the while.

Where being arrived, He took off St. Edward's Crown, and delivered it to the Bishop of London, who immediately laid it upon St. Edward's Altar; all the rest of the Regalia were given into the hands of the Dean of Westminster, and laid there also.

Afterwards the King entered into the Traverse erected in the middle of the Wall, on the back-side of the High Altar, and there retired, whilst He was disrobed of St. Edward's Robes by Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Alsburnham, Grooms of the Bed-Chamber, on the behalf of the Lord High-Chamberlain, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Progers, Colonel Philips, and Mr. Chiffinch assisting.

These Robes were laid on St. Edward's Altar by the Bishop of Durham; and afterwards delivered to the Dean of Westminster to lay up with the Regalia.

After this, the King was arrayed in His Purple Robes, and then came near to St. Edward's Altar, where the Bishop of London stood ready with the Imperial Crown in his hands, and set that upon the King's Head; thereupon the King took the Scepter with the Cross in His right Hand, with the Globe in His left; and immediately the Proceeding (ordered also by the Herald) began thence into Westminster-Hall, the same way that He came, and attended after the same manner, saving that the Noblemen, and Bishops, which brought the Regalia to the Abbey-Church, went not now immediately before the King, as they did then, but were ranked in places according to their Degrees, and Consecrations: all the Noble-men with their Coronets, and Caps on their Heads. The Kings of Arms marched likewise with their Crowns on.

The Proceeding being entered into Westminster-Hall, the Nobility, and others, who had Tables assigned them, went, and placed themselves thereat; but the King, (attended with the Great Officers) withdrew into the Inner-Court of Wards, for half an hour.

In the mean time, all the Tables in the Hall were served, viz. before the King's Service came up; and were placed in this manner:

On the right hand of the King's Throne, below in the Hall, were set two Tables, one beneath the other: at the upper end of the first next the Stairs, (which had two Side-Tables to serve it) sat the Bishops, and below them the Judges, with the rest of the Long-Robe.

At the second Table, (which had two Side-Board Tables likewise to serve it) sat the Masters of the Chancery, and the Six Clerks.

And here, at this Table, were the Barons of the Cinque-Ports necessitated to sit, although the upper end of the first Table was appointed for them.

The Occasion this: No sooner had the aforesaid Barons brought up the King to the foot of the Stairs in Westminster-Hall, ascending to His Throne, and turned on the left hand (towards their own Table) out of the way, but the King's Foot-men most insolently, and violently seized upon the Canopy, which the Barons endeavouring to keep, and defend, were by their number, and strength, drag'd down to the lower end of the Hall, nevertheless still keeping their hold: and, had not Mr. Owen YORK-Herald been accidentally near the Hall-Door, and seeing the Contest, caused the same to be shut, the Foot-men had certainly carried it away by force. But, in the interim also, (speedy notice hereof having been given the King) one of Querris were sent from Him, with Command, to imprison the Foot-men, and dismiss them out of His Service, which put an end to the present Disturbance.

These Foot-men were also commanded to make their submission to the Court of Claims, (which was

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was accordingly done by them, the 30th of April following, and the Canopy then delivered back to the said Barons.

Whilst this Disturbance happened, the upper end of the aforesaid Table was taken up by the Bishops, Judges, &c. and hereupon it came to pass, that the Barons of the Cinque-Ports lost their Places, and were necessitated to sit down at the said second Table, with the Masters of Chancery, &c. where there was Room left by some of the Long-Robe, that sat at the Upper-Table.

Upon the left hand of the King's Throne, below, on the other side of the Hall, was placed likewise a long Table, which reached down near to the Common-Pleas-Court, whereat the Nobility dined; and this Table had four Side-Board-Tables to serve it.

And behind this, close to the Wall, at a shorter Table, sat the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and twelve chief Citizens of London, who had also two Side-Tables to serve them.

Lastly, within the Court of Common-Pleas was a Table with one Side-Table to serve it, set for the Officers of Arms, whereat they also dined. Each Table was furnished with three Courses answerable to that of the King's, besides the Banquet.

A little before the King returned to Dinner, two Esquires of the Body, viz. Ferdinando Marsham, and Henry Norwood, took their Seats upon two little Foot-stools, on either side of the foot of the King's Chair, (placed in the middle of the Table) and there sat until the King came in to Dinner; when rising, and performing their Duty in placing the King's Robes for His better convenience of sitting, they sat down again at the King's Feet a good part of Dinner time, and until the King gave them leave to rise; He accepting that time of Session in full performance of their Service.

On the right Side of the Throne was erected a Gallery for the Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Pursuivants; and opposite to that, on the other side, another for the Musick: and below, on the old Scaffolds, next the Court of Common-Pleas, stood the King's Trumpeters.

The Proceeding at carrying up of the First Course to the KING's Table.

Sir George Barker,

Clerks Comptrollers;

Sir William Boreman,

Mr. Stephen Fox,

Clerks of the Green-Cloth:

Sir Henry Wood,

All four in black Velvet Gowns, trimm'd with Black Silk, and Gold Lace, with Velvet Caps raised in the Head.

William Ashburnham Esquire, Cofferer:

Six Sergeants at Arms, two and two.

The Earl Marshal  
on the left Hand.

The Lord High-  
Steward.

The Lord High-Constable  
on the right Hand.

All three mounted on Horse-back in their Robes, and with their Coronets on their Heads; having their Horses richly trapped.

Six Sergeants at Arms, two and two.

Comptroller of the Household,

Treasurer of the Household,

with their White Staves.

Earl of Dorset, Sewer:

Earl of Chesterfield, his Assistant.

The Knights of the Bath,

who carried up the Service, two and two to a Dish, which was set upon the Table by the Earl of Lincoln Carver, assisted by the Earl-Sewers.

In the Rear came up three Clerks of the Kitchen, viz. Mr. Leonard Pinkney, Mr. John Clements, and Mr. Henry Firi-balls, all suted in Black, Fugar'd Satin Gowns, and Velvet Caps, in fashion like those worn by the Clerks Comptrollers.

Dinner being set on the Table, the King came forth from the Inner-Court of Wards, in His Royal Robes, with the Crown on His Head, and Scepter in his Hand, having the three Swords born naked before Him, and went directly to his Chair at the Table, wherein He sat down to Dinner, the Bishop of London saying Grace. The Baron and Ewer were brought up and presented by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, assisted by the Lord Paget, and the Sergeant of the Ewer.

On the King's right Hand, the Noble-men, that carried the three Swords, stood, holding them naked, and erected, all the Dinner-while; at His left Hand stood the Lord High Chamberlain, to whom the King had given the Scepter to hold: And at the Table's end, on the King's left Hand, sat the Duke of York in his Robes and Coronet.

Soon after Dinner was begun, the Lord Alington carried to the King His first Draught of Drink in a Silver Gilt Cup, being assisted by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Viscount Montague, and the Lord Paget, his Assistants.

The Office of Cup-Bearer, as also the Fee, having been by the Court of Claims adjudged to him,

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as being seized of the *Mannor of Wymundley* in the County of *Hertford*; and when the King A had drank, the said Lord *Allington* received the *Cup* for his *Fee*.

Next, *Thomas Leigh Esquire* was brought up to the Table with a *Mess of Potage*, called *Dill-grant*, this Service being adjudged unto him by the aforesaid Court of *Claims*, in right of the *Mannor of Addington* in the County of *Surrey*; whereupon the Lord High Chamberlain presented him to the King, who accepted the Service, but did not eat thereof.

Afterwards, a little before the second Course was ready, Sir *Edward Dymock* (to whom the Court of *Claims* had adjudged the Office of the King's *Champion*, as being seized of the *Mannor of Serivelby*, in the County of *Lincoln*) entered the *Hall* on a goodly White Courser, and armed at all Points in Rich Armour, having a Plume of Blew Feathers in his Helm; he there made a stand for some time, and then advanced in manner following, way being made for him by the Knight-Marshal.

First, Two Trumpets.

The Serjeant-Drum.

The Serjeant at Arms.

An *Esquire* carrying a *Target*, having the *Champion's* own Arms depicted thereon.

An *Esquire*, carrying the *Champion's* *Lance* upright.

Mr. Owen *YORK-Herald*.

The *Earl-Marshal* on his left Hand.

The *Champion*.

The Lord High-Constable on his right Hand.

Both likewise on Horse-back.

At the lower end of the *Hall*, *YORK-Herald* proclaimed the *Challenge*, in these words following,

The Form of the *Challenge* however omitted in Mr. *Ashe-mole's* Original, being in all the rest more complete and correct, we have supply'd out of the other Narrative which was since done and extracted out of his.

IF any Person of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny, or gain-say Our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, D and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and next Heir to Our Sovereign Lord CHARLES the First, the last King deceased, to be right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England; or that He ought not to enjoy the same: here is His Champion, who saith, That he lyeth, and is a false Traytor, being ready in Person to Combate with him, and in this Quarrel will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed.

Thereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gauntlet*, which lying some small time, and no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him again by *YORK-Herald*. Then all advanced forward, until the *Champion* came to the middle of the *Hall*, where *YORK-Herald* made the like Proclamation, and the *Gauntlet* was again thrown down, taken up, and returned to the *Champion*, who advanced to the foot of the ascending Steps to the *State*, and at the top of the said Steps, the said *Herald* proclaimed the said *Challenge* the third time, whereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gauntlet* again, which no body taking up, it was delivered unto him.

This being done, the *Earl of Penbroke* and *Montgomery* (assisted, as before) presented on the Knee to the King a *Gilt Cup* with a Cover, full of Wine, who drank to His *Champion*, and by the said *Earl* sent him the *Cup*; and he, after three Reverences, drank it all off, went a little backward, and so departed out of the *Hall*; taking the said *Cup* for his *Fee*, according as had been adjudged him by the said Court of *Claims*.

When this Solemnity was finished, the *Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants* descended from their *Gallery*, and went into the *Hall* to the lower end of the *Noble-mens* Table, and there all together made their Reverence. Thence they proceeded a little further, and there made a second Reverence; and the like Reverence at the Steps ascending to the *State*. Where all standing still, *Garret*, Principal King of *Arms*, cryed *Largess* thrice, and proclaimed the King's *Style* in *Latin, French, and English*, making Reverence betwixt every *Style*. At the finishing of which, they all retired backward into the midst of the *Hall*, and there, after crying *Largess* again thrice, he proclaimed the King's *Style* as before. Lastly, they went yet backwards to the end of the said *Noble-mens* Table, and did the same again; and from thence into the *Common-Pleas-Court*, to Dinner.

Immediately after this, the second Course was brought up by the *Gentlemen-Pursoners*, with the former Solemnity.

And the last Dish being carried by *Erasmus Smith Esquire*, he, having delivered the same to the Table, presented the King with three *Maple Cups*, on the behalf of *Robert Barnham Esquire*, who was seized of the *Mannor of Nether-Bilfington* in the County of *Kent*.

Lastly, the Lord Mayor of London presented the King with Wine in a *Golden Cup* having a Cover; of which the King having drank, the said Lord Mayor received it for his *Fee*.

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A By this time the day being far spent, the King (having Water brought Him by the *Earl of Penbroke*, and his Assistants) washed, and rose from Dinner before the third Course was brought in; and, retiring into the *Inner-Court of Wards*, He there disturbed Himself: and from thence He went privately to His *Barge*, which waited for Him at the *Parliament-Stairs*, and so to the *Privy-Stairs* at *White-Hall*, where He landed.

It is a thing very memorable, that, towards the end of *Dinner-time*, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the King made His *Cavalcade* through *London*, were the only fair days, that we enjoyed of many both before, and after) it began to Thunder and Lighten very smartly: which, however some sort of People were apt to interpret as ominous, and ill-boding, yet it will be no difficult matter to evidence from Antiquity, that Accidents of this nature, though happily they might astonish, and amaze the common Drove of men, were by the most Prudent, and Sagacious, look'd upon as a prosperous, and happy presage. And of this, *Virgil* gives us a very pertinent Example (in the Eighth Book of his *Æneids*) where *Evander*, having addressed himself in a Speech to *Æneas* for aid against the *Æturiens*, and He being solicitous how to answer his request, mark what Sign was immediately sent from Heaven,

*Namque improviso vibrato ab Æthere fulgor  
Cum sonitu venit, &c.*

For suddenly from Heav'n a brandish'd Flash  
With Thunder came, &c.

C And presently after the *Poet* adds,

*Obstupere animis alti, sed Troius Heros  
Agnovit sonitum, & Diva promissa Parentis.*

While others stood amaz'd, the Hero knew  
His Mother's Promise by the Sound that flew.

The same Author, in another place\*, mentions the same thing, as a Testimony of Prayers D heard, and answered; as when Old *Anchises*, seeing the lambent Flame upon his Grand-child *Iulus* his Head, lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed to *Jove* for help, and direction, he was thus answered,

*Vix ea satis erat senior, subitoque fragore  
Insonuit lævum, &c.*

Scarce had the grave Sire spoke, when suddenly  
It thundered prosperous, &c.

E For so *Insonuit lævum* is interpreted by *Servius*, according to the Maxim of the Antient *Augurs*, who interpret Thunder from the North, that is, (as they, contrary to the common *Astrologers*, accounted it) the left part of Heaven, for a prosperous Omen.

But, in reference to our present Purpose, we may proceed to a larger Interpretation, and conclude, That the Heavens, with the Volleys of Thunder, and nimble Flashes of Lightning, seemed to give a Plaudite, and Acclamation, to this Grand and Sacred Solemnity; in like manner as we Mortals use to close our greater Triumphs with Fire-Works, Bonfires, and the loud Report of our great Ordinance: this Terrestrial Thunder being but the Imitator, and Counterfeit of the Heavenly Artillery.

And so I observe it expounded by *Claudian* in these Verses †,

*Ut sceptrum gessere manu, membrisque rigentes  
Aptare togas, Signum dat summus hiulca  
Nube Pater, gratamque facem per inane rotantes  
Prospera vibrati sonnerunt Omnia Nimbi.*

As soon as rob'd, and scepter'd, Jove aloud  
His Signal Favour thunders from a Cloud,  
Successful Lightning through Heav'n's Arches shines;  
Both at His Coronation happy Signs.

G Thus having travail'd through a HISTORY fraught with Troubles and Confusions, an Unnatural and Ineffable War succeeded by a long time of Usurpation and Mis-rule; and now having at length arriv'd to such a point of Settlement and Right restor'd, as promises a long continued Calm and Peaceful Government, We glad to have found such a Convenient Haven, shall here choose to cast our Anchor; And though several Things have hapned from the Coronation to this present time (as the King's Marriage with the Daughter of *Portugal*, the Transactions of the present

† *Claud. de Conf. Probrini & Olybrii* ver. 205.

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present Parliament, with other matters sufficiently Memorable; yet in regard we cannot Close at a more happy Period, We shall reserve as well something of what is past, as what is yet to come, for a farther Continuation, as likewise the observation of that Method, which our *Historians* ever observes at the end of every King's Reign, no other Period so handfomely admitting of the said Method. And if the last Part of our HISTORY somewhat exceed in Bulk what may be thought proportionable to the rest, It will no doubt be in a great measure excus'd by the Consideration of what manner of Times we have had to set forth, an Interval of such Wonders, such strange and Capricious Revolutions as are scarce to be parallell'd by any Age or Kingdom, hoping that the Intricate Turns and Labyrinths of Fortune being now at length run out, the Course and Stream of the History will run more smooth and clear through all the subsequent Years (which God grant may be many and Prosperous) of His present Majesty's Reign; Than whom, never was any Prince likely to prove a more glorious President to those that after him shall Sit at the Helm of State, both in respect of His Innumerable other Vertues and Regall Endowments, and particularly of His Admirable Skill and Understanding in that which is the Bulwark of the Nation; the Improvement whereof so mainly Imports His own Glory and Renown above all other Princes of the World, and the Reputation and Enrichment of His Subjects; a thing wherein He hath ever shew'd Himself to be most Zealously Concern'd.

### Mayors and Sheriffs of London, to the 13<sup>th</sup> Year of his Reign.

In His First Year, 1649.  
Thomas Foot was Mayor.  
Christopher Pack, Rowland Wilson died in the year, John Dethick, Sheriffs.

In his Second year 1650.  
Thomas Andrews was Mayor,  
Robert Tichborn, Richard Chiverton, Sheriffs.

In his Third year 1651.  
John Kendrick was Mayor.  
Andrew Richards, John Ireton, Sheriffs.

In his Fourth year 1652.  
John Fowke was Mayor.  
Stephen Eastwick, William Underwood, Sheriffs.

In his Fifth year 1653.  
Thomas Vyner was Mayor.  
James Phillips, Walter Bigge, Sheriffs.

In his Sixth year 1654.  
Christopher Pack was Mayor.  
Edmund Sleigh, Thomas Aley, Sheriffs.

In his Seventh year 1655.  
John Dethick was Mayor.  
William Thompson, John Fredrick, Sheriffs.

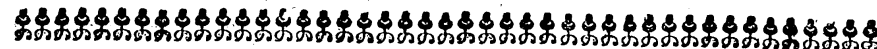
In his Eighth year 1656.  
Robert Tichborn was Mayor.  
Tempest Milner, Nathaniel Temms, Sheriffs.

In his Ninth year 1657.  
Richard Chiverton was Mayor.  
John Robinson, Thomas Chandler died in the year, Richard King, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year 1658.  
John Ireton was Mayor.  
Anthony Bateman, John Lawrence, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year 1659.  
Sir Thomas Aley, Baronet, was Mayor.  
Francis Warner, William Love, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year 1660.  
Sir Richard Brown, Baronet, was Mayor.  
Sir William Boulton, Sir William Peaks, Sheriffs.



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### Moore.

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